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JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE AND THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR.

# THUCYDIDES

## BOOK III.

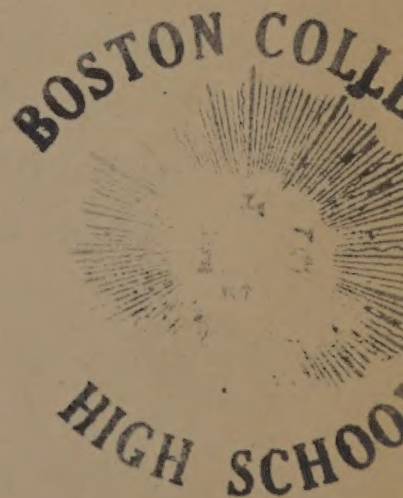
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ON THE BASIS OF THE CLASSEN-STEUP EDITION.

BY

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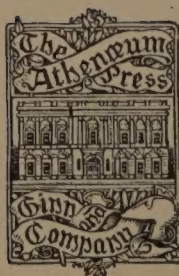
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## PREFACE.

THIS edition of the Third Book of Thucydides is based upon Steup's revision of Classen's edition, Berlin, 1892. Professor Steup's studies in Thucydides had long ago pointed to him as the rightful successor of the aged Classen, and even before the latter's death (August 31, 1891), he had issued the fourth edition of Book II. (1889).

The variations from the text of the Steup-Classen edition — which, with few exceptions, are restorations of the Ms. reading — are explained in the notes and referred to in the Index. The exegetical notes of the German edition have generally been closely followed, but a more independent attitude has been maintained than was the case in the editor's edition of Book VII. As in that book, so in this, Stahl's edition and critical articles have proved of most assistance; but other editions also — those of Bloomfield, Arnold, Boehme, and especially that of Krüger — as well as Jowett's translation and notes, have been of great service, and helpful suggestions have been derived from many other sources. Except where matter might be regarded as common property, the editor's intention has been to acknowledge indebtedness, but this has not always been practicable. The recent appearance of Steup's revision has made it possible to bring citations of important Thucydidean literature more nearly up to date than might otherwise have been the case. The critical notes are mainly those of the Steup-Classen edition; but, full as



they may still appear, they have been considerably compressed, yet it is believed without impairment of their value.

Acknowledgment of especial indebtedness is gratefully made to Professor Ferrell of the University of Mississippi, who has kindly read all the proofs, and to Professor Seymour, whose suggestions and criticisms have been found most helpful and stimulating.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY,  
January, 1894.



## INTRODUCTION.

FOR the convenience of the student, an outline is here given of the First and Second Books, which describe the causes of the war (I.), and the events of the first three years of the conflict (II.).

CONTENTS OF BOOK I. — In his famous introduction (1–23) Thucydides justifies his choice of a subject for historical treatment, showing by a comparison with earlier times and conditions that the Peloponnesian war exceeded in importance all preceding events of Greek history, and indicates the pains he had taken to secure accurate information, and to set forth a true account of what was said and done on both sides. Then follows a statement of the *ostensible* causes of the war : 1) the dispute between Corcyra and Corinth (24–55), in which Athens, after hearing both sides (32–36 ; 37–43), took the part of Corcyra ; 2) the hostilities between Athens and Corinth on account of Potidaea, which had revolted from Athens (56–66). A Lacedaemonian popular assembly, called to listen to complaints of the Corinthians and other allies against Athens (67–87), after hearing a speech from the Corinthians (68–71) and from some Athenian envoys who happened to be at Sparta (72–78), as well as from King Archidamus (80–85) and the ephor Sthenelaidas (86), voted that Athens had violated the thirty years' truce. Having thus stated the pretexts for the war and the decision of the Lacedaemonian assembly, the historian now gives as the *real* cause of the great conflict, — the apprehension felt by the Lacedaemonians at the growing power of Athens, which had been secured by the fortification of the city, the formation of a new alliance, and the subjugation of allies, as well as by expeditions in various quarters (88–118). Resuming the narrative as left off at c. 87, Thucydides next describes the last debates and negotiations at Sparta and at Athens before the outbreak of the



war (119-146), including the episodes of the end of Pausanias and of Themistocles (128-138). The final demands of the Spartans having been rejected on the advice of Pericles (140-144), negotiations are broken off.

CONTENTS OF BOOK II. — *First year of the war, 431-30 B.C.* (2-46). At the opening of spring the Thebans make a daring attempt to get possession of Plataea (2-6). This was a glaring violation of the thirty years' truce, and both sides prepare for war (7 f.). The allies on either side are enumerated in c. 9. The Peloponnesian army assembles at the Isthmus of Corinth (10), and King Archidamus, after an address to his chief officers (11), sends once more an ambassador to the Athenians, who, however, refuse to admit him to their city (12). Pericles outlines the policy to be pursued by the Athenians, and encourages them with a statement of the great military resources of Athens (13). By his advice the inhabitants of the rural demes of Attica remove to the city (14-17), though reluctantly, for they had always loved a country life. Incidentally the historian describes the 'synoecismus' of Theseus (15). The Peloponnesians invade Attica, but do not remain long; meanwhile the Athenians send a fleet to ravage the coasts of Peloponnesus (18-25). Afterwards the latter make expeditions against Locris and Euboea, expel the Aeginetans, conclude an alliance with the Thracian king Sitalces, take the island of Cephallenia, as well as Sollium and Astacus on the coast of Acarnania, invade Megaris, and fortify Atalante (26-32). In the winter, the Corinthians send an expedition to recover Astacus (33), and the Athenians, in accordance with an old national custom, publicly bury the bones of those citizens that had fallen in the war, in whose honour Pericles pronounces his famous Funeral Oration (34-46).

*Second year, 430-29 B.C.* (47-70). With the return of summer, Attica is invaded a second time by the Peloponnesians, who remain about forty days (47, 55, 57), and is simultaneously attacked by the plague (47-54). The Athenians, however, despatch 100 ships against the coasts of Peloponnesus (56), and send reinforcements to Potidaea (58); but soon wearied with both war and pestilence, they make proposals of peace, and when these are rejected they



turn against Pericles (59), who defends himself and encourages the faint-hearted (60-64). Chapter 65 contains the historian's remarkable estimate of the great statesman. The Peloponnesians make an expedition against Zacynthus (66), and send envoys to the king of Persia, who, however, are seized by Sitalces in Thrace, delivered to the Athenians, and put to death (67). Toward the close of summer the Ambraciots attack Amphilocheian Argos (68); in the winter an Athenian fleet sails around Peloponnesus and against Caria and Lycia (69), and about the same time Potidaea capitulates (70).

*Third year, 429-28 B.C. (71-103).* The following summer the Peloponnesians lay siege to Plataea (71-78). An Athenian expedition into Thrace is defeated at Spartolus (79), as is a Lacedaemonian invasion of Acarnania at Stratus (80-82), and a Lacedaemonian fleet at Naupactus (83 f.). The naval battle is renewed, but without decisive issue (85-92). In the winter Brasidas makes a bold attempt to surprise the Peiraeus, which might have succeeded, had not the Peloponnesians become frightened at their own audacity and turned against Salamis (93 f.). On the Athenian side, Sitalces marches against Perdiccas of Macedon (95-101), and Phormio makes an expedition into Acarnania (102 f.).

CONTENTS OF BOOK III. — *Fourth year, 428-27 B.C. (1-25).* The Peloponnesians invade Attica a third time (1), and immediately thereafter the island of Lesbos, except Methymna, revolts from Athens. The Athenians send thither a fleet (2-6), and despatch another against Oeniadae and Leucas (7). The Mytileneans are admitted into the Peloponnesian alliance at a meeting held at Olympia, and a fresh invasion of Attica is ordered; which, however, is not made, owing to the slowness of the allies in assembling at the Isthmus (8-15). Meanwhile the Athenians send a fleet against Peloponnesus (16), and shortly afterwards despatch another armament against Mytilene under Paches, who invests the city (18). During the following winter the depletion of the treasury obliges the Athenians to impose for the first time a special war-tax (ἐσφορά), and Lysicles is sent out to collect money from the allies (19). About this time 212 of the beleaguered Plataeans escape from the



town by night and reach Athens in safety (20-24). The Lacedaemonians send Salaethus to encourage the Mytileneans to hold out (25).

*Fifth year, 427-26 B.C. (26-88).* In the spring the Peloponnesians overrun Attica for the fourth time (26), and the Mytileneans capitulate (27 f.). Alcidas, the dilatory commander of the Peloponnesian fleet, having come too late to save Mytilene, sails along the coast of Ionia homeward (29-32), pursued by Paches as far as Patmos (33). Paches, returning to Mytilene after taking the Colophonian Notium by the way (34), sends Salaethus and 1000 Mytilenean captives to Athens (35), where the assembly at first decrees the death of the whole male population and the enslavement of the women and children, but on the following day reopens the question (36). Cleon urges the death-penalty for all alike (37-40), and Diodotus replies (41-48). Mercy prevails (49), and a boat, hastily despatched to overhaul the one which twenty-four hours before had sailed with the death-sentence, arrives in time to prevent the butchery of a whole people. The ringleaders of the Mytileneans are put to death and the land confiscated (50). The same summer, Nicias captures the island of Minoa (51), and the remnant of the Plataeans is forced by famine to surrender (52). Before five judges sent from Sparta to decide their fate the Plataeans plead their cause (53-59), and the Thebans reply (61-67). The court gives sentence against the Plataeans, who are all put to death, and the following year the city is razed to the ground and the lands rented to the Thebans (68). Coreyra being at this time in a state of civil commotion (69-81), Alcidas sails thither in the hope of winning the island over to the Peloponnesians (76), but flees at the approach of an Athenian fleet (81). The demoralization and excesses of both factions in Coreyra furnish occasion for a masterly digression on the moral effects of the civil war in general (81-84). The troubles in Coreyra continue (85), and before the summer ends the Athenians send a fleet to Sicily,—their first fateful interference in the quarrels of that island (86-88). The following winter the plague reappears at Athens and rages for a year (87).



*Sixth year, 426-25 B.C. (89-116).* The next summer the Peloponnesians prepare for their usual invasion of Attica, and get as far as the Isthmus, but turn back upon the occurrence of earthquakes. These earthquakes are attended by inundations at various points (89). During the same season the Athenians capture Mylae and Messene (90), and despatch one fleet around Peloponnesus, and another against Melos (91); the Peloponnesians re-found Trachinian Heraclea (92 f.); Demosthenes suffers defeat in an expedition against Leucas and the Aetolians (94-98); the Athenian fleet in Sicilian waters attacks Locris (99); the Aetolians, supported by the Lacedaemonians, make an unsuccessful expedition against Naupactus (100-102). During the following winter the Athenians in Sicilian waters attack the Sicilian Inessa and Italian Locris (103), and later invade Himeraea and renew the attack upon the Locrians (115); Delos is purified by the Athenians (104); in the conflicts in Acarnania between the Ambraciots and Peloponnesians on the one side, and the Acarnanians and Demosthenes on the other, Demosthenes is successful (105-113), and returns to Athens laden with spoils (114). The following spring there is an eruption of Aetna (116).

In addition to the value of Book III. simply as history, many parts of it are of unusual literary merit. At the very outset, the historian, in his account of the revolt and capture of Mytilene, describes in a masterly manner the new danger which, not less than foreign invasion, menaced the empire of Athens, showing how the most powerful of the allies, who by their own admission had no oppression to complain of, but simply found, as an aristocratically governed community and as an alien race, longer dependence on the Athenian democracy too galling to endure, had seized the first favourable moment to renounce their allegiance. Here, too, we see displayed, under the most trying circumstances, the same indomitable spirit and energy which had won for Athens such renown in the Persian wars, and which it required twenty-seven years of war and devastation and pestilence to wear out. By the debate in the Athenian Ecclesia on the proposal to butcher the



whole male population of Mytilene, one is prepared in some measure for the enormities committed at Coreyra only a few months later. Cleon's speech, as reported by Thucydides, is worthy of the most serious attention as expressing the deliberate opinion of the gravest and most impartial of historians concerning the arch-demagogue Cleon, as a symptom of the demoralization of that brilliant democracy which had created the Athens of Pericles, but which already was in sore need of the strong hand of the great statesman. The humaner and wiser policy, which Pericles would certainly have advocated, and Nicias doubtless supported, finds voice in the splendid speech of Diodotus. In this case, as elsewhere in the history, 'without our own choice we find ourselves involved in the conflict of interests, and are put in a position to form a judgment for ourselves from the situation of affairs and the feeling of parties.'

Chapter 49, which describes the race of the second trireme with its message of mercy for the Mytileneans, is as graphic as life, and produces an effect not equalled perhaps in any other single chapter of the book except 113 — the short dialogue between the Ambracian herald and a soldier of the army of Demosthenes. But the most interesting episode is doubtless the thrilling account of the sortie of 220 of the beleaguered Plataeans, who on a rough and stormy night mastered a portion of the enemy's wall and killed the guards of the two adjacent towers, thus enabling the whole party to scale the wall and cross the outer ditch; so that, with the exception of seven who turned back and one who was captured, all these brave men reached Athens in safety at the very hour when their countrymen who remained in Plataea, supposing that they had perished, were sending heralds to King Agis asking for their bodies. The sentence about to be imposed upon the Plataeans, who were finally compelled to capitulate, gives occasion for a speech on their part perhaps the most pathetic of the whole history; and the Thebans make answer in a spirit that cannot hide the malignant hatred cherished toward the gallant little people of their own race who for nearly one hundred years had stood as faithful allies by the side of Thebes' most hated rival.



In the description of the party feuds in Coreyra the historian paints a wonderful picture of the demoralization already manifest in many parts of the Greek world as the outcome of civil war, and in the reflexions that follow he touches the high-water mark of his peculiar style. 'Such a drama,' says Grote, 'could not be acted, in an important city belonging to the Greek name, without producing a deep and extensive impression throughout all the other cities. And Thucydides has taken advantage of it to give a sort of general sketch of Grecian politics during the Peloponnesian war; violence of civil discord in each city, aggravated by foreign war, and by the contending efforts of Athens and Sparta, — the former espousing the democratical party everywhere, the latter the oligarchical. The Korkyraean sedition was the first case in which these two causes of political antipathy and exasperation were seen acting with full united force, and where the malignity of sentiment and demoralization flowing from such an union was seen without disguise. The picture drawn by Thucydides of moral and political feeling under these influences will ever remain memorable as the work of an analyst and a philosopher. . . . He has described, with fidelity not inferior to his sketch of the pestilence at Athens, the symptoms of a certain morbid political condition, wherein the vehemence of intestine conflict, instead of being kept within such limits as consists with the maintenance of one society among the contending parties, becomes for the time inflamed and poisoned with all the unscrupulous hostility of foreign war, chiefly from actual alliance between parties within the state and foreigners without.'

The final chapters of the book, with the exception of the purification of Delos in 104, and 113, do not admit of so high an order of literary treatment, but they enable one especially to form a fair estimate of the genius and energy of the ablest general whom Pericles left behind him, Demosthenes, who was in constant and conspicuous service from this time until he perished with the ill-fated Sicilian armament thirteen years later.





# THUCYDIDES III.

\* Ol. 87, 4; B.C. 428, May.

1 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ 1  
 ξύμμαχοι \* ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι ἐστράτευσαν ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν (ἡγείτο δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, Λα-  
 κεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς), καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήρουν τὴν γῆν.  
 5 καὶ προσβολαί, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐγίγνοντο τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων ἱππέων ὅπῃ παρείκοι, καὶ τὸν πλείστον ὄμιλον τῶν  
 ψιλῶν εἶργον τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς

Book III., 428 B.C. to 425 B.C.  
 See Grote, *History of Greece*, chaps.  
 L. and LI.; Curtius, *History of  
 Greece*, Book IV., chap. II. Cf.  
 Diodorus XII., 52-60.

## FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

Chaps. 1-25.

### 1. Third Peloponnesian Invasion of Attica.

1. Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι : designation for the whole Peloponnesian alliance, as in c. 26. 1, 4; ii. 47. 4; 71. 1; iv. 2. 2. For Πελοποννήσιοι alone in this comprehensive sense, cf. c. 2. 1, and see on ii. 13. 1. — 2. ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι : indicates more sharply than τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος (ii. 19. 5; 79. 4) the beginning of the ripening of the corn. For the pred. partic., see Kr. Spr. 50, 11, 13. See App. on ii. 4. 11 (Steup). — 3. ἡγείτο . . . βασιλεύς : parenthetical, as ii. 47.

6; iv. 2. 3; the relation of the other clauses also is the same as there. — 4. ἐγκαθεζόμενοι : here, as in iv. 2. 4, indicates more clearly than καθεζόμενοι (ii. 47. 7) a definite place from which raids were made. — 5. προσβολαί κτέ. : cf. ii. 22. 7. — ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν : sc. γίνεσθαι. Cf. i. 132. 26. — ἐγίγνοντο : pass. of ποιεῖν. H. 820. See on i. 73. 1. — 6. ὅπῃ παρείκοι : wherever opportunity offered, as Arr. Anab. vi. 9. 2. The Schol. explains, ὅπου ἐνεδέχeto καὶ ἐνεχώρει. Cf. iv. 36. 7 κατὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρείκον, Plato Symp. 187 e καθ' ὅσον παρείκει, Rep. 374 e ὅσον γ' ἂν δύναμις παρείκη, Soph. Phil. 1048 εἴ μοι παρείκοι. — τὸν πλείστον ὄμιλον : the main body, as opp. to the small predatory bands which kept up the devastation. ὄμιλος in this sense seems to be Ionic and poetic. See Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc. vol. xxii. p. xix. — 7. τὸ μὴ . . . κακουργεῖν : for τὸ μὴ with inf. after verbs of hin-



πόλεως κακουργεῖν. ἐμμείναντες δὲ χρόνον οὐ εἶχον τὰ 2  
σιτία ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθὺς 1  
Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, βουλευ-  
θέντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου (ἀλλ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
οὐ προσεδέξαντο), ἀναγκασθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπό-  
5 στασιν πρότερον ἢ διανοοῦντο ποιήσασθαι (τῶν τε γὰρ 2  
λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν καὶ νεῶν ποί-

dering, see GMT. 811; H. 963, 1029; Kr. Spr. 67, 12, 4; Kühn. 479, 1 and 516, N. 9 l. — τῶν ὄπλων: *camping places*, as in i. 111. 6; vi. 64. 20; vii. 28. 8.

8. ἐμμείναντες: aor. partic., as in ii. 23. 10; viii. 31. 16. See App. on ii. 19. 14. — οὐ: depends on τὰ σιτία. Cf. ii. 23. 11 ὅσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. G. 1085, 5; H. 729 d. See on i. 48. 2. — 9. ἀνεχώρησαν . . . κατὰ πόλεις: the same formula in c. 26. 17; ii. 78. 8; v. 83. 10.

2. *All Lesbos except Methymna immediately revolts from the Athenians, who had been informed of the designs of the Mytileneans.*

2. Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη: Mytilene, which was itself under oligarchical rule, had extended its authority over the three smaller places, Antissa, Pyrrha, and Eresos (c. 18. 5); only Methymna on the northern coast retained its democratic constitution and connexion with Athens. See W. Herbst, *Der Abfall Mytilenes*, 1861, and Leithäuser, *Der Abfall Mytilenes*, 1874. — βουλευθέντες: agreeing κατὰ ξύνεσιν with Λέσβος. Kr. Spr. 58, 4, 2; Kühn. 359, 3 a. Cf. c. 79. 10; i. 24. 9. — 3. πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου: cf.

c. 13. 5 καὶ πάλαι . . . ἔτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ.

It was doubtless after the conclusion of the τριακοντούτεις σπονδαί, 445 B.C., as the Schol. says, οὐ προσεδέξαντο, ἵνα μὴ λύσωσι τὰς τριακοντούτεις σπονδάς. See W. Herbst, *ibid.* p. 10, 22. — ἀλλ' . . . οὐ προσεδέξαντο: the full const. would be ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπέστησαν· οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέξαντο. For similar brachylogy, cf. i. 26. 17. As the clause refers only to βουλευθέντες, it is to be construed parenthetically. προσεδέξαντο, as c. 13. 6; i. 45. 2; ii. 70. 10, without expressed obj., τοὺς λόγους, or a similar word, being understood. — 4. ἀναγκασθέντες: the explanatory partic. with μὲν, δέ are placed after the leading verb with effect similar to the μὲν and δέ clauses in ii. 93. 19, 22. — καὶ ταύτην: i.e. τὴν τότε, even this revolt, as opp. to that which they had failed to make.

5. τῶν τε γὰρ . . . μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν: explanatory of πρότερον ἢ διανοοῦντο, as 9 ff. Τενέδιοι γάρ, . . . Λέσβου is of ἀναγκασθέντες. τε is co-ord. with καὶ before ὅσα. — 6. τὴν χῶσιν . . . οἰκοδόμησιν . . . ποίησιν: the art. covers the three subst. with their genitives. Cf. c. 56. 7, and see on i. 120. 10. χῶσις τῶν λιμένων means the

ἡσιν ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει  
ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε καὶ σῖτον καὶ ἅ μεταπεμπόμενοι  
ἦσαν). Τενέδιοι γάρ, ὄντες αὐτοῖς διάφοροι, καὶ Μηθυ- 3  
10 μναῖοι καὶ αὐτῶν Μυτιληναίων ἰδίᾳ ἄνδρες κατὰ στάσιν,  
πρόξενοι Ἀθηναίων, μηνυταὶ γίγνονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις  
ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσὶ τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βία

building of moles, by which the entrance to the harbours was narrowed and could at will be closed by a chain.

7. ἐπέμενον: takes two const.: a) acc. with inf., τὴν πόλιν τελεσθῆναι (cf. c. 26. 13; Soph. *Trach.* 1176); b) the acc. alone, ὅσα ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι. See Haase, *Lucubr. Thuc.* p. 110 f. So περιέμενε, vii. 20. 16. Thus most of the editt. explain. Cl. makes ὅσα ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι subj. of ἀφικέσθαι understood, on the ground that ἐπιμένειν does not take the acc. alone; but cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 624; Plato *Rep.* 361 d. — 8. τοξότας: Scythian bowmen, hired by the ruling aristocracy, and always ready to serve as mercenaries. — ἅ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν: whatever they were engaged in fetching. Cf. ii. 67. 9 ἣν πολιορκοῦν, and see App. on i. 1. 5. Kr. *Spr.* 56, 3, 1; Kühn. 353, n. 3. Cobet's conjecture μεταπεπεμμένοι ἦσαν is unnecessary, as is shown by L. Herbst, *Gegen Cobet*, p. 37–39. On the subject of periphrases with εἶναι, see *Amer. J. of Ph.* iv. p. 297.

9. Τενέδιοι: members of the Attic symmarchy (vii. 57. 22). They feared the influence of Mytilene on the Aeolic coast, as did Methymna on the island. See W. Herbst, *ibid.* p. 24. — 10. Μυτιληναίων: the earlier form, acc. to inscriptions and coins; later, and

therefore in many Mss., Μιτυληναίων.

See Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Att. Inschriften*<sup>2</sup> p. 23. — ἰδίᾳ κατὰ στάσιν:

on account of factions. Cf. κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίᾳ, c. 34. 3; κατὰ στάσιν, c. 62. 19; 68. 17; 82. 11; v. 33. 4; κατὰ τὴν στάσιν, viii. 106. 21. ἰδίᾳ also ii. 67. 4. The phrase gives the motive of μηνυταὶ γίγνονται, to which πρόξενοι Ἀθηναίων is added by way of explanation. Aristotle, *Polit.* v. 4, mentions Doxander as the Attic proxenus who, in revenge for the rejection of his proposal of marriage for his sons with the daughters of the aristocrat Timophanes, betrayed the plot to the Athenians. — 11. μηνυταὶ γίγνονται: the same periphrasis as in i. 132. 31; viii. 50. 15. Cf. also c. 58. 13 (εὐεργέτης); i. 4. 3 (οἰκιστής); i. 37. 12 (δικαστής); c. 59. 12; i. 136. 9 (ἰκέτης); c. 40. 31 (προδότης); ii. 43. 8 (ἐραστής); c. 23. 13; i. 35. 12; v. 9. 38; viii. 86. 23 (κωλυτής); c. 42. 7; v. 30. 2; viii. 45. 9 (διδάσκαλος); c. 105. 14; i. 95. 4; vi. 76. 13; vii. 56. 19 (ἡγεμών); viii. 51. 4 (ἐξάγγελος). See Dissen *ad Dem.* xviii. 72. — 12. ξυνοικίζουσὶ τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην: the Schol. explains, ἄκοντας τοὺς Λεσβίους ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην οἰκῆσαι. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ ἐκ μιᾶς πόλεως ὁρμώμενοι πολεμεῖν. Cf. i. 58. § 2. This view is held also by Goell., Bl., Kr. and



καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ  
 Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγονται· καὶ  
 15 εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεται ἤδη, στερήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς  
 3 Λέσβου. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι (ἦσαν γὰρ τεταλαιπωρημένοι 1  
 ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ

Jowett. But it is incompatible with c. 18. § 1; so that political concentration must be meant, as in the case of Athens under Theseus, ii. 15. § 2, the communal independence of the other places being abolished. The purpose (pres. ξυνοικίζουσι) is in part carried out in c. 18. § 1. So explain also Arn., St., and Böhme. See W. Herbst, *ibid.* p. 19.—13. Λακεδαιμονίων: cf. c. 5. 13.—14. Βοιωτῶν: esp. the Thebans. Cf. c. 5. 13; 13. 7.—ξυγγενῶν ὄντων: since Lesbos was considered a Boeotian colony. Strab. xiii. 1. 3. Cf. vii. 57. 24; viii. 100. 16. See Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, i. p. 127 f.—ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει: with a view to a revolt. Cf. i. 3. 9; 37. 8; 73. 14.—ἐπείγονται: trans. also iv. 5. 9; vi. 100. 5; viii. 9. 2.—15. εἰ μὴ τις: with fut. indic. a common expression of warning. Cf. iv. 68. 28; viii. 53. 18; 83. 13; 91. 12. On εἰ with the fut. indic. in minatory and monitory conditions, see GMT. 447; Gildersleeve, *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* 1876, p. 5 ff., *Amer. J. of Ph.*, ix. p. 491 f., xiii. p. 123 f.—προκαταλήψεται: shall prevent, abs., as in c. 3. 9; 46. 25; v. 57. 4; vi. 18. 13. See on i. 57. 15.—ἤδη: forthwith, belongs to the prot., as ἤδη in viii. 91. 13, and ἐν τάχει in v. 57. 5; 64. 2.—στερήσεσθαι: pass. also in c. 39. 44. στερηθῆσομαι seems to occur only in late

writers. See Veitch s.v.—αὐτοὺς: i.e. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

3. After fruitless remonstrance against the preparations of the Mytileneans and the proposed 'synoecismus' of the island, the Athenians detain 10 Mytilenean ships with their crews, and send to surprise Mytilene 40 triremes, whose coming was, however, betrayed to the Mytileneans.

1. ἦσαν γὰρ κτέ.: the causal sent. in parataxis before the main one, not rare in Thuc. See on i. 31. 7.—τεταλαιπωρημένοι: Cl. considers this a mid., as also in c. 78. 3; iv. 27. 2; 35. 12; vii. 28. 10, with the same force as the act. in i. 99. 5; 134. 9. But it seems better, with St., to regard it as pass. in all the passages cited. Cf. Plut. *Brut.* 37 τὸ σῶμα ταλαιπωρούμενον, and Isoc. viii. 19 (ὁ πόλεμος) τεταλαιπώρηκεν ἡμᾶς. The act. occurs with ὑπὸ in ii. 101. 19.—2. ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος: pred., being just fairly afoot and at its height. ἄρτι καθισταμένου as in c. 68. 29. On ἄρτι see Lobeck *ad Phryn.* p. 20; Rutherford, *New Phryn.* p. 70 f. ἀκμάζειν also of pestilence, ii. 49. 27. Steup, comparing both this passage and c. 68. 29 with καθεστηκυῖα ἡλικία in ii. 36. 9, understands the reference to be to the middle period of the war, in which case, of course,

ἀκμάζοντος) μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι Λέσβον προσ-  
πολεμώσασθαι, ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν καὶ δύναμιν ἀκέραιον,  
5 καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέχοντο πρῶτον τὰς κατηγορίας, μείζον μέρος  
νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι · ἐπειδὴ μέντοι  
καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις οὐκ ἔπειθον τοὺς Μυτιληναίους  
τὴν τε ξυνοίκισιν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν διαλύειν, δείσαντες  
προκαταλαβεῖν ἐβούλοντο. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἑξαπιναιῶς 2  
10 τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς, αἱ ἔτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον παρε-  
σκευασμέναι πλεῖν (Κλεῖππίδης δὲ ὁ Δεινίου τρίτος αὐτὸς  
ἐστρατήγει). ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς εἶη Ἀπόλλωνος 3

the ten years', not the twenty-seven years', war would be meant. — 3. μέγα : great, i.e. difficult. Cf. ii. 45. 2 ; 89. 45 ; vi. 12. 16. — προσπολεμώσασθαι : obs. the force of the middle. The Schol. rightly explains, πρὸς τοῖς οὖσι πολεμοῖς . . . καὶ αὐτὴν πολεμίαν ποιῆσαι. Cf. v. 98. 6. — 5. πρῶτον : acc. to most and best Mss., without art. Both forms are about equally common. — μείζον μέρος νέμοντες . . . εἶναι : giving too much weight to the wish that it might not be true. For the sentiment, cf. iv. 108. § 4 ; v. 113, and the evident imitation of the present passage in Philo *Leg. ad Caium* 10 πλεῖστον διδόντες μέρος τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι . . . δοκεῖν ὥμον. Also Dio C. xxxvii. 11 τῇ βουλήσει πλέον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει νέμων, Dem. iii. 19 ὁ γὰρ βούλεται, τοῦθ' ἕκαστος καὶ οἴεται, Caes. *Bell. Gall.* iii. 18 fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt. For the phrase μείζον μέρος νέμειν, cf. c. 48. 2 ; i. 71. 7 ; vi. 88. 10. Also Eur. *Suppl.* 241 νέμοντες τῷ φθόνῳ πλέον μέρος, *Hec.* 868 τῷ τ' ὄχλῳ πλέον νέμεις, *Antiope*

(frg. 183) νέμων τὸ πλεῖστον ἡμέρας τοῖτ' μέρος. — 6. ἀληθῆ εἶναι : sc. τὰ κατηγορημένα from τὰς κατηγορίας. Cl. explains 'without reference to any definite noun,' comparing ὄντων ἀκρίτων, iv. 20. 5. — 8. τὴν ξυνοίκισιν : found only here in Thuc., and prob. not elsewhere unless in late writers. — 9. προκαταλαβεῖν : see on c. 2. 15.

ἑξαπιναιῶς : as in c. 34. 17 ; 70. 25 ; i. 117. 1 ; ii. 3. 2 ; 48. 4 ; 93. 15 ; iv. 25. 48 ; vi. 100. 14. This form, as well as ἑξαπίνης (c. 89. 20 ; i. 50. 21 ; iv. 36. 10 ; iii. 12 ; 115. 13 ; v. 10. 33, — cf. Plat. *Rep.* 621 b ; Ps.-Dem. lix. 99 ; Arist. *H. An.* 636 a 31), seems to be Ionic and poetic, being used by Xenophon only, of other Attic prose writers. The regular Attic forms, ἑξαίφνης and αἰφνιδίως, occur also in both Thuc. and Xenophon. See Diener, *de Serm. Thuc.* 1889, pp. 24–26.

12. ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ . . . ἐπιπεσεῖν ἄφνω : explanation of πέμπουσιν ἑξαπιναιῶς. Hence the preceding sent. must be considered parenthetical.



Μαλόεντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ Μυτιλη-  
 ναῖοι ἑορτάζουσι, καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπесεῖν  
 15 ἄφνω. καὶ ἦν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πείρα, — εἰ δὲ μή, Μυτιλη-  
 ναίοις εἰπεῖν ναῦς τε παραδοῦναι καὶ τείχη καθελεῖν, μὴ  
 πειθομένων δὲ πολεμεῖν. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες ὥχοντο · τὰς 4  
 δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων δέκα τριήρεις, αἱ ἔτυχον βοηθοὶ  
 παρὰ σφᾶς κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν παροῦσαι, κατέσχον οἱ

The following dependent clause, however, ἦν μὲν ξυμβῇ . . . πολεμεῖν, contains in the usual const., καὶ . . . μὲν . . . δέ (cf. i. 19. 1; 22. 1, etc.), the execution of the task implied in πέμπουσιν. — 13. **Μαλόεντος**: this epithet of Apollo seems to occur only in Lesbos. Cf. Schol. Patm. (*Rev. de Philol. N. S.* i. p. 185; cf. Hellenicus ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Μαλόεις) ὡς . . . ἑορτή] Μαλόεις Ἀπόλλων · οὗτος παρὰ Μιτυληναίοις ἐτιμᾶτο, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης δὲ τινος αἰτίας. Μαντῶ ἡ Τειρεσίου θυγάτηρ περὶ τοὺς τόπους χορεύουσα τούτους μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιδεραίου ἐκπεσὼν ἀπώλεσεν · εὗξατο οὖν, εἰ εὖροι, ἱερὸν ἰδρύσειν τῷ θεῷ. εὐροῦσα δὲ τὸ μῆλον τὸ ἱερὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ Μαλόεις Ἀπόλλων ἐντεῦθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτιμᾶτο. The explanation of Meister (*Gr. Dial.* i. p. 65) is most prob. correct: *god of Malea*. Cf. c. 4. 18. For other explanations, see Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, p. 99 f. and Preller-Robert, *Gr. Myth.* I.<sup>4</sup> p. 252. — 14. **ἐπιπесεῖν**: aor. without ἄν after ἐλπίς, as ii. 80. 11; iv. 70. 20; v. 9. 27; 102. 4; vi. 87. 18; viii. 40. 14; 86. 34; so after ἐλπίζω, iv. 13. 4; 24. 10; 80. 3; vii. 21. 6. G. 1286; H. 948 a, 952; Kühn. 389, n. 8. See App. on ii. 3. 8. — 15. ἦν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πείρα: the Schol.

explains ξυμβῇ by κατορθωθῇ. There is an ellipsis of some apod. like εὐ ἔχειν or ταῦτα ἄριστα εἶναι (cf. i. 82. 12), which is easily supplied from the second member of the hypothetical sentence. Such an ellipsis occurs possibly also in iv. 13. 14. Cf. Hom. A 135; Hdt. viii. 62. 3, and see Sauppe-Towle on Plato *Prot.* 311 d. GMT. 482; H. 904 a; Kr. *Spr.* 54, 12, 12; Kühn. 577, 3 c. — εἰ δὲ μή: otherwise, after ἦν μὲν, GMT. 478; H. 906; Kr. *Spr.* 65, 5, 12. — 16. **εἰπεῖν**: depends on κελεύουσιν implied in πέμπουσιν. — **ναῦς, τείχη**: without art. in formulae of conditions of peace, also i. 101. 12; 108. 14; 117. 14. — **παραδοῦναι**: after εἰπεῖν, *to command*, as in i. 131. 9; ii. 6. 7. GMT. 99; H. 946 b.

17. **τὰς δὲ δέκα τριήρεις**: the art. on account of the rel. clause following, as in c. 22. 33; viii. 15. 9. Cf. also viii. 26. 2. Kühn. 465, 13; Kr. *Spr.* 50, 2, 7. — 19. **παρὰ σφᾶς**: the reflexive pron. in a dependent clause refers to the subj. of the primary clause. G. 987; H. 683 a. Cf. c. 108. 14; i. 20. 3; 115. 23; vi. 32. 9. — **κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικόν**: the word is rare except in Thucydides. Cf. c. 91. 7; i. 107. 27; ii. 22. 17; 101. 15; iv. 61. 15; v. 6. 6; vii. 20. 5; 33. 22.

20 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποίησαντο. τοῖς δὲ Μυτιληναίοις ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν 5 διαβὰς ἐς Εὐβοίαν καὶ πεζῇ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθὼν, ὀλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχῶν, πλῶ χρησάμενος καὶ τριταῖος ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἀφικόμενος ἀγγέλλει τὸν 25 ἐπίπλουν. οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐς τὸν Μαλόεντα ἐξῆλθον τά τε 6 ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα φραζάμενοι ἐφύλασσον.

4 Καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον καταπλεύσαντες 1

— παροῦσαι : = παραγενόμεναι, hence παρὰ σφᾶς. Cf. γυναῖκες πάρεσιν . . . ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον, ii. 34. 11. Also c. 8. 3 ; vi. 62. 19 ; 88. 51 ; vii. 50. 1. — 20. ἐς φυλακὴν ἐποίησαντο : as viii. i. 25 ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι. Cf. also ἐντὸς ποιεῖσθαι, ii. 83. 26 ; vi. 67. 9.

22. διαβὰς κτέ. : obs. the effect of the five parties., which involuntarily portray the haste of the messenger. — Γεραιστὸν : Schol. Γεραιστὸς ἀκρωτήριον Εὐβοίας ἔχον λιμένα. Cf. Hom. γ 177 ; Hdt. viii. 7. 5 ; ix. 105. 6. Livy (xxx. 45) calls the harbour nobilis Euboeae portus, and Strabo (x. i. 7) mentions the adjacent town with the celebrated temple of Poseidon. It is now called Mantelo. See Leake, *Northern Greece*, ii. p. 423 ; Bursian, *Geogr. v. Gr.* ii. pp. 399, 434. — 23. ἀναγομένης : the pres. as in i. 117. 4 ; 137. 7 ; ii. 90. 13. — ἐπιτυχῶν : with gen. also vii. 25. 8. Cf. Xen. *Oec.* 2. 3 ; 12. 20 ; Plato *Phil.* 61 d ; Ar. *Plut.* 245. With the dat. c. 75. 20 ; viii. 14. 1 ; 34. 3 ; Lys. xii. 12. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 14, 2. — πλῶ : the Schol. explains ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐπλοῖα. Cf. i. 137. 13 ; Hes. *Op.* 630 ; Ant. v. 24 ; Xen. *Anab.* v. 9. 33. So most edit.

explain. But Arn. takes πλῶ χρησάμενος as merely opp. to πεζῇ ἐπὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐλθὼν, comparing vi. 97. 8, οὔτε πλοῦν οὔτε ὁδὸν πολλὴν ἀπέχει, where πλοῦς is thus opp. to ὁδός. — τριταῖος : pred. adj. for adverb. G. 926 ; H. 619 ; Kr. *Spr.* 57, 5, 4.

25. οἱ δὲ κτέ. : ‘illi vero neque in Maloentem exierunt et praeterea etiam imperfecta murorum portuumque opera obstruxerunt et excubias apud eos egerunt.’ Haacke. See App. — ἐς τὸν Μαλόεντα : Steph. Byz. Μαλόεις Ἀπόλλων ἐν Λέσβῳ· καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ Μαλόεις. Since the reference is to the temple there is no objection to the preposition. — 26. φραζάμενοι : having blocked up, the walls prob. by means of palisades and battlements, the harbours by means of ships that were sunk.

4. *Beginning of hostilities. Conclusion of an armistice, during which the Mytileneans send an embassy to persuade the Athenians that their designs are harmless and to induce them to recall their fleet. At the same time they secretly appeal to Sparta for aid.*

1. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ὥς ἑώρων :



ὥς ἑώρων, ἀπήγγειλαν μὲν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα,  
οὐκ ἑσακουόντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἐς πόλεμον καθί-  
σταντο. ἀπαράσκευοι δὲ οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἐξαίφνης 2  
5 ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν ἔκπλουν μὲν τινα ἐποιήσαντο  
τῶν νεῶν ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχία ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος, ἔπειτα  
καταδιωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν λόγους ἤδη προσ-  
έφερον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, βουλόμενοι τὰς ναῦς τὸ παραυ-  
τίκα, εἰ δύναιτο, ὁμολογία τινὶ ἐπιεικεῖ ἀποπέμψασθαι.  
10 καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέξαντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ 3  
φοβούμενοι μὴ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ὦσι Λέσβῳ πάσῃ πολεμεῖν.

one of the cases rare in Att. prose where the subj. placed before the conj. does not belong to the leading clause. Cf. c. 5. 1 ; iv. 78. 1 ; vii. 32. 1 ; Hdt. ix. 61. 1. Cobet (*Mnem. N. S.* viii. p. 123 sq.) would omit οἱ στρατηγοί. But Thuc. nowhere uses ἀπαγγέλλειν with so comprehensive a subj. as οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. — 2. ὥς ἑώρων : sc. τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Μυτιληναίων πρᾶσσόμενα, the obj. being unexpressed, as often with αἰσθάνεσθαι (c. 22. 22 ; i. 95. 21, etc.). So ἰδόντες, iv. 25. 49. — τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα : cf. c. 3. 16. — 3. ἑσακουόντων : give heed, comply. See on i. 82. 11. — ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο : commenced hostilities (cf. c. 5. 2 ; i. 23. 28 ; 99. 14 ; ii. 9. 2), according to the instructions mentioned c. 3. 17.

4. ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἐξαίφνης : pred. to ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν. Cf. c. 2. 4. For similar combination of adj. (or partic.) and adv., cf. c. 13. 12 ; 34. 17 ; 42. 23 ; 82. 13 ; i. 39. 2 ; 63. 7 ; vii. 32. 11. Kr. *Spr.* 59, 2, 3. — 6. ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχία : with a view to a sea-fight, as in vi. 34. 34. Placed thus before the prep., ὥς implies the ‘pur-

pose’ of the subject. For distinction between the dat. and the acc. in this const., see L. Herbst, *Philol.* xlii. p. 675. — πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος : ‘as there were two ports of Mytilene, ὧν ὁ νότιος κλειστός τριηρικὸς ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα, ὁ δὲ βόρειος μέγας καὶ βαθὺς χώματι σκεπαζόμενος (Strab. xiii. 2. 2), it is evident that the τριηρικὸς λιμὴν is meant here.’ St. — 7. ἤδη : now, in their present strait, what before they had not been willing to do. ἤδη often thus indicates a change of conditions. Cf. i. 18. 28 ; 49. 27. — 8. τὸ παραυτίκα : for the present, i.e. until they should be better prepared. Cf. i. 27. 4 ; iv. 121. 7 ; vi. 83. 14. — 9. ἐπιεικεῖ : i.e. if not strictly in accordance with the right, still fair and acceptable ; so also in c. 9. 10 ; i. 76. 20. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1374 a ἔστιν ἐπιεικὲς τὸ παρὰ τὸν γεγραμμένον νόμον δίκαιον. — ἀποπέμψασθαι : get rid of ; usually dismiss, as in Hdt. i. 33. 3 ; i. 20. 35 ; ii. 25. 13 ; vii. 105. 3 ; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4. 27.

10. ἀπεδέξαντο : sc. τοὺς λόγους. See on c. 2. 4. — 11. Λέσβῳ πάσῃ : i.e.

καὶ ἀνοκωχὴν ποιησάμενοι πέμπουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ 4  
 Μυτιληναῖοι τῶν τε διαβαλλόντων ἕνα, ᾧ μετέμελεν ἤδη,  
 καὶ ἄλλους, εἴ πως πείσειαν τὰς ναῦς ἀπελθεῖν ὡς σφῶν  
 15 οὐδὲν νεωτεριούντων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ ἐς 5  
 τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τριήρει, λαθόντες τὸ τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων ναυτικόν, οἳ ὥρμουν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν  
 τῆς πόλεως· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 προχωρήσειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ταλαι- 6  
 20 πώρως διὰ τοῦ πελάγους κομισθέντες αὐτοῖς ἔπρασσον

not merely against Mytilene. Cf. ii. 80. 2 Ἀκαρνανίαν πᾶσαν, although Oeniadae is excluded, as here Methymna.

12. ἀνοκωχὴν : cf. i. 40. 16 ; 66. 9 ; iv. 38. 4 ; 117. 7 ; v. 25. 13, in all which passages St. (*Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 44) has shown this to be the correct form, not ἀνακωχή. — 13. τῶν διαβαλλόντων : partic. pres. of an enduring relation, as οἱ ἐπαγόμενοι, ii. 2. 22 ; οἱ προδιδόντες, ii. 5. 32. Kühn. 382, 4 b. The πρόξενοι of c. 2. 11 are meant. — 14. εἴ πως πείσειαν τὰς ναῦς ἀπελθεῖν : sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους as obj. of πείσειαν. The const. of πείθειν with inf. and subj. acc. is unusual. For the const. of the opt., see GMT. 489. — ὡς σφῶν . . . νεωτεριούντων : with the understanding that they did not intend to make any innovation. GMT. 864. Cf. vii. 15. 13. The subj. of the gen. abs. is here the same as that of the leading clause, as in c. 13. 30 ; vii. 48. 12. GMT. 850 ; Kr. Spr. 47, 4, 2 ; Kühn. 494 a.

15. ἐν τούτῳ : i.e. while they were waiting for an answer from Athens. — ἀποστέλλουσι . . . ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως : see App. —

18. τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων : τοῖς is neut. as in i. 127. 5. αὐτά is to be supplied as subj. of προχωρήσειν. Cf. iv. 92. 36 πιστεύσαντας τῷ θεῷ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἔσεσθαι, where the subj. of ἔσεσθαι is to be supplied from τῷ θεῷ. Kr. Spr. 61, 6, 8 ; Kühn. 476, 2. A comparison with i. 127. 5 and the passages there cited shows that Bk.'s conjecture, Ἀθηνῶν, is unnecessary.

19. ταλαιπώρως : a e g r e, in Thuc. only here, and elsewhere in Attic seldom (Ar. *Eccles.* 54) ; freq. in late writers. — 20. διὰ τοῦ πελάγους : i.e. not touching at the intervening islands, as was commonly done for the sake of security and comfort ; so also c. 33. 4 ; 69. 2 ; vi. 13. 12, and, in the same sense, πελάγαι πλέουσai, viii. 39. 16 ; 60. 12. Cf. Hom. γ 174 πέλαγος μέσον τέμνειν. — αὐτοῖς ἔπρασσον, ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἦξει : Cl., who understands αὐτοῖς of the Lacedaemonians, explains αὐτοῖς ἔπρασσον, negotiated with them, comparing iv. 106. 11 ; 110. 8 ; v. 76. 15 ; viii. 5. 22. But it seems better, with the other editors, to understand αὐτοῖς of the Lesbians, and, with Kr. and Bm., to render here, and in all the passages cited,



5 ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἦξει · οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πρέσβεις 1  
 ὥς οὐδὲν ἦλθον πράξαντες, ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο οἱ  
 Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης · οὔτοι  
 δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν, καὶ Ἴμβριοι καὶ  
 5 Λήμνιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγοι τινὲς ξυμμάχων. καὶ 2  
 ἔξοδον μὲν τινα πανδημεὶ ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι  
 ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ μάχη ἐγένετο, ἐν  
 ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι οὔτε ἐπηυλί-  
 σαντο οὔτε ἐπίστευσαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν. 3

*negotiated* (or worked) *for them*. Cf. Dem. ix. 59 ἐπραττε Φιλίππῳ, *worked for Philip*, Plut. Alc. 24 πραττόντων Βοιωτῶν Λεσβίοις. Moreover, in three passages where it is beyond doubt that Thuc. meant *negotiate with*, the phrase is πράσσειν πρὸς τινα, c. 28. 10; i. 131. 6; ii. 5. 32. St., though referring αὐτοῖς to the Lesbians, makes it depend on ἦξει. Cf. c. 5. 12, and for dat. with such verbs see on i. 13. 12.

5. *Hostilities are resumed, but after an unsuccessful sortie the Mytileneans retire and await help from the Peloponnesian alliance.*

1. οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν: prolepsis, as in i. 8. 8; iv. 16. 17, and frequently. G. 1225, 1; H. 788 a; Kr. Spr. 50, 8, 10; Kühn. 448 a. — 2. οὐδὲν πράξαντες: = ἀπρακτοί. Cf. iv. 97. 8; viii. 91. 2. — ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο: the expression is somewhat peculiar, since hostilities had already occurred between the Mytileneans and the Athenians (c. 4. 3). — 3. ἡ ἄλλη Λέσβος: see on c. 2. 2. — οὔτοι: refers κατὰ ξύνεσιν to Μηθύμνης. Cf. c. 2. 2 Λέσβος . . . βουλευθέντες. — 4. Ἴμβριοι καὶ Λήμνιοι: Attic cleruchs, often mentioned together as tried allies,

iv. 28. 18; v. 8. 7. Lemnos had been occupied by Miltiades (Hdt. vi. 140); Imbros prob. about the same time. — 5. **ΤΙΝΕΣ**: in Attic allowed between the art. and subst. of the dependent gen. only when another modifier follows the article. Kr. Spr. 47, 9, 20. The reference is prob. to the Tenedians. W. Herbst, p. 24.

7. ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον: *i.e.* against the camp which the Athenians had established as a ναύσταθμον, a station on land (see on c. 6. 11), near their fleet. The ἔξοδος, which the Mytileneans made πανδημεὶ, as well as ἐπηυλίσαντο, is to be understood of an expedition by land, and the μάχη as a πεζομαχία. — 8. οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες: *not being worsted*. See on i. 105. 23. Cf. Xen. Anab. i. 10. 8 μείον ἔχων. The pres. partic., as with νικᾶν (i. 13. 31), of enduring results. — ἐπηυλίσαντο: “held the field,” as in iv. 134. 9. Schol. πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων νυκτὸς αὐλίσασθαι. This single exhibition of confidence is co-ord. with the whole (οὔτε ἐπίστευσαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς); or, perhaps better, the effect (ἐπηυλίσαντο) is co-ord. with the cause (οὔτε ἐπίστευσαν κτέ.).

10 ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡσύχαζον, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ μετ' ἄλλης  
 παρασκευῆς βουλόμενοι εἰ προσγένοιτό τι κινδυνεύειν (καὶ 4  
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς Μελέας Λάκων ἀφικνέεται καὶ Ἑρμαιώνδας  
 Θηβαῖος, οἳ προαπεστάλησαν μὲν τῆς ἀποστάσεως, φθάσαι  
 δὲ οὐ δυνάμενοι τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπίπλουν κρύφα μετὰ  
 15 τὴν μάχην ὕστερον ἐσπλέουσι τριήρει, καὶ παρήνουν  
 πέμπειν τριήρη ἄλλην καὶ πρέσβεις μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ  
 6 ἐκπέμπουσιν). οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πολὺ ἐπιρρωσθέντες διὰ τὴν 1  
 τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἡσυχίαν ξυμμάχους τε προσεκάλουν,  
 οἱ πολὺ θᾶσσον παρήσαν ὁρῶντες οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 Λεσβίων, καὶ περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως

10. ἔπειτα : *from this time on*. Placed emphatically at the beginning of the whole following narration, it includes the events of the next chapter, the explanatory sent. ll. 12–17, καὶ γὰρ . . . ἐκπέμπουσιν, being parenthetical. — ἐκ Πελοποννήσου . . . εἰ προσγένοιτό τι κινδυνεύειν : const. εἰ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου προσγένοιτό τι, καὶ μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς, (εἰ προσγένοιτό τι,) βουλόμενοι κινδυνεύειν. Goeller. Thucydides's propensity to put pred. modifiers before the conj. leads to an irregularity in the construction. Cl. thinks from what follows that Theban help is meant in μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς, but Steup objects that Boeotia was at that time only a land power (*cf.* i. 27. 14 ; ii. 9. 11).

12. αὐτοῖς ἀφικνέεται : for the terminal dat., rare in prose after simple verbs, see on Σαμίους ἦλθε, i. 13. 12. Kühn. 423, 5. — 14. ἐπίπλουν : *i.e.* the 40 ships mentioned c. 3. 10, 25 ; 4. 1. The whole passage clearly shows that Thucydides dates the revolt of the Mytileneans from their refusal of the

demands of the Athenians (c. 4. § 1).

— μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὕστερον : for the pleonasm, *cf.* i. 3. 2 πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πρότερον, v. 24. 9 μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. — 15. τριήρη ἄλλην : *i.e.* besides the one dispatched c. 4. 16, doubtless in order to announce the increased danger. — 16. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν : *sc.* οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι, with change of subj. in paratactic narration. *Cf.* c. 50. 13.

6. *The Athenians prepare to invest the city.*

1. ἐπιρρωσθέντες : *cf.* iv. 36. 12 ; vi. 93. 4 ; vii. 2. 9 ; 7. 15 ; 17. 10 ; viii. 89. 8 ; 106. 21. — 3. παρήσαν : = παρεγένοντο. See on c. 3. 19. — οὐδὲν ἰσχυρόν : the adj. with subst. force, “no energetic effort.” *Cf.* οὐδὲν ἀληθές, v. 45. 12 ; βίαιον οὐδέν, vi. 54. 16 ; τι αἰσχροῦν, iv. 27. 11 ; viii. 9. 14. — 4. περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως : *after they had come around to anchor south of the city*. But since a part of the fleet must have continued at anchor north of the city (*cf.* c. 4. 18), καί, *also*, was to be ex-



- 5 ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐφόρμους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐποιοῦντο.  
 καὶ τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἶργον μὴ χρῆσθαι τοὺς Μυτιλη- 2  
 ναίους, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐκράτουν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι  
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λέσβιοι προσβεβοηθηκότες ἤδη, τὸ δὲ περὶ  
 10 τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ναύσταθ-  
 μον δὲ μᾶλλον ἦν αὐτοῖς πλοίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἢ Μαλέα.
- 7 Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Μυτιλήνην οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο · κατὰ 1  
 δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ θέρους τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ περὶ  
 Πελοπόννησον ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν τριάκοντα καὶ Ἀσώπιον  
 τὸν Φορμίωνος στρατηγόν, κελευσάντων Ἀκαρνάνων τῶν

pected, after *περιορμισάμενοι*. See App.  
 —5. ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως : see App.  
 —6. τοὺς ἐφόρμους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς  
 λιμέσιν ἐποιοῦντο : the two harbours  
 which Strabo (xiii. 2. 2) describes,  
 were formed, somewhat like the two  
 Syracusan harbours, by an island ly-  
 ing in front of the city. ἐπί, which  
 is wanting with ἐφορμεῖν in vii. 3. 21,  
 is repeated, for the sake of clearness,  
 with ἐφόρμους ἐποιοῦντο.

7. τῆς μὲν θαλάσσης εἶργον μὴ  
 χρῆσθαι : unusual limiting inf. after  
 τῆς θαλάσσης εἶργειν (see on i. 141. 16) ;  
 or perhaps the natural obj. of the  
 inf. is construed proleptically with  
 εἶργον (Kr. Spr. 61, 6, 8 ; Kühn. 600,  
 3 β). For μὴ with inf. after verbs of  
 hindering, see GMT. 807 ; H. 1029.  
 —9. οἱ ἄλλοι Λέσβιοι : i.e. from the  
 cities allied with Mytilene. Cf. c. 5.  
 3, and see on c. 2. 2. —10. ναύσταθ-  
 μον : here and vi. 49. 18, the base of  
 operations, where material for the  
 ships, as well as provisions for the  
 crews, was kept. In this general  
 sense of *station* it may properly take

both gens., πλοίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς, after it.

—11. μᾶλλον : sc. than the southern  
 camp. The station first occupied at  
 Malea was the more important of  
 the two. See on c. 4. 15. —12. τὰ  
 μὲν περὶ Μυτιλήνην : most naturally  
 construed as nom., as in iv. 23. 9.  
 Cf. Xen. Anab. iv. 4. 1 ὅσα ἐπολε-  
 μήθη. This const. is rendered more  
 prob. by the analogy of similar con-  
 cluding formulae : c. 51. 1 ; 68. 39 ;  
 114. 24 ; ii. 54. 20 ; iv. 41. 17 ; vii.  
 30. 19 ; 87. 27. Kr. construes as acc.,  
 as in ii. 96. 17 ; iv. 108. 8 ; v. 52. 5.

7. Asopius sent around Pelopon-  
 nesus with 30 Attic ships, 12 of which  
 go on to Naupactus. Unsuccessful  
 attack upon Oeniadae and Leucas,  
 and death of Asopius.

2. καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον : as be-  
 fore to Lesbos. On the reading *περὶ*  
 see App. —4. τῶν Φορμίωνος : of the  
 kindred of Phormio. Kr. Spr. 47, 5, 2.  
 Cf. ii. 34. 5 τῷ αὐτοῦ. ἡ υἱὸν ἢ ξυγ-  
 γενῇ is epexegetical apposition. Phor-  
 mio himself, whose close relations  
 with the Acarnanians dated from his

5 Φορμίωνός τινα σφίσι πέμψαι, ἣ υἱὸν ἣ ξυγγενῇ, ἄρχοντα.  
καὶ παραπλεύουσai αἱ νῆες τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια 2  
χωρία ἐπόρθησαν. ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν πλείους ἀποπέμπει 3  
τῶν νεῶν πάλιν ἐπ' οἴκου ὁ Ἀσώπιος, αὐτὸς δ' ἔχων  
δώδεκα ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ναύπακτον. καὶ ὕστερον Ἀκαρνᾶ- 4  
10 νας ἀναστήσας πανδημεὶ στρατεύει ἐπ' Οἰνιάδας, καὶ ταῖς  
τε ναυσὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῶον ἔπλευσε καὶ ὁ κατὰ γῆν  
στρατὸς ἐδήου τὴν χώραν. ὥς δ' οὐ προσεχώρουν, τὸν 5  
μὲν πεζὸν ἀφίησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας ἐς Λευκάδα καὶ  
ἀπόβασιν ἐς Νήρικον ποιησάμενος ἀναχωρῶν διαφθείρεται  
15 αὐτὸς τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τι μέρος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτόθεν τε  
ξυμβοηθησάντων καὶ φρουρῶν τινων ὀλίγων. καὶ ὕστερον 6  
ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀποπλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
παρὰ τῶν Λευκαδίων ἐκομίσαντο.

8 Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νεῶς ἐκπεμφθέντες Μυτιληναίων 1  
πρέσβεις, ὥς αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἶπον Ὀλυμπίαζε

command in Naupactus (ii. 69. § 1 ; 81. § 1 ; 102. § 1), seems to have died soon after his return to Athens (ii. 103). — But see Müller-Strübing, *Aristoph. u. d. hist. Kritik*, p. 677 ff.

6. παραπλεύουσai . . . ἐπόρθησαν : cf. c. 91. 20. *παραπλεῖν*, sail along the coast, as in c. 32. 1 ; 33. 9 ; 34. 1 ; 95. 10 ; 112. 26.

10. ἀναστήσας : of levying troops, as in ii. 68. 3 ; 96. 1 ; iv. 77. 11 ; 90. 2. — ἐπ' Οἰνιάδας : sc. to carry out during the summer the undertaking which his father had been unable to accomplish the preceding winter. Cf. ii. 102. § 2. — 11. κατὰ τὸν Ἀχελῶον : along the Achelous. *κατά*, on, along, as in iv. 25. 29. — ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατός : refers, as τὸν πεζόν (13), to the Acarnanian troops.

14. Νήρικον : the same form also in Hom. *ω* 377 ; in Strabo x. 2. 8 the Mss. vary between *Νήρικος* and *Νήριτος*. — 15. τῶν αὐτόθεν : as in ii. 25. 18 ; iv. 29. 10 ; vi. 25. 13 ; vii. 34. 9. — 16. φρουρῶν : as opp. to τῶν αὐτόθεν *ξυμβοηθησάντων* these must be foreigners, possibly Corinthians, as in iv. 42. 17. Cf. c. 94. 4.

καὶ ὕστερον κτέ. : i.e. they re-embarked and sailed off, then sent back a herald to ask for their dead, as in iv. 44. § 6. — 18. ἐκομίσαντο : used esp. of the recovery of prisoners and the corpses of the slain. See on i. 113. 14.

8. *Ambassadors of the Mytileneans present their cause in an assembly of the Peloponnesian allies at Olympia.*

1. ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης νεῶς : cf. c. 4. 16 and 5. 16. — 2. εἶπον : = *ἐκέλευσαν*,



παρεῖναι, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ἀκούσαντες βουλευ-  
σονται, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν (ἣν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάς  
5 ἦ Δωριεὺς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα), καὶ ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὴν  
ἐορτὴν κατέστησαν ἐς λόγους, εἶπον τοιάδε.

9 “Τὸ μὲν καθεστὼς τοῖς Ἑλλησι νόμιμον, ὧ ἄνδρες 1  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἴσμεν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀφιστα-  
μένους ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ξυμμαχίαν τὴν πρὶν ἀπολεί-

as in c. 3. 16. See on i. 78. 10. — Ὀλυμπίαζε παρεῖναι: cf. ii. 34. 11; Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 2 παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. Kühn. 447, n. 4. — 3. οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι: i.e. the rest of the members of the Peloponnesian alliance. Cf. v. 62. 7, and see Steup on Thucydides's freq. use of ξύμμαχοι to indicate members of a confederation or coalition, *Rh. Mus.* xxxv. p. 323. — 4. ἣν δὲ . . . ἐνίκα: explanatory clause inserted parenthetically. The date was Olympiad 88, B.C. 428. — 5. Δωριεὺς: son of Diagoras, victor three times in succession at Olympia (Paus. vi. 7. 1), as well as in numerous other contests (Paus. vi. 7. 4). He fought in the Deceleian war on the Spartan side (viii. 35. § 1; Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 2; Diod. xiii. 38, 43), and was captured by the Athenians, but on account of his fame as an athlete was released without ransom (Xen. *Hell.* i. 5. 19; Paus. vi. 7. 4, 5). See Müller, *Dorier*, iii. 148 ff. — ἐνίκα: was victor, as in v. 49. 2. For the force of the pres. and impf. of this verb, see GMT. 27; Kr. *Spr.* 53, 1, 3-4. — μετὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν: generally regarded as celebrated at the first full moon after the summer solstice. But Unger prob. rightly decides for the full moon in August, i.e. the 8th

Elean month, Apollonios = Attic Metageitnion. See *Philol.* xxxiii. p. 227 ff. and *Handbuch d. kl. Alterthumsw.* i. p. 603 f.; also Nissen, *Rh. Mus.* xl. p. 349 ff.; and A. Mommsen, *Über die Zeit der Olympien*, 1891. — 6. κατέστησαν ἐς λόγους: met in council, sc. as subj. the Peloponnesians. Cf. c. 70. 8; iv. 58. 4.

9. The unfavourable opinion usually held of allies that revolt in time of war ought not to be applied to us.

1. τὸ μὲν καθεστὼς τοῖς Ἑλλησι νόμιμον: cf. c. 56. 5 κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστῶτα. The form καθεστῶς, of the older editions, has been rightly restored by v. H., as also περιεστῶς, iv. 10. 3. For acc. to the testimony of the ancient grammarians the shorter Attic form was -εστῶς (from -αός), not -εστός. Hence the variation of the Mss. between -ῶς and -ός cannot be urged in favor of -ός in the classical period. See O. Riemann, *Bulletin de corr. hellén.* iii. p. 440 ff., *St. Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 64. Thucydides uses elsewhere the fuller form (i. 98. 9; iv. 97. 11; vii. 67. 10; viii. 66. 7, 12). — νόμιμον: custom, found only here in the sing., though common in the plur. (c. 58. 17; i. 71. 11; 77. 24, etc.). — 3. ξυμμαχίαν τὴν πρὶν: this order, by which stress is thrown on

ποντας οἱ δεξάμενοι, καθ' ὅσον μὲν ὠφελοῦνται, ἐν ἡδονῇ  
 5 ἔχουσι, νομίζοντες δὲ εἶναι προδότας τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φίλων  
 χείρους ἡγοῦνται. καὶ οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσις ἐστίν, 2  
 εἰ τύχοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἳ τε ἀφιστάμενοι καὶ ἀφ' ὧν  
 διακρίνονται ἴσοι μὲν τῇ γνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοία, ἀντί-  
 παλοι δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει, πρόφασις τε ἐπιεικῆς  
 10 μηδεμία ὑπάρχοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως· ὃ ἡμῖν καὶ Ἀθηναίοις  
 οὐκ ἦν, μηδέ τῳ χείρους δόξωμεν εἶναι, εἰ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ  
 τιμώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀφιστάμεθα.

the attribute, is common in Thuc. See on i. 1. 6. On the adv. with art. as adj., see Kühn. 461, 6. — 4. ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔχουσι: *are pleased with*, the periphrastic expression denoting enduring relation. Cf. ἐν θεραπείᾳ, i. 55. 7; ἐν ὀργῇ, ii. 21. 22; ἐν ὀρωδίᾳ, ii. 89. 3. — 6. χείρους ἡγοῦνται: *consider them worse* (sc. than they otherwise would), as in iv. 114. 13. For the omission of the second member of the comparison, see Kühn. 542, n. 7; Matth. 457; and cf. Lys. xxxii. 1. With the sentiment of the passage, cf. Liv. xxvii. 17 transfugae nomen execrabile veteribus sociis, novis suspectum. Also Tac. Ann. i. 58; Dem. xviii. 47.

καὶ οὐκ . . . ἐστίν, εἰ τύχοιεν: the apod., vividly introduced by καὶ (*and indeed*), has the indic., while the prot., as if stating a purely hypothetical case (*provided etc.*), takes the opt. GMT. 501; Matth. 524, n. 3. — αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσις: *this estimate*. ἡ δόξα, ἡ κρίσις, ὁ λογισμός, Schol. Cf. Plut. Per. 28 οὐκ ἦν ἄδικος ἡ ἀξίωσις. — 7. ἀφ' ὧν διακρίνονται: for rel. clause with omitted antec. standing for subst., see Kr. Spr. 51, 13, 5. For the opt. by

assimilation, see GMT. 558; H. 919 a.

— 8. ἴσοι μὲν τῇ γνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοία: *i.e.* having the same political views and being equally well-disposed toward each other. On Thuc.'s use of γνώμη, see Introd. to Book I. p. 32. — ἀντίπαλοι: *isoσθενεῖς*, ἴσοι, Schol. In this sense common in Thuc. and Dio C., rare in other authors. (Bl.) Cf. Eur. I. T. 446 ποινὰς δοῦσ' ἀντιπάλους, Alc. 922 ὑμεναίων γόος ἀντίπαλος. — 9. πρόφασις: *excuse*. See on i. 23. 23. — τε: the 'postscript τε' introduces the third member, as in i. 2. 6 and freq. — ἐπιεικῆς: *reasonable, equitable*. Cf. c. 4. 9. Bl. compares Dion. H. Antiq. 595, 28 ἐπιεικεῖς αἰτίας, Polyb. iii. 91. 7 ἐπιεικῇ ἀπόφασιν. — 10. ὃ: refers to the three preceding clauses (ἴσοι μὲν . . . ἀποστάσεως). See on i. 35. 15. Its influence extends to the following clause, μηδέ τῳ . . . ἀφιστάμεθα. — 11. εἰ . . . ἀφιστάμεθα: the actual case is put in cond. form, as in c. 32. 6; 43. 19. μηδέ τῳ χείρους δόξωμεν εἶναι is about=μηδέ τις μεμφθῇ ἡμῖν (cf. iv. 85. 7), and so εἰ has the force of ὅτι. GMT. 494, 496; H. 926. — 12. τιμώμενοι: *treated with honour, favoured*, esp. in point of autonomy.



10 “Περὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς πρῶτον, ἄλλως τε 1  
καὶ ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι, τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα, εἰδότες  
οὔτε φιλίαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινωνίαν  
πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ’ ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους  
5 γίγνουντο καὶ τᾶλλα ὁμοιότροποι εἶεν · ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλ-

*Cf.* c. 39. 9, 28 ; 56. 21. — ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς : *in the hour of danger.* *Cf.* i. 70. 10 ; 84. 8, and see on ii. 87. 18.

10. *For our alliance with Athens, which rested on the common defence against the Medes, long ago lost the necessary basis of confidence, seeing that the Athenians have reduced the allied cities one after another to subjection.*

1. περὶ γὰρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ἀρετῆς : “concerning the justice of our cause and the honesty of our intentions.” περὶ τοῦ δικαίως αὐτῶν ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ μὴ διὰ κακίαν τε καὶ πανουργίαν, Schol. ‘τὸ δίκαιον corresponds to πρόφασις ἐπιεικῆς above, ἀρετῆς refers to χείρους.’ St. The force of the art. extends to ἀρετῆς. Kühn. 451, 1 ; 463, 2. The whole phrase includes everything that is demanded not only by the strict letter of the law, but also by considerations of equity and morality. (On ἀρετή, *magnanimity*, fair or generous dealing, see *Introd. to Book I.* p. 36.) The reference is, however, not merely to the present revolt of the Mytileneans from the Athenians, but to their whole mutual relation, which is to be the basis of the judgment concerning the Mytileneans for the future. They base their request for admission to the Peloponnesian alliance on grounds, first, of worthiness, showing that for the best reasons and

as soon as possible they had revolted from the Athenians (c. 10 to c. 13. § 2), second, of expediency and advantage to the Lacedaemonians (c. 13. § 3–6).

The two main ideas are summed up c. 13. 14 ἵνα φαίνησθε . . . βλάπτοντες.

— 2. εἰδότες οὔτε . . . γίγνουντο καὶ τᾶλλα ὁμοιότροποι εἶεν : Cl. and Steup understand ἰδιῶται καὶ πόλεις as subj. of γίγνουντο, which is taken to mean, *bear themselves* (‘sich benehmen, verhalten’; see on i. 37. 12). The sense would then be : “Friendship between individuals and alliance between states cannot last, unless they bear themselves toward one another with a mutual recognition of honesty of purpose and are in other respects like in character.” But see App. —

4. ἐς οὐδέν : *in any respect.* *Cf.* vii. 59. 10 ; 87. 23. — μετ’ ἀρετῆς δοκούσης :

= μετὰ δοκῆσεως τῆς ἀρετῆς, and δοκούσης signifies not appearance, but well grounded belief. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν προσποιητὴν λέγει, Schol. — 5. ὁμοιότροποι : nearly equiv. to ἴσοι τῇ γνώμῃ. Also i. 6. 24 ; vii. 55. 6 ; viii. 96. 27. The adv. occurs vi. 20. 12. *Cf.* Hdt. viii. 144. 16 ἥθεα ὁμότροπα. — ἐν γὰρ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης . . . καθίστανται : *for on divergence of sentiment rests diversity of action.* Bl. cites an imitation of the passage in Procop. *Bell. Vand.* 145, 32 τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης. διαλλάσσειν is

λάσσουντι τῆς γνώμης καὶ αἱ διαφοραὶ τῶν ἔργων καθίστανται. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον 2 ἀπολιπόντων μὲν ὑμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, παραμεινάντων δὲ ἐκείνων πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων. 10 ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν 3 Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἑλλησι. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγούντο, προ- 4

intr., as in Hdt. vii. 70. 4. The use of neut. partic. or adj. for abstract noun is a favourite one with Thucydides. It presents to the mind the abstract quality in operation. GMT. 829 a; H. 966 b; Kühn. 403 a, γ.

7. δέ: now, effects the transition to the special case. Cf. i. 32. 7; 121. 1; ii. 64. 28. — Ἀθηναίοις ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον: from what follows it is clear that the reference is to the beginning of the closer connexion of the Lesbians with Athens, i.e. the rise of the Delian confederation (i. 95). The orator represents Sparta's withdrawal from the Median war as preceding, not following, the formation of that alliance, in order not only to put the conduct of his state toward Sparta in a favourable light, but also to avoid touching the latter in a sensitive spot. Cf. i. 75. § 2, and see Steup, *Rh. Mus.* xxxv. p. 330 f. — 8. ἀπολιπόντων ἐκ: this rare const. occurs also v. 4. 11 ἀπολιπόντες ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν. Kühn. 447 c.; Matth. 495, 1. — 9. τὰ ὑπόλοιπα: what yet remained, with τῶν ἔργων, as i. 75. 5, with τοῦ βαρβάρου.

10. ξύμμαχοι μέντοι κτέ.: we became allies, not to the Athenians for the enslavement of the Greeks, but to the Greeks for their emancipation from

the Mede. The dats. Ἀθηναίοις (11) and τοῖς Ἑλλησι (12) belong grammatically to ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα, though the influence of the verbal nouns καταδουλώσει and ἐλευθερώσει on these dats., as in vi. 76. 20, is not excluded. This view, which is generally adopted, is supported by the const. in c. 13. 9, 10. But Kr. and Wilkins construe Ἀθηναίοις and τοῖς Ἑλλησι as dativi commodi with the verbal nouns alone. By οἱ Ἕλληνες are meant, both here and c. 13. 9 (cf. i. 139. 16; 140. 21), the states of the Delian confederation, whose treasurers were called Ἑλληνοταμίαι (i. 96. 6). — καταδουλώσει: occurs also vii. 66. 6; Plato *Legg.* 776 d; elsewhere prob. only in late writers. — 11. ἐλευθερώσει: in this sense, c. 39. 39; Hdt. ix. 45. 18; freedom to slaves, i. 132. 22; Arist. *Pol.* v. 11. 19; license, Plato *Rep.* 561 a. — ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου: const. after the verbal noun as after the verb in i. 95. 3; ii. 71. 10; viii. 46. 21.

12. μέχρι: while, as in c. 98. 1. Kühn. 567, 1. — ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου: on terms of equality. κατὰ τὴν ἰσονομίαν, Schol. On ἀπό in this sense, see Kühn. 430, 1, 3 h. See on i. 77. 8. — ἡγούντο: abs., maintained their hegemony, as in i. 19. 2; 77. 23. Cf. ἐξηγεῖσθαι, i. 76. 3; 95. 26. —



θύμως εἰπόμεθα · ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐωρῶμεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ  
 Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων δούλωσιν  
 15 ἐπειγομένους, οὐκ ἀδεεῖς ἔτι ἦμεν. ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες καθ' 5  
 ἓν γενόμενοι διὰ πολυψηφίαν ἀμύνεσθαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐδου-  
 λώθησαν πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Χίων · ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτόνομοι δὴ 6  
 ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνεστρατεύσαμεν. καὶ  
 πιστοὺς οὐκέτι εἶχομεν ἡγεμόνας Ἀθηναίους, παραδείγ-  
 20 μασι τοῖς προγεγενημένοις χρώμενοι · οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν

14. δούλωσιν : a Thucydidean noun, found also i. 141. 6 ; Plato *Legg.* 791 d. — 15. ἐπειγομένους : *urging on*, Ross's and Bk.'s conjecture, for the vulgate ἐπαγομένους, seems to be required to contrast with ἀνιέντας, and has been adopted by St. and Cl. Cf. Va. tendentes ad. It is trans. also in c. 2. 14 ; iv. 5. 9 ; vi. 100. 5 ; viii. 9. 2 ; 82. 9. See App.

ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὄντες . . . ἀμύνεσθαι : *and disabled by diversity of opinion from combining and defending themselves*. Although in the development of the thought the subj. is divided into ξύμμαχοι πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ Χίων and ἡμεῖς, the undivided subj. is to be understood with ἀδύνατοι ὄντες at the beginning. διὰ πολυψηφίαν belongs to ἀδύνατοι ὄντες, καθ' ἓν γενόμενοι to ἀμύνεσθαι. πολυψηφία is *diversity of opinion* naturally arising from the fact that so many had the right to vote. The disadvantages of the ἰσοψηφία of the Peloponnesian alliance, which resulted in πολυψηφία, are set forth in i. 141. § 6, 7. The word is not found elsewhere.

17. δὴ : *scilicet*, intimates what is expressed in τῷ ὀνόματι. The ironical force occurs as early as Homer

(A 110). Cf. iv. 46. 18, 20 ; 67. 17 ; vi. 10. 23 ; 54. 18 ; and δῆθεν, i. 92. 3 ; 127. 2. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 17, 2 ; Kühn. 500, 3. — 19. πιστούς : *to be trusted*. Cf. c. 92. 7. — παραδείγμασι τοῖς προγεγενημένοις χρώμενοι : since the παραδείγματα must have been facts already accomplished, Weidner's conjecture of the pf. for the pres. (προγεγενημένοις for προγιγνομένοις) is necessary here, as well as in i. 23. 25. See *Parerga Dinarch. et Thuc.*, 1875, p. 22. Cf. Procop. *B. V.* i. 10 παραδείγμασι δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων χρωμένους — 20. οὐ γὰρ κτέ. : *for it was not likely that they after subduing those whom they had made sharers in the treaty with us would not have done the same to us who were left, if ever they had been able*. So Bm. correctly explains. δρᾶσαι, as well as καταστρέφασθαι, refers to the past ; hence Dobree's conjecture δυνηθείεν, Kr.'s δυνηθείσαν, are unnecessary. The arrangement is paratactic, though the first clause is in sense subord., as in i. 28. 15 ; 35. 4. On this form of apod. in unreal cond. (οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο), see GMT. 420, 421 ; Kr. *Spr.* 53, 2, 7 ; Kühn. 392 b, 4. Cf. c. 40. 26 ; 74. 11 ; vi. 78. 22.

αὐτοὺς οὐς μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνσπόνδους ἐποιήσαντο καταστρέφασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἐδυνήθησαν, μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο.

- 11 “Καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτόνομοι ἔτι ἦμεν ἅπαντες, βεβαιότεροι 1  
 ἂν ἡμῖν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτεριεῖν· ὑποχειρίους δὲ ἔχοντες  
 τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὀμιλοῦντες, χαλεπώ-  
 τερον εἰκότως ἔμελλον οἴσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἤδη  
 5 εἶκον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔτι μόνου ἀντισουμένου, ἄλλως τε  
 καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 ἐρημότεροι· τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμ-

11. *And that our autonomy has hitherto been spared by their lust for power we owe alone to a regard for their own interests, which would, however, not have protected us much longer.*

1. καὶ εἰ μὲν . . . ἂν ἐπελθεῖν ἀπο-  
 τρέπεται : the second ground of the untenableness of the federal relation : the growing strength of the Athenians and the increasing isolation of the Mytileneans. — βεβαιότεροι : pers. const., like δίκαιος in i. 40. 13. GMT. 762 ; H. 944 ; Kühn. 477 d. — 2. νεωτεριεῖν : used to express any innovation in established order, esp. harsh and violent changes. Cf. Lat. res novae. Cf. c. 4. 15 ; i. 58. 3 ; ii. 3. 6 ; iv. 51. 3. — 3. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου : see on c. 10. 12. — 4. ἔμελλον οἴσιν : Thuc. uses the fut. inf. with μέλλειν far oftener than the present. See on i. 107. 13. The obj. of οἴσιν is to be supplied from ἡμῖν . . . ὀμιλοῦντες. — καὶ πρὸς . . . ἀντισουμένου : these words, which are closely connected, give the explanation of χαλεπώτερον ἔμελλον οἴσιν. While ὑποχειρίους . . . ὀμιλοῦντες states the actual relation from the side of

the Athenians, what follows expresses this from the side of the Mytileneans, but from the standpoint of the Athenians. Render : “because our state alone, even though the majority had already yielded, still maintained its equality.” See App. καί, which belongs esp. to πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἤδη εἶκον, emphasizes the audacity of the Lesbians in the eyes of the Athenians. πρὸς, as against, as in i. 6. 15 ; ii. 91. 18. τοῦ ἡμετέρου is neuter. ἀντισόμαι is not found elsewhere except in late writers. See Steph. Thes. s.v. — 6. δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν : more powerful than they were before. The comp. with gen. of reflex. pron. measures progress by change in the subj. itself. Cf. i. 8. 13 ; vi. 72. 22 ; vii. 66. 14. The const. is freq. in Hdt. H. 644 ; Kühn. 543, 6. — 7. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν : this clause, containing the second ground of the untenableness of the alliance, is closely connected with the preceding (δέ = γάρ), “for fear based on equal power is alone to be relied on



μαχίαν· ὁ γὰρ παραβαίνειν τι βουλόμενος τῷ μὴ προ-  
 έχων ἂν ἐπελθεῖν ἀποτρέπεται. αὐτόνόμοί τε ἐλείφθημεν 2  
 10 οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι ἢ ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐπρεπεία τε  
 λόγου καὶ γνώμης μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος τὰ πράγματα  
 ἐφαίνετο καταληπτά. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ 3  
 ἂν τοὺς γε ἰσοψήφους ἄκοντας, εἰ μὴ τι ἡδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆ-

in the case of an alliance." Cf. iv. 92. 14 πρὸς τε γὰρ τοὺς ἀστυγέιτονας πασι τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καθίσταται, Tac. Germ. 1 Germania a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu separatur. But Steup gives strong reasons for bracketing δέος. See App.—8. τῷ μὴ . . . ἀποτρέπεται: the chief stress is on προέχων, "is deterred only by the consideration that he would make the attack not with superior force," i.e. not with prospect of success.

9. τε: introducing *third* reason (see on c. 9. 10), which covers the remainder of the chapter; viz. that only regard for appearances and for present advantage kept the Athenians from being more aggressive.—10. ὅσον: quatenus, equiv. to καθ' ὅσον, c. 9. 4; vi. 54. 25; 82. 11. ὅσον instead of ὅτι, in order to restrict the motive to the narrowest limits, to concede as little as possible to good intentions.—ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . καταληπτά: "it was clear to them that to extend their dominion they could get control of affairs by fair words and by an assault of policy rather than by force." The main object of the Athenians, ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν, ad imperium quaerendum, is emphasized by its position, separated as it is from τὰ πράγματα ἐφαίνετο

καταληπτά (cf. c. 30. 11), of which it expresses the motive. But see App. εὐπρεπεία λόγου is explained by the following ἅμα μὲν . . . ξυστρατεύειν, and γνώμης μᾶλλον ἐφόδῳ ἢ ἰσχύος first and esp. by ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ . . . ἐχειρώσαντο, to which then two further reasons are added (19 and 21).—11. τὰ πράγματα . . . καταληπτά: here of securing predominance (cf. Hdt. vi. 39. 4); c. 30. 11, of conquering in battle. Cf. iv. 2. 13 κατασχέσειν ῥᾶδίως τὰ πράγματα, c. 62. 11; 72. 3 ἔχειν τὰ πράγματα, c. 28. 1 οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι, i. 89. 2 ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, vii. 49. 3 τὸ βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γίγνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα.

12. ἅμα μὲν: the correlative is ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέ (14), as in iv. 73. 10.—μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἂν . . . ξυστρατεύειν: the inf. clause is the obj. of ἐχρῶντο, "they used as a proof (of the propriety of their course) that those at least who had equal votes with them would be unwilling to join in their expeditions, unless those whom they went against were guilty of some wrong." The condensed statement is about equiv. to ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο, μὴ ἂν τοῖς γε ἰσοψήφους, εἰ μὴ τι ἡδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆεσαν, ξυστρατεύειν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄκοντάς γε ξυστρατεύειν, ἰσοψήφους ὄντας. (Goeller.) See App.—13. ἰσοψήφους:

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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### COLLEGE SERIES OF GREEK AUTHORS.

abs. = absolute, absolutely.	def. = definite.
acc. = accusative.	dem. = demonstrative.
acc. to = according to,	dep. = deponent.
act. = active, actively.	dim. = diminutive.
adj. = adjective, adjectively.	dir. = direct.
adv. = adverb, adverbial, adverbially.	disc. = discourse.
Aeol. = Aeolic.	Dor. = Doric.
antec. = antecedent.	edit. = edition, editor.
aor. = aorist.	editt. = editions, editors.
apod. = apodosis.	<i>e.g.</i> = <i>for example</i> .
App. = Appendix.	encl. = enclitic.
appos. = apposition, appositive.	Eng. = English.
art. = article.	Ep. = Epic.
Att. = Attic.	epith. = epithet.
attrib. = attributive.	equiv. = equivalent.
aug. = augment.	esp. = especial, especially.
c., cc. = chapter, chapters (when numerals follow).	<i>etc.</i> = <i>and so forth</i> .
<i>cf.</i> = <i>confer</i> (in referring to a parallel passage).	excl. = exclamation.
chap. = chapter.	f., ff. = following (after numerical statements).
comp. = comparative.	fem. = feminine.
cond. = condition, conditional.	<i>fin.</i> = <i>sub fine</i> .
conj. = conjunction.	freq. = frequently.
const. = construe, construction.	fut. = future.
contr. = contraction, contracted.	G. = Goodwin's <i>Greek Grammar</i> .
co-ord. = co-ordinate.	gen. = genitive.
dat. = dative.	GMT. = Goodwin's <i>Moods and Tenses</i> .
decl. = declension.	H. = Hadley's <i>Greek Grammar</i> .
	hist. pres. = historical present.



*ibid.* = in the same place.

*id.* = the same.

*i.e.* = that is.

*impers.* = impersonal, impersonally.

*impf.* = imperfect.

*imv.* = imperative.

*in.* = *ad initium*.

*indef.* = indefinite.

*indic.* = indicative.

*indir.* = indirect.

*inf.* = infinitive.

*interr.* = interrogative, interrogatively.

*intr.* = intransitive, intransitively.

*Introd.* = Introduction.

*Ion.* = Ionic.

*Kr. Spr.* = Krüger's *Sprachlehre, Erster Theil*.

*Kr. Dial.* = Krüger's *Sprachlehre, Zweiter Theil*.

*κτέ.* = *καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς*.

*κτλ.* = *καὶ τὰ λοιπά*.

*Kühn.* = Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik*.

*Lat.* = Latin.

*L. & S.* = Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*.

*l.c.* = *loco citato*.

*lit.* = literal, literally.

*masc.* = masculine.

*mid.* = middle.

*Ms., Mss.* = manuscript, manuscripts.

*n.* = note.

*neg.* = negative.

*neut.* = neuter.

*nom.* = nominative.

*obj.* = object.

*obs.* = observe, observation.

*opp. to* = opposed to.

*opt.* = optative.

*p., pp.* = page, pages.

*part. gen.* = partitive genitive.

*partic.* = participle.

*pass.* = passive, passively.

*pers.* = person, personal, personally.

*pf.* = perfect.

*pl.* = plural.

*plpf.* = pluperfect.

*pred.* = predicate.

*prep.* = preposition.

*pres.* = present.

*priv.* = privative.

*prob.* = probable, probably.

*pron.* = pronoun.

*prop.* = proper, properly.

*prot.* = protasis.

*quot.* = quoted, quotation.

*q.v.* = *which see*.

*refl.* = reflexive, reflexively.

*rel.* = relative, relatively.

*Rem.* = remark.

*S.* = Schmidt's *Rhythmic and Metric*.

*sc.* = *scilicet*.

*Schol.* = scholiast.

*sent.* = sentence.

*sing.* = singular.

*subj.* = subject.

*subjv.* = subjunctive.

*subord.* = subordinate.

*subst.* = substantive, substantively.

*sup.* = superlative.

*s.v.* = *sub voce*.

*trans.* = transitive, transitively.

*viz.* = namely.

*v.l.* = *varia lectio*.

*voc.* = vocative.

§, §§ = section, sections.

Plurals are formed generally by adding *s*.

Generally small Roman numerals (lower-case letters) are used in referring to the books of an author; but A, B, Γ, etc. in referring to the books of the Iliad; and α, β, γ, etc. in referring to the books of the Odyssey.

In abbreviating the names of Greek authors and of their works, Liddell and Scott's List is generally followed.

εσαν, ξυστρατεύειν· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἐπὶ τε  
 15 τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους πρώτους ξυνεπῆγον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα  
 λιπόντες τοῦ ἄλλου περιηρημένου ἀσθενέστερα ἔμελλον  
 ἔξειν· εἰ δὲ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἤρξαντο, ἐχόντων ἔτι τῶν πάντων  
 αὐτῶν τε ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς ὃ τι χρὴ στήναι, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως  
 ἐχειρώσαντο. τό τε ναυτικὸν ἡμῶν παρείχε τινα φόβον 4  
 20 μὴ ποτε καθ' ἐν γενόμενον ἢ ὑμῖν ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ προσθέμενον

'It seems to be rhetorical exaggeration that the Lesbians, αὐτόνομοι and (though after the revolt only the Methymneans) ναυσὶ καὶ οὐ φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι (vii. 57. 22), call themselves ἰσοψήφους, mindful to be sure of the right and of the ancient statute, long ago abolished by the Athenians, acc. to which the allies consulted ἀπὸ κοινῶν ξυνόδων. Cf. i. 97. § 1.' St. — 14. ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέ: on the position of δέ, to emphasize τῷ αὐτῷ, see Kühn. 528, 1. — καὶ τὰ κράτιστα: καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους ἡμᾶς, Schol. The neut. pl. of the adj. expresses a concrete idea. Kühn. 403, n. 2. — 15. τὰ τελευταῖα: as the last, pred. to τὰ κράτιστα, as the position of τε, καὶ shows. The art., which Kr., St., and Steup strike out, L. Herbst (*Philol.*, 1860, p. 342 f.) explains as intended to sharpen the contrast with what precedes, 'as the last in the series, as it were the capstone of their work.' Cf. c. 85. 2; possibly c. 23. 15. — 16. τοῦ ἄλλου περιηρημένου: "when all else was stripped from around them," like a tree lopped of its branches. Cf. ii. 13. 38; Plato *Gorg.* 502 c; Dem. xxi. 138. τοῦ ἄλλου collective, as in c. 107. 25; i. 48. 6; iv. 96. 8; viii. 42. 7. — ἀσθενέστερα ἔξειν: a favourite turn of Thuc., often used in expressions of

change. See on i. 120. 9. — 18. αὐτῶν: *themselves*, intens., not possessive. — πρὸς ὃ τι χρὴ στήναι: *something to rally to*. Cf. iv. 56. 17 πρὸς τὴν ἐκεῖνων γνώμην αἰεὶ ἔστασαν. The usual form is μετὰ τίνος στήναι, as in c. 39. 12; i. 33. 22; vii. 57. 4; 61. 12. χρὴ with inf. is a common periphrasis for the delib. subj. in dependent clauses. Cf. c. 53. 9; i. 40. 20; 91. 4; ii. 4. 10; iv. 34. 25; vii. 44. 15. Kr. *Spr.* 54, 7, 2; Kühn. 394, n. 3. — οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως: sc. as they did with the course adopted. Cf. i. 2. 22; ii. 60. 21.

19. τό τε ναυτικὸν κτέ.: third cause of the ἔφοδος γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσχύος, namely, that the Mytileneans might not become prematurely frightened and make an alliance dangerous to Athens. — 20. μὴ ποτε καθ' ἐν γενόμενον . . . παρασχῇ: *lest perchance a union might be effected, either by joining you or some one else, which would bring danger to themselves*. καθ' ἐν γενόμενον, as in c. 10. 16. προσθέμενον, as in viii. 48. 29; 87. 25. Steup, who claims that, as the passage stands, καθ' ἐν γενόμενον can only be subord. to προσθέμενον, is inclined to bracket προσθέμενον, and explain καθ' ἐν . . . ἄλλῳ τῷ after the analogy of δι' ἀνοκωχῆς γίγνεσθαι τινι, i. 40. 16.



κίνδυνον σφίσι παρασχη. τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ θεραπείας τοῦ 5  
 τε κοινοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν αἰεὶ προεστώτων περιεγιγνόμεθα.  
 οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺ γ' ἂν ἔδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὁ 6  
 πόλεμος ὅδε κατέστη, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐς  
 25 τοὺς ἄλλους.

12 “Τίς οὖν αὕτη ἢ φιλία ἐγίγνετο ἢ ἐλευθερία πιστή; 1  
 ἐν ἧ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους ὑπεδεχόμεθα, καὶ οἱ μὲν

21. τὰ δὲ καί: *partly also*, similar to τὸ δέ τι καί of i. 107. 19; 118. 12; vii. 48. 7. Kr. Spr. 50, 1, 15; Kühn. 459, 1 c. This introduces the last reason, though only as a subord. one, why the Lesbians were not deprived of their liberty. — ἀπὸ θεραπείας: *in consequence of our paying court*. ἀπό, as in i. 12. 5; 17. 4; 23. 27; 24. 10. Müller-Strübing (*Aristoph. u. d. hist. Kritik*, p. 366 ff.) rightly sees here, with the Schol., an allusion to bribery of Athenian statesmen, more clearly stated in Ar. *Vesp.* 675 ff. — 22. περιεγιγνόμεθα: *i.e.* αὐτόνομοι ἐλείφθημεν (9).

23. ἂν ἔδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι: *sc.* περιγίγνεσθαι. Kr. Spr. 55, 4, 11. ἔδοκοῦμεν, *we thought*, as in i. 126. 20; 128. 30; iv. 14. 14; vii. 41. 14. ἂν belongs to δυνηθῆναι. Kr. writes δοκοῦμεν on the ground that only with the pres. can δυνηθῆναι ἂν stand for ἐδυνήθημεν ἂν. But Steup cites viii. 2. 3 ἐπηρμένοι ἦσαν . . . νομίσαντες κὰν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἔκαστοι ἐλθεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κατῴρωσαν. For Steup's objections to the impf., see App. — 24. τοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους: *their conduct toward the rest*. Schol. τεκμήρια ἦν ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων γενόμενα.

12. The question was simply, which should anticipate hostile action on the part of the other. Considering the circumstances, we have done no wrong in revolting before the Athenians attacked us.

1. τίς οὖν αὕτη . . . πιστή: “was this then a friendship or a freedom on which one could rely?” For the position of the subj. αὕτη after the interr. (G. 1602; H. 1012 a), after the analogy of const. with the sup., see on i. 1. 8. ἐγίγνετο, not ἦν, to indicate the growing mistrust. πιστή belongs to φιλία as well as ἐλευθερία. Dindorf's conjecture ἢ φιλία for vulg. ἡ φιλία has the support of the Cod. Clarend., and has been generally adopted. Bl., however, thinks the vulg. makes good sense, ‘supposing that the words φιλία and ἐλευθερία, though written *once*, are to be taken *twice*, thus: “What sort of friendship, then, was this friendship of ours? What assured or secure liberty was this liberty of ours?”’ — 2. ἐν ἧ . . . ἔμελλον: description of the form their relation to Athens had at last taken. — παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους ὑπεδεχόμεθα: *we received one another contrary to our real feelings*. παρὰ γνώμην, *praeter animi*

ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδιότες ἐθεράπευον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκείνους  
ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποιοῦμεν· ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μά-  
5 λιστα εὖνοια [πίστιν] βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν  
παρεῖχε, δέει τε τὸ πλεόν ἢ φιλία κατεχόμενοι ξύμμαχοι  
ἦμεν· καὶ ὁποτέροις θᾶσσον παράσχοι ἀσφάλεια θάρσος,  
οὔτοι πρότεροί τι καὶ παραβήσεσθαι ἔμελλον. ὥστε εἴ 2  
τῷ δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν προαποστάντες διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλ-

sententiam, not in the usual sense of conviction or expectation (c. 42. 29; 60. 4; iv. 40. 1; v. 14. 12; vi. 9. 12). *ὑποδέχεσθαι* has been from the earliest period of the language the regular expression for every kindly, esp. hospitable, reception. Cf. Hom. Z 136, ξ 52, π 70; Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 9; Hdt. i. 41. 5; Ar. *Acharn.* 979; Xen. *Mem.* iii. 11. 10; Plato *Legg.* 952 e. From that is derived the more general signification of friendly courtesies, esp. between strangers. St. rightly observes that *ὑποδέχεσθαι*, which in Plato *Legg.* 952 e is connected with *ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι*, is the opp. of *λιμένων καὶ ἀγορᾶς εἶργεσθαι* (*ψήφισμα περὶ Μεγαρέων*, i. 67. 14), and therefore about = *ἐπιμελγυσθαι παρ' ἀλλήλους* (ii. 1. 3). Cf. Liv. xxx. 14 *benigno vultu excepisset*. Plato *Meno* 91 a similarly connects *ὑποδέχεσθαι* and *θεραπεύειν*. — 3. *ἐθεράπευον*: cf. c. 11. 22. — *ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . ἐποιοῦμεν*: not contradictory to c. 9. § 2 *ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ . . . ἀφιστάμεθα*, for there the reference is only to the outward position of the Mytileneans, which continued to be an honourable one, even though they had assiduously to court the favour of the Athenians. — 4. *ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλ-*

*λοις . . . ἐχυρὸν παρεῖχε*: Cl., St., and Steup strike out *πίστιν*. If the traditional reading be retained, Kr.'s explanation seems best: 'The sent., if complete, would read *ὃ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὖνοια ποιεῖ* (or *παρέχει*), *πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, κτέ.*' See App. — 6. *κατεχόμενοι*: *overmastered, constrained*, as in c. 45. 18. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 27 *καρδίαν κατέσχετο ἔρωτι δεινῷ*. In Arr. *Anab.* ii. 17. 2 *τῆς δὲ Ἀθηναίων πόλεως φόβῳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν κατεχομένης*, which is an evident imitation of the present passage, the meaning is *restrained*. Cf. c. 107. 9. — 8. *οὔτοι πρότεροί τι καὶ . . . ἔμελλον*: *these were sure to be the first also to transgress*. *καὶ* introduces the immediate accomplishment of the anticipation of the prot., as in ii. 93. 18; viii. 1. 31. With *πρότεροί τι παραβήσεσθαι*, cf. c. 11. 8; also c. 54. 11 *τὴν εἰρήνην οὐ λύσαντες πρότεροι*, i. 123. 11 *σπονδὰς οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι*, vii. 18. 10 *τὰς σπονδὰς πρότερους λελυκέναι*.

*ὥστε εἴ τῷ . . . δεινῶν*: *so that if, on account of their postponement of the evils intended for us, we seem to anyone to do wrong in revolting beforehand*. *μέλλησις* seems not to occur elsewhere in trans. significa-



- 10 λησιν τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες  
 σαφῶς εἰδέναι εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἔσται, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σκοπεῖ. εἰ 3  
 γὰρ δυνατοὶ ἡμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλευσαι, καὶ  
 ἀντιμελλῆσαί τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνους  
 ἰέναι. ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δὲ ὄντος αἰεὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν καὶ ἐφ'  
 15 ἡμῖν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύνασθαι.  
 13 “Τοιαύτας ἔχοντες προφάσεις καὶ αἰτίας, ὦ Λακεδαι- 1

tion. τῶν δεινῶν, *violent measures*, as in ii. 77. 3; iv. 98. 1. For the position of μέλλησιν between the subj. and obj. gen., see on i. 25. 21. — 10. αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες: *without ourselves having waited in turn*. ἀνταναμένειν, which seems to be found only here, takes a limiting inf., as ἀναμένειν, iv. 120. 19; 135. 8. Cf. also ἐπιμένειν, c. 2. 7; 26. 13; περιμένειν, vii. 20. 16. — 11. αὐτῶν: *sc.* τῶν δεινῶν.

εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ . . . ἰέναι: so Cl. reads, putting, with Heilmann, ἀντεπιβουλευσαι, καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαί τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς for ἀντεπιβουλευσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι, τί ἔδει ἡμᾶς, and, with Kr., ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἰέναι for ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, “were we able equally with them to counterplot, so ought we then also in like manner to have delayed to proceed against them.” The proleptic καὶ inserted in the prot., as often in rel. clauses, and repeated in the apodosis. See on i. 83. 7. ἀντιμελλῆσαι (so Bk., with the Schol. and T; most Mss. ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι) is chosen with reference to the boasted μέλλησις of the Athenians. Cf. ἀνταναμείναντες above. The sense of the vulg., which all the English commentators retain, is probably: “if we were able on equal terms with them to counter-

plot and counter-delay, what need was there for us, being on equal terms, to be at their beck and call?” Cf. Schol. εἰ γὰρ ἴσοι αὐτοῖς ὑπήρχομεν . . . τί ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ταχθῆναι ἢ ὑπακοίειν αὐτοῖς. See App. — 14. ἐπ' ἐκείνοις: *in their power*. Cf. ii. 84. 11; iv. 29. 18.

13. *Intending to revolt even before the present war, we were hindered by you. Now, invited by the Boeotians, we have promptly taken this step not only in our own interest, but in that of the Hellenes who are enslaved by the Athenians. But as our revolt has been made too hastily and without the necessary preparations, you are the more bound to assist us, in order that your readiness to help in such cases may be known. All the circumstances are favourable. The power of the Athenians, already weakened and divided, will lose by our defection one of its strongest supports, while your fleet will receive a considerable addition.*

1. τοιαύτας ἔχοντες: in close connexion with the preceding without connecting particle, as in ii. 74. 1; iv. 93. 1, and freq. — προφάσεις, αἰτίας: not essentially different, except that the former is more the immediate occasion for action, as in i. 23. 23;

μόνιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, ἀπέστημεν, σαφεῖς μὲν τοῖς ἀκούουσι  
 γνῶναι ὡς εἰκότως ἐδράσαμεν, ἱκανὰς δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβῆσαι  
 καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τινα τρέψαι, βουλομένους μὲν καὶ  
 5 πάλαι, ὅτε ἔτι ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπέμψαμεν ὡς ὑμᾶς περὶ  
 ἀποστάσεως, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐ προσδεξαμένων κωλυθέντας·  
 νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ Βοιωτοὶ προukaλέσαντο, εὐθὺς ὑπηκούσαμεν,  
 καὶ ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλὴν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπὸ τε  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴ ξὺν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς μετ' Ἀθηναίων,

118. 3; Dem. xviii. 156. See on c. 9.  
 10. — 2. σαφεῖς γνῶναι, ἱκανὰς ἐκφο-  
 βῆσαι: for inf. limiting adj., see GMT.  
 758; H. 952. Cf. i. 50. 25; ii. 61. 12;  
 vii. 14. 6. — 4. πρὸς ἀσφάλειάν τινα  
 τρέψαι: to cause us to turn to some  
 means of safety, i.e. to an alliance  
 with Sparta. Cf. vi. 59. 7. — βουλο-  
 μένους μὲν, κωλυθέντας δέ: sc. ἀφί-  
 στασθαι. The partic., though joined  
 to a subord. clause, by their position  
 at the end of the period come to have  
 the force of the leading clause, so  
 that the following νῦν δὲ κτέ. refers  
 only to them. Cf. c. 2. § 1. — 5. ἔτι  
 ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ: closely connected, as  
 in ii. 2. 19. See on i. 30. 20. — 6. ὑμῶν  
 δὲ οὐ προσδεξαμένων: cf. c. 2. 3. —  
 7. Βοιωτοὶ προukaλέσαντο: this in-  
 fluence is not definitely mentioned  
 above. But cf. c. 2. 14; 5. 13. — 8. ἐνο-  
 μίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλὴν ἀπό-  
 στασιν . . . προποιῆσαι: we thought  
 to effect a twofold withdrawal: from  
 the Hellenes, so as not to become part-  
 ners with the Athenians in doing them  
 harm, but to aid in freeing them,  
 and from the Athenians, so as not to  
 be destroyed ourselves by them after-  
 wards, but rather to destroy them first  
 (προποιῆσαι, i.e. προδιαφθεῖραι). For

examples similar to ἀφίστασθαι ἀπό-  
 στασιν, see Lobeck, *Paralip.* ii. 516 f.  
 See also on i. 37. 11. ἐνομίζομεν here,  
 as freq., expresses a certain self-con-  
 fidence. Cf. i. 84. 17; 105. 23; ii. 3. 7.  
 As to τε, τε, for which καί, καί is more  
 usual in prose, see on i. 8. 14; ii. 84. 14.  
 In the const. of the sent. Thuc. evi-  
 dently had in mind c. 10. § 3. Nom-  
 inally the Mytileneans revolted not  
 only from the Athenians, but also  
 from the rest of the Hellenes of the  
 Delian alliance, for whose enslave-  
 ment they had, as they alleged, been  
 obliged to aid the Athenians. But  
 most edit. hold that ἀπόστασις is used  
 here in a double sense, first, as re-  
 gards the Greeks, of absistendi  
 (cf. iv. 118. 40; vii. 7. 9), second, as  
 regards the Athenians, of revolt. The  
 object of the entrance into the alli-  
 ance is expressed in c. 10. § 3 by ἐπί  
 with the dat., while here the object  
 of its renunciation is expressed by  
 infs., the pres. (ξὺν κακῶς ποιεῖν, ξυνε-  
 λευθεροῦν) in reference to the unlimited  
 future, the aor. (διαφθαρήναι, προποιῆ-  
 σαι) to the case in hand. — 9. ξὺν  
 κακῶς ποιεῖν: like ἀντ' εὖ ποιεῖν, Ar.  
*Plut.* 1029; Xen. *Anab.* v. 5. 21; Plato  
*Gorg.* 520 e; Dem. xx. 64, 124, 141;



10 ἀλλὰ ξυνελευθεροῦν, ἀπό τε Ἀθηναίων μὴ αὐτοὶ διαφθα-  
 ρῆναι ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐν ὑστέρῳ, ἀλλὰ προποιῆσαι. ἡ μέν- 2  
 τοι ἀπόστασις ἡμῶν θάσσον γεγένηται καὶ ἀπαράσκειος·  
 ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον χρὴ ξυμμάχους δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ  
 ταχέων βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν, ἵνα φαίνησθε ἀμύνοντές  
 15 τε οἷς δεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους βλέποντες.  
 καιρὸς δὲ ὡς οὐπω πρότερον. νόσῳ τε γὰρ ἐφθάρатаι 3  
 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ χρημάτων δαπάνη, νῆές τε αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν  
 περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰσὶν, αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετάχатаι· ὥστε  
 οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς περιουσίαν νεῶν ἔχειν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ 4

σὺν εὖ πάσχειν, Dem. viii. 65. Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 523 οὗτοι συνέχθην, ἀλλὰ συμ-  
 φιλεῖν ἔφυν. For ξύν as adv., see  
 Matth. 594, 2.

12. θάσσον: sc. ἡ ἡβουλόμεθα. For  
 the omission of the second member  
 of the comparison, see Kühn. 542,  
 n. 7. The adv. co-ord. with adj.,  
 as in c. 4. 4. As to the facts, cf. c.  
 2. § 1, 2; 4. § 2. — 13. ἡ καί: used  
 before a comp. adv. emphasizes an  
 inference. Cf. i. 11. 8; 25. 22; ii. 2.  
 21; iv. 1. 14. — ξυμμάχους . . . ἀπο-  
 στέλλειν: see App. ξυμμάχους is pred.  
 to δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς, as i. 43. 7. — διὰ  
 ταχέων: = ταχέως, as in i. 80. 8; iv.  
 8. 18; 96. 4; vi. 66. 10; viii. 101. 4.  
 — 14. ἵνα φαίνησθε ἀμύνοντές τε κτέ.:  
 summary of the two chief points on  
 which the Mytileneans base their re-  
 quest. See on c. 10. 1. The grounds  
 for the last clause (τοὺς πολεμίους βλέ-  
 ποντες) are given in what follows.

16. ὡς οὐπω πρότερον: cf. ii. 20. 5;  
 v. 63. 4. — ἐφθάρатаι, τετάχатаι:  
 such Ion. forms of the pf. and plpf.  
 occur also in iv. 31. 7; v. 6. 23; vii. 4. 34.  
 G. 701; 777, 3; H. 464 a; Kühn.<sup>3</sup> 214,

8; Kr. *Spr.* 30, 2, 7. — 17. χρημάτων  
 δαπάνη: 'a plena locutio, which  
 has, however, an intensive force.'  
 Bl. It occurs also in [Dem.] lx. 13.  
 — νῆες, αἱ μὲν, αἱ δέ: part. appos.  
 See on ii. 95. 5; vii. 71. 4. G. 914;  
 H. 624 d; Kühn. 406, 7. — 18. αἱ μὲν  
 . . . εἰσὶν: i.e. the 30 ships sent under  
 Asopius. Cf. c. 7. 3. περὶ τὴν ὑμε-  
 τέραν = περὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν, as often in  
 this speech the Lacedaemonians only  
 are to be understood as addressed  
 (e.g. ll. 6, 34). The territory of the  
 Peloponnesian alliance was not such  
 a unity that the orators could prop-  
 erly speak of a fleet as *about* this ter-  
 ritory. See also on c. 16. 4, 12. —  
 ἐφ' ἡμῖν: in hostile sense, rare instead  
 of the accusative. Cf. c. 16. 4; 63. 8;  
 i. 102. 19; ii. 70. 8.

19. οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς περιουσίαν  
 νεῶν ἔχειν: considering the statement  
 above, l. 16, νόσῳ . . . δαπάνη, and  
 that there could hardly have been a  
 prospect of an actual lack of ships  
 (cf. ii. 13. 55), the reference seems  
 to be to the manning and mainten-  
 ance of more ships. The inf. pres.

20 θέρει τῷδε ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐπесβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀμυνοῦνται ἐπιπλέοντας ἢ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων  
 ἀποχωρήσονται. νομίση τε μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς περί 5  
 οἰκείου κίνδυνον ἔξειν. ᾧ γὰρ δοκεῖ μακρὰν ἀπείναι ἢ  
 Λέσβος, τὴν ὠφελίαν αὐτῷ ἐγγύθεν παρέξει. οὐ γὰρ ἐν  
 25 τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος, ὥς τις οἶεται, ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν ἢ  
 Ἀττικὴ ὠφελεῖται. ἔστι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμ- 6  
 μάχων ἢ πρόσοδος, καὶ ἔτι μείζων ἔσται, εἰ ἡμᾶς κατα-  
 στρέψονται· οὔτε γὰρ ἀποστήσεται ἄλλος τά τε ἡμέτερα  
 προσγενήσεται, πάθοιμὲν τ' ἂν δεινότερα ἢ οἱ πρὶν δου-

with *εἰκός* on account of the notion of duration. Cf. iv. 20. 16, and see on i. 81. 13. — 20. ἐπесβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον: ἐπι- is further defined by τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπειςβαλεῖν, meaning *attack*, is found elsewhere only in a fragment of Palaephatus; in Eur. *El.* 498 it means *insuper inicere*. The first invasion was described in c. 1. — 21. ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων: sc. ἡμῶν τε καὶ ὑμῶν.

22. νομίση τε μηδεὶς: order as in iv. 95. 3; vi. 84. 1. Kühn. 512, n. 1. — ἀλλοτρίας . . . ἔξειν: cf. i. 78. 2. — 23. μακρὰν ἀπείναι: *procul abesse*. Cf. μακρὰν ἀποικεῖν, c. 55. 5. Kr. Spr. 43, 3, 8. — 24. τὴν ὠφελίαν αὐτῷ: when an oblique case of αὐτός thus follows its rel., it is equiv. to a weak dem. and cannot stand first in its clause. Kühn. 468, n. 4. Cf. iv. 92. 42; 126. 19; 128. 3. — οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος: *for not upon Attica will the war depend, i.e. it will not draw its strength thence*. For ἐν, not in local sense, cf. i. 74. 2 ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, ii. 35. 7 ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ . . . κινδυνεύεσθαι,

ii. 64. 11 μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ. Kr. Spr. 68, 12, 6. — 25. δι' ἣν: i.e. ἐν ταύτῃ δι' ἣν, nearly = δι' ἧς. Cf. i. 83. 4 δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὄπλα ὠφελεῖ. Also c. 39. 43; vii. 68. 18; Dem. i. 12.

26. ἔστι δὲ . . . ἢ πρόσοδος: cf. ii. 13. 20 λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοιῶτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου. — 27. καὶ ἔτι . . . καταστρέψονται: the proof of the claim made l. 24, τὴν ὠφελίαν . . . παρέξει. If the subjugation of the Mytileneans will increase the revenues of the Athenians, it is clearly to the interest of the Peloponnesians to prevent this. — 28. τά τε ἡμέτερα: *nostrae opes*. τε correl. to οὔτε. — 29. πάθοιμὲν τ' ἂν δεινότερα: esp. through an increase of taxes, as it would seem from the context. τε introduces a *third* circumstance. For the opt. with ἂν exchanging with fut. indic., see Kühn. 396, n. 1. — ἢ οἱ πρὶν δουλεύοντες: *than those enslaved before (us), i.e. the ξύμμαχοι ὑποτελεῖς* (i. 80. 14; 99. 11). Cf. c. 10. § 4, 5. Arnold explains: 'Worse than they who were slaves before they revolted; because the Mytileneans would seem



30 λεύοντες. βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως, πόλιν τε 7  
 προσλήψεσθε ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν μέγα, οὐπὲρ ὑμῖν μάλιστα  
 προσδεῖ, καὶ Ἀθηναίους ῥᾶον καθαιρήσετε ὑφαιροῦντες  
 αὐτῶν τοὺς ξυμμάχους (θρασύτερον γὰρ πᾶς τις προσχω-  
 ρήσεται), τήν τε αἰτίαν ἀποφεύξεσθε ἣν εἶχετε μὴ βοηθεῖν  
 35 τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις. ἣν δ' ἐλευθεροῦντες φαίνησθε, τὸ  
 κράτος τοῦ πολέμου βεβαιότερον ἔξετε.

to have revolted on much less provo-  
 cation. See Cleon's speech c. 39. § 5,  
 where he calls for an exemplary ven-  
 geance upon Mytilene on this very  
 ground.'

30. βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν: this alter-  
 native, which contains the main point  
 of the thought, or rather of the whole  
 speech, is expressed in gen. abs.,  
 although the verbs of the apod. have  
 the same subject. GMT. 850; Kr. *Spr.*  
 47, 4, 2; Kühn. 494 a. See on c.  
 112. 21; ii. 83. 15; viii. 76. 12. —  
 32. προσδεῖ: sc. besides what you  
 already have. — καθαιρήσετε: of vio-  
 lent overthrow of an existing order  
 of things, or a predominant per-  
 son. See on i. 4. 6; 77. 20. — ὑφαι-  
 ροῦντες: of gradual drawing out.  
*Cf.* c. 31. 8; 82. 17. Bl. calls this  
 an architectural metaphor, namely  
 to pull down (*καθαιρεῖν*) by under-  
 mining or pulling out stones from  
 the foundation (*ὑφαιρεῖν*). — 33. πᾶς  
 τις: everyone, as comprehensive as  
 possible. Kr. *Spr.* 51, 16, 11. *Cf.* c.  
 93. 10; ii. 41. 21; vi. 68. 7; vii. 60. 13.  
 — 34. τήν αἰτίαν: the reproach, as in  
 ii. 18. 9; 60. 25; vi. 60. 3. With ἔχειν  
 also i. 83. 8; vi. 46. 27. — ἀποφεύξεσθε:  
*cf.* ii. 42. 23 τὸ αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου  
 ἔφυγον. — ἣν εἶχετε: refers to the  
 period before the Peloponnesian war.

*Cf.* i. 69. § 5. The reading of Vat.,  
 ἔχετε—with which ἀποφεύξεσθε would  
 mean *get rid of*, not *avoid*—would  
 ill accord with the relation of the  
 Mytileneans to the Lacedaemonians,  
 and would hardly answer to the  
 actual circumstances, since the Lace-  
 daemonians had indeed, as they had  
 promised and not far otherwise than  
 the Mytileneans now demanded for  
 themselves (c. 13. § 4; 15. § 1), sought  
 to bring aid to the Potidaeans (*cf.* i.  
 58. § 1; 71. § 4; ii. 70. § 1, and, as an  
 example of the opposite course in  
 earlier times, i. 101. § 1 f.). — 35. ἣν δ'  
 ἐλευθεροῦντες φαίνησθε: if you openly  
 appear as liberators (of the oppressed).  
 Thus φανῆτε, which would be the  
 more usual form before ἔξετε, is not  
 necessary. There is an allusion to  
 the boast made by the Lacedaemo-  
 nians at the opening of the war, ὅτι  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦσιν (ii. 8. 15; iv.  
 85. 4). *Cf.* c. 32. 5. — τὸ κράτος τοῦ  
 πολέμου: τὸ δύνασθαι περιγενέσθαι τῷ  
 πολέμῳ, Schol. *Cf.* ii. 87. 27; Plato  
*Legg.* 962 a. Also Dem. xix. 130  
 κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην . . . διδόναι,  
 Dio C. (fragm.) 35. 4 τὸ κράτος τοῦ  
 πολέμου ὑποχείριον ἔσχε. κράτος in this  
 sense (*mastery, victory*) seems to be  
 Ion. and poetic. — βεβαιότερον ἔξετε:  
 see on c. 11. 16.

14 “Αἰσχυνθέντες οὖν τάς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐς ὑμᾶς 1  
ἐλπίδας καὶ Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον, ἐν οὗ τῷ ἱερῷ ἴσα καὶ  
ικέται ἐσμέν, ἐπαμύνατε Μυτιληναίοις ξύμμαχοι γενό-  
μενοι, καὶ μὴ προῆσθε ἡμᾶς, ἴδιον μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν  
5 σωμαίων παραβαλλομένους, κοινὴν δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατορ-  
θῶσαι ὠφελίαν ἅπασι δώσοντας, ἔτι δὲ κοινοτέραν τὴν  
βλάβην, εἰ, μὴ πεισθέντων ὑμῶν, σφαλησόμεθα. γίγνεσθε  
δὲ ἄνδρες οἷουσπερ ὑμᾶς οἳ τε Ἕλληνες ἀξιοῦσι καὶ τὸ  
ἡμέτερον δέος βούλεται.”

15 Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμό- 1  
νιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν, προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς  
λόγους ξυμμάχους τε τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ

14. *Honour and advantage, therefore, alike bid you to assist us.*

1. ἐς ὑμᾶς: free use of the prep., as in i. 41. 8. Kühn. 432, 1, 3 a. Cf. Dio C. li. 13 μεταγιγνώσκειν ἐπλάσατο, ὡς καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν μὲν ἐς ἐκείνον, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιουΐαν ἔχουσα. — 2. Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον: an exception to the rule that the art. stands with both the name and appellation of a god, or is omitted with both. Kr. Spr. 50, 7, 10. — ἐν οὗ τῷ ἱερῷ: this position of the gen. between the prep. and its noun is esp. common in Thuc., and is the usual one with οὗ. Cf. c. 70. 16; 81. 26; 96. 1; v. 47. 66. Kr. Spr. 47, 9, 19. — ἴσα καί: H. 1042 a; Kühn. 423, n. 18. Cf. ἐν ἴσῳ καί, ii. 60. 20; ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καί, vi. 11. 15; παραπλησίαις καί, v. 112. 3; vii. 70. 2; ὁμοίως καί, vii. 28. 30; viii. 76. 13; Hdt. viii. 60. 25; ὡσαύτως καί, Hdt. vii. 86. 7; ὅτῳ γε νοῦς ἴσος καὶ σοὶ πάρα, Soph. O. C. 810; σεβρίζω σ' ἴσα καὶ μάκαρας, Eur. El. 994. ἴσα is adv., as ὁμοῖα, i. 25.

18. ἴσα καί occurs also in late writers, e.g. Aristid. Panath. i. p. 285 ἴσα καὶ ἀήττητος. — 4. ἴδιον . . . κοινὴν . . . κοινοτέραν: “we alone make the sacrifice; the results, whether good or bad (the latter in still greater measure, κοινοτέραν), will fall upon all.” — ἴδιον μὲν . . . παραβαλλομένους: unusual for μετ' ἰδίου κινδύνου τὰ σώματα παραβαλλομένους. σώματα means *life and limb*, as in i. 70. 19; 141. 18; ii. 42. 24. παραβάλλεσθαι, *to risk* (as at play), also c. 65. 12; ii. 44. 16; Hdt. vii. 10. 3; Hom. i. 322. But here the obj. is the danger instead of the thing endangered. — 5. κατορθῶσαι, σφαλησόμεθα: usual antithesis, as in c. 39. 39; ii. 65. 28. — 7. μή: belongs to the partic. only. Cf. i. 32. 24; 37. 6. — 8. οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀξιοῦσι: cf. i. 69. 7. Supply εἶναι with ἀξιοῦσι and βούλεται.

15. *The Mytileneans are received into the Peloponnesian alliance and the Lacedaemonians prepare to invade Attica.*



τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν τοῖς τε ξυμμάχοις παροῦσι  
 5 κατὰ τάχος ἔφραζον ἰέναι εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τοῖς δύο μέρεσιν  
 ὥς ποιησόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὀλκοὺς  
 παρεσκεύαζον τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ ὥς ὑπεροίσοντες ἐκ  
 τῆς Κορίνθου εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν καὶ ναυσὶ  
 καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐπιόντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν προθύμως ταῦτα  
 10 ἔπρασσον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι βραδέως τε ξυνελέγοντο  
 καὶ ἐν καρποῦ ξυγκομιδῇ ἦσαν καὶ ἀρρωστία τοῦ στρα-  
 τεύειν.

4. τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολήν : cf. c. 13. § 4. The acc. placed first, though grammatically dependent on ὥς ποιησόμενοι, is almost abs., and as to the invasion of Attica. Cf. ii. 62. 1; Soph. *El.* 1364. See on i. 32. 17. — παροῦσι κατὰ τάχος . . . μέρεσιν : παροῦσι is to be connected with ἰέναι and is dependent on ἔφραζον (= ἐκέλευον), gave orders to present themselves speedily and march to the isthmus with a contingent of two thirds. So Lupus explains, *N. Jahrb.* cxi. p. 165. Steup brackets παροῦσι. See App. — 5. ἔφραζον : with dependent inf., also vi. 53. 7. Kühn. 473, 2. The impf. does not differ here essentially from the aorist. GMT. 57; Kr. *Spr.* 53, 2, 1. The original subj. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι is here limited to οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι alone. See on c. 10. 16; i. 18. 21. — τοῖς δύο μέρεσι : i.e. with two thirds of their whole force capable of bearing arms. This was the regular contingent furnished by the Peloponnesian states for expeditions beyond their own borders. Cf. ii. 10. 6; 47. 2. — 6. ὀλκοὺς : ὄργανα οἷς αἱ νῆες ἔλκονται, Schol. — 7. ὥς ὑπεροίσοντες : sc. τὰς ναῦς. Cf. c. 81. 3;

iv. 8. 8; viii. 7. 7; Dio C. lxxviii. 28 ὑπερενεγκῶν τὰ πλοῖα ὀλκοῖς, Liv. xlii. 16 per Isthmi iugum navibus traductis Aeginam traiciunt. See Wachsmuth; *Ant. Gr.* ii. p. 336. Acc. to Strabo viii. 6. 22, the place where the transfer was made was called δίολκος. — 9. ἐπιόντες : as fut. partic. co-ord. with ὑπεροίσοντες and dependent on ὥς.

10. οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι : since just above (ll. 4, 6) τοῖς ξυμμάχοις and αὐτοὶ are opposed, ἄλλοι means here doubtless besides. See on i. 2. 12. G. 966, 2; H. 705. — 11. καρποῦ : collective sing., like Eng. *fruit*, as in iv. 84. 5; 88. 4; Hom. A 156. Cf. κάλαμος, ii. 76. 2; ἄμπελος, iv. 90. 9; multa fruge, Hor. *Ep.* i. 16. 10. Kr. *Spr.* 44, 1, 1; Kühn. 347, 1. The art. is omitted on acc. of the close connexion with ξυγκομιδῇ. Since the summer was already advanced (see on date of the Olympia, c. 8. 5), καρπός prob. refers here, as in iv. 84. 5, esp. to grapes. See A. Mommsen, *Über d. Zeit der Olympien*, p. 57 ff. — ἐν . . . ἦσαν : belongs to both the essentially different expressions, ξυγκομιδῇ (of action) and ἀρρωστία (of disposition

16 Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ κατάγνωσιν 1  
 ἀσθενείας σφῶν παρασκευαζομένους, δηλῶσαι βουλόμενοι  
 ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκασιν, ἀλλ' οἰοί τέ εἰσι μὴ κινοῦντες  
 τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ  
 5 ῥαδίως ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐπλήρωσαν ναῦς ἑκατὸν ἐσβάντες αὐτοί  
 τε πλὴν ἱππέων καὶ πεντακοσιομέδιμνων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι,  
 καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀναγαγόντες ἐπίδειξιν τε ἐποιοῦντο

of mind) ; with the former after the analogy of ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι, ii. 101. 10; with the latter after that of ἐν παραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ εἶναι, c. 79. 9. — ἄρρωστία : i.e. ἀπροθυμία, despondency, as in vii. 47. 3. Cf. viii. 83. 7 ἄρρωστότερον.

16. But seeing the counter preparations made by the Athenians they give up this plan and fit out a fleet for the protection of Lesbos.

1. διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν : because they imputed weakness to them. κατάγνωσις of unfavourable judgment, as καταγιγνώσκειν (c. 45. 4; vi. 34. 51; vii. 51. 3; Hdt. vi. 97. 7, and freq.) = καταφρονεῖν (viii. 8. 19 καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀδυναμίαν). σφῶν, too, stands under the influence of κατα-, as in c. 45. 4. The Lacedaemonians had adopted the view of Athenian affairs expressed by the Mytileneans c. 13. § 3, 4. — 3. μὴ κινοῦντες τὸ ἐπὶ Λέσβῳ ναυτικόν : see on c. 13. 18. That here, in spite of the evident reference to c. 13. § 3, 4, Thuc. does not include under μὴ κινοῦντες also the fleet sent around Peloponnesus, is to be explained on the ground that 18 of the 30 ships of Asopius had meanwhile returned (c. 7. § 3). See Steup, *Rh. Mus.* xxiv. p. 356. As the Mytileneans had said, c. 13. 21 ἡ ὑμᾶς οὐκ

ἀμυνοῦνται ἐπιπλέοντας ἢ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποχωρήσονται, the words οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐγνώκασιν were already justified when the Athenians could, without recalling a ship from Lesbos, easily repel the Peloponnesian fleet. — 5. αὐτοί τε . . . καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι : cf. i. 143. 4. Of citizens usually only the θῆτες, who were ψιλοί on land, served in the fleet (vi. 43. 10); in critical times members of the three upper classes, whose regular duty was hoplite service, might be pressed into service in the fleet (viii. 24. 12). See Bauer in *Handbuch der klass. Alterthumsw.* iv.<sup>1</sup> p. 282; Schoemann, *Gr. Ant.* i. p. 448. The use of αὐτοί where the πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι and ἱππεῖς are excepted shows how much more numerous were the two lower classes, ζευγῖται and θῆτες. Regarding the census-classes, see Boeckh *P. E.*<sup>3</sup> p. 579 ff.; Hermann *Gr. Ant.*<sup>6</sup> i. § 68. — 7. παρὰ τὸν ἰσθμόν : along the coast of the isthmus. Const. with ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιοῦντο. They proposed by the mere display (ἐπίδειξιν) of a large fleet to show the enemy how hopeless was the execution of their plans. — ἀναγαγόντες : the unusual act. for ἀναγαγόμενοι occurs also in the comp. ἀντανάγειν, vii. 37. 18; 52. 4; viii. 38. 19; 83. 5. For the intr. use,



καὶ ἀποβάσεις τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἥ δοκοίη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ 2  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὁρῶντες πολὺν τὸν παράλογον τὰ τε ὑπὸ  
 10 τῶν Λεσβίων ῥηθέντα ἡγούντο οὐκ ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἄπορα  
 νομίζοντες, ὥς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἅμα οὐ παρήσαν  
 καὶ ἡγγέλλοντο καὶ αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον [τριάκοντα]  
 νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν περιοικίδα αὐτῶν πορθοῦσαι,  
 ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. ὕστερον δὲ ναυτικὸν παρεσκεύαζον 3  
 15 ὃ τι πέμψουσιν εἰς τὴν Λέσβον καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐπήγγελλον

cf. ἀπολιπεῖν, c. 10. 8. Kühn. 373, 2 a.  
 —8. τῆς Πελοποννήσου: part. gen.  
 depending on ἥ, as i. 46. 17; ii. 4. 22.  
 —δοκοίη: for the form here, as in  
 ii. 79. 26; 100. 22; iv. 105. 9, instead  
 of δοκοῖ of the Mss., see St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup>  
 p. 62. G. 737; H. 374 a.

9. ὁρῶντες πολὺν τὸν παράλογον:  
*seeing that their miscalculation was*  
*great.* See on i. 65. 3. παράλογος  
 with πολὺς also ii. 61. 14; 85. 6; μέγας,  
 vii. 55. 4; ὅσος, i. 78. 3; τοσοῦτος, vii.  
 28. 17. —τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων ῥη-  
 θέντα: cf. c. 13. § 3, 4. The form ῥη-  
 θῆναι is about as common in Thuc. as  
 λεχθῆναι. Both together in c. 53. 14,  
 15. —10. ἄπορα νομίζοντες: *regard-*  
*ing it as impracticable.* For Thuc.'s  
 freq. use of the neut. pl. of the adj.,  
 see on i. 7. 2. Kühn. 366. —11. οὐ παρ-  
 ῆσαν: cf. c. 15. 10. —12. καὶ ἡγγέλ-  
 λοντο καί: the first καί is correl. of  
 καί in l. 11, the second means *also*.  
 Cf. c. 21. 10; 31. 8. ἡγγέλλοντο in  
 pers. const. with the partic., as in  
 viii. 79. 21. GMT. 904; Kr. Spr. 56,  
 7, 3; Kühn. 482, 2. With inf., iv. 25.  
 23; viii. 94. 4. Oftener impers., as  
 c. 110. 1; i. 114. 3; iv. 93. 7; 125. 2;  
 v. 10. 7; vi. 45. 2. —αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελο-  
 πόννησον [τριάκοντα] νῆες: the 100

ships just mentioned, not the fleet  
 under Asopius (c. 7. § 1), as clearly  
 proved by Steup (*Rh. Mus.* xxiv. p.  
 355 ff.), who rightly strikes out τριά-  
 κοντα. See App. —13. τὴν περιοικίδα  
 αὐτῶν: *i.e.* the district of the Lace-  
 daemonian Perioeci in Laconia and  
 Messenia.

14. ὕστερον δὲ . . . ἐπιπλεύσεσθαι:  
 Thuc. mentions here, at the close of  
 his account of the first unsuccessful  
 attempt of the Lacedaemonians to  
 aid the Lesbians, the preparations  
 for the second expedition, made in  
 the following summer (c. 25. § 1; 26.  
 § 1). The regular course of the nar-  
 rative is resumed at ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ  
 κτέ., l. 17. ὕστερον is common where  
 such an anticipation in the narrative  
 occurs. Cf. c. 7. 10; 34. 21; i. 64. 8;  
 87. 16; ii. 9. 7; 31. 15; 70. 20; 100. 4.  
 —15. ὃ τι πέμψουσιν: rel. with fut.  
 indic. to express purpose, as in iv. 22.  
 2; viii. 1. 28. GMT. 565; Kr. Spr.  
 53, 7, 8; Kühn. 387, 4. —ἐπήγγελ-  
 λον: imperabant. Cf. v. 47. 13;  
 vii. 17. 2; viii. 108. 21. So περιήγ-  
 γελλον, ii. 85. 11; vii. 18. 27. The  
 impfs. παρεσκεύαζον and ἐπήγγελλον in-  
 dicate gradual accomplishment, the  
 aor. προσέταξαν an ordinance which

τεσσαράκοντα νεῶν πλήθος καὶ ναύαρχον προσέταξαν Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἔμελλεν ἐπιπλεύσεσθαι. ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνους εἶδον.

17 [Καὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃν αἱ νῆες ἔπλεον ἐν 1

took effect immediately. — 16. ναύαρχον: the commander of the Lacedaemonian navy was elected for a definite period, prob. a year, and had unlimited power. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 6. (9) 22 ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκε. Cf. ii. 66. 6; 80. 12.

— 17. ὃς ἔμελλεν ἐπιπλεύσεσθαι: i.e. to sail on them as commander. Cf. c. 76. 6; ii. 66. 4; iv. 11. 6; viii. 39. 5.

18. ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνους εἶδον: sc. ἀνακεχωρηκότας. Kr. *Spr.* 56, 16; Kühn. 599, 2. Cf. i. 78. 10; 80. 2; ii. 11. 34; 86. 14; v. 80. 11; vii. 69. 3.

17. Reflections evoked by the number of Attic ships then at sea, and remarks upon the exhaustion of the Attic treasury.

This chapter is seen upon close examination to be clearly the work of a glossator, as Steup first argued in *Rh. Mus.* xxiv. p. 350. See App.

1. ὃν: κατὰ is omitted with the rel. after the prepositional phrase, as usual in Attic writers. G. 1025; H. 1007; Kühn. 451, 4; Kr. *Spr.* 51, 11, 1. — ἔπλεον: were afloat. This pregnant force seems not to occur elsewhere. πλεῖν is never without pred. modification: whether local, as ἐς Αἴγυπτον, i. 110. 11; ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, viii. 108. 12; or qualitative, as ἀρίστα, i. 48. 12; vii. 31. 22; viii. 104. 11; ἀμεινον, ii. 84. 12; οὐ σπουδῇ, iii. 49. 14; εὖ, vii. 23.

11. — ἐν τοῖς πλείσται: the purely formulaic ἐν τοῖς with the sup. is explained by some as *intensive* (H. 652 a; Kr. *Spr.* 49, 10, 6 and on i. 6. 6; Kühn. 349<sup>b</sup>, 7 i; Madv. *Syntax*<sup>2</sup> 96, 2, and others); by others as *restrictive* (Arn. here and vii. 19. 19; L. Herbst, *Philol.* xvi. p. 345 ff.; C. Spormann, de ellipsis apud Hdt. et Thuc. usu, 1888, p. 29 sqq., and others). Acc. to the latter view, not absolute pre-eminence, but prominence among competitors is indicated, so that ἐν τοῖς πλείσται would mean, *among the most*. At any rate, that ἐν τοῖς πλείσται (fem. with ἐν τοῖς also c. 82. 2) should be followed by παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους, is very peculiar. With the first view, it must be assumed that the author corrected himself; with the second, it still seems strange that to a number thus emphasized another still greater should be immediately opposed. Steup thinks no absolutely certain case of the *restrictive* ἐν τοῖς with sup. has been found. Of the cases cited by Herbst, ἐν τοῖς is not formulaic in viii. 68. 4, καὶ Θηραμένης ἐν τοῖς ξυγκαταλύουσι τὸν δῆμον πρῶτος ἦν, while in viii. 90. 4, Ἀρίσταρχος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ, the phrase ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα might well mean *most of all*. On the other hand, in i. 6. 6 and iii.



τοῖς πλείσται δὴ νῆες ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ † κάλλει ἐγένοντο,  
 παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου.  
 τήν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ Σαλαμίνα ἑκατὸν 2  
 5 ἐφύλασσον καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἕτεραι ἑκατὸν ἦσαν,  
 χωρὶς δὲ αἱ περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις,

82. 2 the thought, he claims, suits the context far better with ἐν τοῖς *intensive*; and in vii. 19. 19 only the intensive meaning is admissible, since Thuc. could hardly have meant to compare the departure of the ὀλκάδες carrying hoplites to Sicily (vii. 19. 19) with that of the 25 Corinthian triremes (vii. 17. 14) sent to engage the attention of the Athenian fleet at Naupactus, esp. as the triremes were despatched in the winter, the ὀλκάδες the following summer. But Steup's objection to rendering ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι (vii. 19. 19) 'among the first' does not seem conclusive, and certainly Aristarchus (viii. 90. 4) was, as Herbst and Jow. say, not the 'very' foremost among the subverters of democracy. If all the cases of ἐν τοῖς with the sup. be compared, it is hard to escape Jow.'s conclusion, that the formula is sometimes *restrictive*, as in vii. 24. 12; viii. 90. 4; sometimes *intensive*, as in c. 81. 2 (cf. c. 85. 2); Plato *Symp.* 178 b. — 2. ἐνεργοὶ κάλλει: ἐνεργός is not elsewhere used of ships, and both words occur only here in Thucydides. Goell., Arn., and Jow. explain, 'effective by their fine condition'; Bl., 'effective and handsome' (by their handsomeness); Sheppard, 'on active service in handsome trim.' Peile takes κάλλει as dat. consilii, for display. Of the

emendations proposed — by Herbst κάλως, St. καὶ ἄλλῃ, v. H. ἄλλαι ἄλλῃ — none is satisfactory. — 3. παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους: for similar expressions, see on vii. 19. 8. See App.

4. τήν τε γὰρ . . . διακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα: describes the disposition of the Attic fleet ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου, which strangely alone of the two armaments here compared is more fully discussed. This follows necessarily from l. 15, καὶ νῆες τοσαῦται δὴ πλείσται ἐπληρώθησαν, which can only refer to the 250 ships of l. 7. For if 250 was the highest number reached, this, acc. to l. 3, παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου, must refer to the first year of the war. Besides, the reader would be more likely to reckon for himself the number of ships of the summer under consideration (428) than that of 431 B.C. Further the words in l. 6 περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις are unintelligible, if § 2 refers to the year 428. — 5. ἕτεραι ἑκατόν: cf. ii. 23. § 2; 25; 30; 31. § 1. — 6. χωρὶς δέ: besides, abs., without expressed or easily supplied predicate. In the passages cited by St. as parallel (Plato *Euthyd.* 289 c.; Soph. *O. C.* 808), χωρὶς means of a *different kind*, not *besides*. In Thuc. χωρὶς δέ either has its own verb (ii. 31. 11),

ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἅμα ἐγίγνοντο ἐν ἐνὶ θέρει διακόσiai καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανήλωσε 3  
μετὰ Ποτειδαίας· τήν τε γὰρ Ποτείδαιαν δίδραχμοι ὀπλῖται  
10 ἐφρούρουν (αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ δραχμὴν ἐλάμβανε τῆς

or the pred. of the preceding clause belongs also to it (i. 61. 15; ii. 97. 16; vi. 31. 29), or is to be supplied with it (ii. 13. 29; 31. 13). Here ᾗσαν cannot be supplied from the preceding clause, since there it means 'chanced to be.' — αἱ περὶ . . . χωρίοις: see App. — 7. αἱ πᾶσαι: *in all*. H. 672 a; Kr. Spr. 50, 11, 13. Cf. c. 85. 12; i. 60. 6; vii. 1. 31.

8. τοῦτο: must refer grammatically to the number of ships either of 431 or 428 B.C. But as ὑπαναλίσκειν, *gradually consume* (ll. 8, 14), suits neither of these cases, the author of the chapter must have meant to indicate by τοῦτο "this fitting out of such large armaments," — a loose form of expression without parallel in Thuc. Besides, there seem to have been in the summer of 429 B.C., if one excepts the ships which may have remained on the Thracian coast after the capture of Potidaea, as well as the few at stations like Salamis and Atalante, only 40 Attic ships at sea at one time (ii. 80. 21; 85. 17). — ὑπανήλωσε: *gradually consumed*. The word is found in Thuc. only here and l. 14 below. With neut. subj., as ἀπαναλίσκειν, vii. 11. 13. Cf. c. 13. 33 ὑφαιρούντες, i. 77. 23 ὑπεδείξατε. On the augment see St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 60; Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 137. — 9. μετὰ Ποτειδαίας: Potidaea had been already for a year and a half again in the possession of the

Athenians (ii. 70). But still more strange is the manner in which Potidaea is here set over against the fitting out of large naval armaments, since Potidaea itself had been besieged by a fleet (i. 64. § 3). The costs of this siege had been 2000 talents (ii. 70. § 2). Besides, the building of ships had doubtless entailed considerable expense. — δίδραχμοι: *i.e.* one drachma each for the hoplite and for his attendant, — more than usual, since the average daily pay of a hoplite was 4 obols. Cf. vii. 27. 7. See Boeckh *P. E.* p. 373; Herm. *Gr. Ant.* i.<sup>6</sup> § 112. The word is found here only in Thuc., and seldom elsewhere. — 10. ἐφρούρουν: *obsidebant*, as περιεφρουροῦντο, c. 21. 15. Cf. Arr. *Anab.* i. 7. 10; ii. 1. 4; iv. 3. 4; 5. 2; and Eur. *Or.* 760 φυλασσόμεσθα φρουρίοισι πανταχῇ. Elsewhere in Thuc., to *garrison* or *guard*, as i. 103. 15; 107. 16; iv. 1. 16; v. 33. 6, 10; 35. 28; 64. 12; vii. 60. 11. In the passage cited by Pp. and others, i. 64. 2, 4, there is no reason why both ἐφρούρουν and φρουρεῖν may not be intr., *keep watch* (cf. c. 90. 11; ii. 80. 22; 83. 7; iv. 24. 2; 66. 20). — αὐτῷ: for sing. after preceding plur., cf. i. 120. 20 ἀνδρῶν σωφρόνων . . . ἡδόμενον. Otherwise such a const. is without parallel in Thuc., though common in Hdt. Cf. Plato *Prot.* 324 a οὐδεὶς κολάζει τοὺς ἀδικούντας . . . τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅτι ἡδίκησεν. Kr. Spr.



ἡμέρας), τρισχίλιοι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, ὧν οὐκ ἐλάσσους  
 διεπολιόρκησαν, ἑξακόσιοι δὲ καὶ χίλιοι μετὰ Φορμίωνος,  
 οἱ προαπήλθον, νῆές τε αἱ πᾶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν μισθὸν ἔφερον.  
 τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οὕτως ὑπανηλώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ 4  
 15 νῆες τοσαῦται δὴ πλείσται ἐπληρώθησαν.]

18 Μυτιληναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ὃν οἱ Λακε- 1  
 δαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἦσαν, ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν ὡς προδι-  
 δομένην ἐστράτευσαν κατὰ γῆν αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἐπίκουροι ·  
 καὶ προσβαλόντες τῇ πόλει, ἐπειδὴ οὐ προυχώρει ἡ  
 5 προσεδέχοντο, ἀπήλθον ἐπ' Ἀντίσσης καὶ Πύρρας καὶ

61, 4, 1. — ὑπηρέτη : as in vi. 102. 10. Each Athenian hoplite was accompanied by an attendant, *θεράπων*, just as each Spartan by a Helot. Cf. iv. 16. 9. — ἐλάμβανε : sc. *ὀπλίτης ἕκαστος*, to be supplied from *δίδραχοι ὀπλῖται*. *ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανον* was to be expected (cf. vii. 27. 8). The omission of *ἕκαστος* is without parallel in Thuc., or even in Hdt. — 11. τρισχίλιοι κτέ. : see App. — 12. διεπολιόρκησαν : *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον*. Schol. *ἔμειναν ἕως ἀλώσεως τῆς πόλεως πολιορκοῦντες*. — ἑξακόσιοι δὲ καὶ χίλιοι κτέ. : cf. i. 64. 8; 65. 13, and see on ii. 31. 11. — 13. τὸν αὐτὸν μισθόν : i.e. a drachma per man, since the seamen had no *θεράποντες*. This was double the usual pay of seamen. Cf. vi. 31. 19; viii. 45. 11, and see Boeckh, *P. E.* p. 377. — ἔφερον : Schol. *ἐλάμβανον*, as vi. 24. 13; viii. 97. 7.

15. δῆ : as l. 2 with the sup., so here with the emphatic *τοσαῦται*. Cf. i. 33. 13; ii. 17. 17; 77. 7. — πλείσται : pred., as the largest number, i.e. 250.

18. After the Mytileneans fail in the attack on Methymna, and the

*Methymneans, on the other hand, are repulsed with loss from Antissa, the Athenians send reinforcements under Paches to Lesbos and invest Mytilene with a wall. Beginning of the winter 428-427 B.C.*

1. Μυτιληναῖοι δέ : opp. to οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, c. 16. 9, as well as to οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, c. 16. 18, and resumes the narrative interrupted at c. 6 fin. — ὃν : see on c. 17. 1. — 2. περὶ τὸν Ἴσθμόν : cf. c. 15. 5 to 16. 14. — ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν : cf. c. 2. 2, 9. — ὡς προδιδομένην : pres. partic. because the betrayal was, as they thought, then being agitated or prepared for. Kühn. 382, 6 b. — 3. οἱ ἐπίκουροι : prob. mercenaries, mention of whom is made c. 2. 8. The term, which meant originally *allies*, was chiefly applied, prob. euphemistically, to hired soldiers in the service of despots or oligarchical factions. See on i. 115. 18. — 4. οὐ προυχώρει : impers., as in i. 109. 7; ii. 56. 12; iv. 59. 16. See on i. 109. 7. — 5. ἐπ' Ἀντίσσης καὶ Πύρρας καὶ Ἐρέσου : which, though already siding with

Ἐρέσου· καὶ καταστησάμενοι τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταύταις  
 βεβαιότερα καὶ τείχη κρατύναντες διὰ τάχους ἀπήλθον  
 ἐπ' οἶκον. ἐστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Μηθυμναῖοι ἀναχωρη- 2  
 σάντων αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀντισσαν· καὶ ἐκβοηθείας τινὸς γενομέ-  
 10 νης πληγέντες ὑπὸ τε τῶν Ἀντισσαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπικούρων  
 ἀπέθανόν τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τάχος.  
 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, τοὺς τε Μυτιληναίους 3  
 τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας οὐχ  
 ἱκανοὺς ὄντας εἶργειν, πέμπουσι περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἤδη  
 15 ἀρχόμενον Πάχητα τὸν Ἐπικούρου στρατηγὸν καὶ χιλίους  
 ὀπλίτας ἐαυτῶν. οἱ δὲ αὐτερέται πλεύσαντες τῶν νεῶν 4  
 ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ περιτειχίζουσι Μυτιλήνην ἐν κύκλῳ ἀπλῶ

the Mytileneans, were to be secured against overtures of the democratic party. — 6. **καταστησάμενοι**: with pred. adj. (*βεβαιότερα*), as i. 118. 8. — 7. **κρατύναντες**: a poetic word; act., also i. 69. 2; mid., c. 82. 40; iv. 52. 13; 114. 10. In tragedy it = *κρατεῖν*. — **τείχη**: without article, see on c. 3. 16.

8. **ἐστράτευσαν δέ**: emphatic repetition of the verb, l. 3 (*ἐπαναφορά*). See on i. 28. 8. A favourite usage of Hdt. — 9. **ἐκβοηθείας**: a *sortie*, found only here; corresponding to *ἐκβοηθεῖν*, i. 105. 29; Hdt. ix. 26. 11, and freq. in late writers. — 10. **πληγέντες**: *μεγάλως νικηθέντες*, Schol. Used only in aor. or pf. pass. and always in sense of a severe defeat. Cf. iv. 108. 25; v. 14. 5; viii. 38. 7; Hdt. v. 120. 7; viii. 130. 10; Soph. *O. C.* 605; Eur. *Rhes.* 867. — **τῶν ἐπικούρων**: i.e. those whom the Mytileneans had left there as a garrison, as indicated in *καταστησάμενοι . . . βεβαιότερα* above. — 11. **πολλοί, οἱ λοιποί**: const. as in c. 13. 17.

12. **ταῦτα**: explained by the two following partic. clauses, which are construed with *πυνθανόμενοι*, as if *ταῦτα* had not preceded. Kühn. 469, 3 c. Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1355 *πῶς ταῦτ' ἐξανασχήσεσθε, τοῖσιν Ἀτρέως ἐμὲ ξυνόντα παισίν*, Ar. *Nub.* 380 *τουτί μ' ἐλελήθειν, ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὦν*. — 13. **τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας**: cf. c. 6. 8. — 14. **εἶργειν**: *to shut in* the Mytileneans. Cf. l. 21. — **περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἤδη ἀρχόμενον**: cf. c. 100. 6, and see on ii. 31. 1. *μετόπωρον*, in vii. 79. 10; viii. 108. 9, seems to be synonymous with *φθινόπωρον*. — 15. **χιλίους ὀπλίτας**: cf. Diod. xii. 85. The number of the fleet is not given here, because the object of the expedition is to strengthen the land force, not the fleet.

16. **αὐτερέται**: pred. The unusual fact that hoplites here served at the oar, evidently for economical reasons (cf. c. 19. § 1), is esp. emphasized. Cf. i. 10. 26; vi. 91. 15. — 17. **ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ περιτειχίζουσι . . . ἐγκαταφοδόμη-**



τείχει· φρούρια δὲ ἔστιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν ἐγκατωκο-  
 δόμηται. καὶ ἡ μὲν Μυτιλήνη κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἀμφοτέ- 5  
 20 ρωθεν καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης εἵργετο, καὶ ὁ χειμῶν  
 ἤρχετο γίγνεσθαι.

19 Προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολί- 1  
 ορκίαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσενεγκόντες τότε πρῶτον ἐσφορὰν  
 διακόσια τάλαντα, ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους

ται: Cl. explains 'to the historical presents' corresponds the pf. ἐγκατωκοδόμηται, which seems to be used with reference to the forts (φρούρια) first built at suitable points (ἐπὶ καρτερῶν), in which the troops found safety while resting, as well as at night: "they proceed to invest the city with a single wall, and already at strong points in the circuit of the wall forts have been built in." Hence the changes proposed, ἐγκατωκοδόμητο (Haase), ἐγκατοικοδομεῖται (Bl.), ἐγκατωκοδομήθη (Bk.), ἐγκατωκοδόμησαν (Kr.) are unnecessary.' Arn. compares *Caes. Bell. Civ.* iii. 37 *erant enim circum castra Pompeii permulti editi atque aspericolles; hos primum praesidiis tenuit, castellaque ibi communiit; inde ut loci cuiusque natura ferebat, ex castello in castellum producta munitione, circumvallare Pompeium instituit.* But Steup, who contends that the φρούρια were constructed at the same time with the wall and built in after the manner of the πύργοι in the double wall around Plataea (c. 21.8), insists that the pf. is out of place here, since a mere statement of an occurrence

was to be made, and that the aor. or impf. is required (cf. c. 7. 11; 70. 28, 74. 3). — ἐν κύκλῳ: also c. 74. 8; elsewhere without ἐν, i. 106. 6; ii. 78. 4; 84. 3, etc. — 18. ἔστιν οἱ: so most editt. read; Bk. and Bl., ἔστιν ἡ with five Mss. — ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν: cf. c. 110. 7; ii. 100. 3.

19. καὶ . . . εἵργετο: cf. the conclusion of the account of the siege of Potidaea, i. 64. § 3. — κατὰ κράτος: applied to any energetic use of force, as in i. 64. 14, and freq. — 20. καὶ ἐκ γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης εἵργετο: what had been already in part effected (c. 6. 7) is now completed. Cf. viii. 40. 6.

19. *At Athens an extraordinary war tax is levied for the first time. Lysicles, sent out to Caria to collect taxes, is killed there.*

2. καὶ αὐτοί: et ipsi, proleptic, referring to the demands made also upon the allies, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους. — ἐσφορὰν: i.e. the extraordinary war tax often levied in later times. See Boeckh, *P. E.* p. 612, who says, doubtless correctly, that τότε πρῶτον (cf. i. 96. 6; ii. 56. 6) 'does not mean merely the first property tax levied in the Peloponnesian war, but the first absolutely.' — 3. διακόσια τά-

ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς δώδεκα καὶ Λυσικλέα πέμπτον αὐτὸν  
 5 στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ ἄλλα τε ἡργυρολόγει καὶ περιέπλει, 2  
 καὶ τῆς Καρίας ἐκ Μυοῦντος ἀναβάς διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου  
 πεδίου μέχρι τοῦ Σανδίου λόφου, ἐπιθεμένων τῶν Καρῶν  
 καὶ Ἀναιτῶν, αὐτός τε διαφθείρεται καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρα-  
 τιᾶς πολλοί.

20 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Πλαταιῆς (ἔτι γὰρ ἐπο- 1  
 λιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν), ἐπειδὴ  
 τῷ τε σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπιέζοντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν

λαντα : appos. to ἐσφοράν. Cf. i. 96. 6; ii. 15. 17. — 4. ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς : cf. iv. 50. 2; 75. 3. Cl. thinks that the ships were sent out to collect back tribute (see Köhler, *Abh. der Berl. Akad.* 1869, p. 132 f.), and that the unusual number of στρατηγοί (5 with 12 ships) was due to the fact that this duty would have to be performed at different points. But St. justly insists that καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσενεγκόντες indicates that the same kind of extraordinary tax (ἐσφορά) was levied on both citizens and allies. — Λυσικλέα : doubtless the demagogue ridiculed in Ar. *Eq.* 132 as προβατοπώλης, who married Aspasia after Pericles's death. See Plut. *Per.* 24; also Curtius, *Hist. of Gr.* iii. p. 90, and Ad. Schmidt, *das Perikl. Zeitalter* i. p. 178 ff.

5. ἄλλα ἡργυρολόγει : laid other regions under contribution. The accus. as in ii. 69. 7; viii. 3. 2. The like issue of an expedition sent to the neighbouring coast, as described in ii. 69, shows with what bitterness the half barbarian inhabitants of these regions resisted the collection of the

Athenian tribute. — 6. τῆς Καρίας ἐκ Μυοῦντος : order as in c. 89. 7; 105. 9; i. 100. 15. — 7. τοῦ Σανδίου λόφου : Meineke (*Herm.* iii. p. 363) conjectures Σάνδιος (nom. Σάνδης, — see on i. 64. 10). — 8. Ἀναιτῶν : without doubt those mentioned c. 32. 4 as Σαμίων τῶν ἐξ Ἀναίων, namely those of the oligarchical party, who after the subjugation of Samos (i. 117. § 3) settled on the opposite coast. Cf. iv. 75. 7 τὰ Ἀναία ἐπὶ τῇ Σάμῳ, and viii. 19. 3. These were always with the enemies of Athens. — ἄλλης : besides. Cf. c. 112. 7 Δημοσθένης . . . καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα. See on i. 2. 12; 128. 21. G. 966, 2; H. 705; Kr. *Spr.* 50, 4, 11. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 4. 1; Tac. *Hist.* iv. 56 legatis . . . interfectis ceterum vulgus facile accessurum.

20. The beleaguered Plataeans determine upon a sortie and make preparations to that end.

The events of this and the following chapters are briefly narrated also by Pseudo-Dem. lix. 103; Polyæn. vi. 19. § 2, 3; Diod. xii. 56.

1. ἔτι . . . Βοιωτῶν : cf. ii. 78. § 2 ff. — 3. σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι : partic. in pred.



οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς ἦν τιμωρίας οὐδὲ ἄλλη σῶτηρία ἐφαίνετο,  
 5 ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοί τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξυμπολιορκοῦ-  
 μενοι πρῶτον μὲν πάντες ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ τεῖχη  
 τῶν πολεμίων, ἣν δύνωνται βιάσασθαι, ἐσηγησαμένου  
 τὴν πείραν αὐτοῖς Θεαινέτου τε τοῦ Τολμίδου, ἀνδρὸς  
 μάντεως, καὶ Εὐπόμπιδου τοῦ Δαϊμάχου, ὃς καὶ ἐστρα-  
 10 τήγει· ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἀπώκνησάν πως τὸν κίνδυνον

position in the sense of the verbal subst., = τῇ ἐπιλείψει τοῦ σίτου. Cf. c. 29. 9. — 4. **τιμωρίας**: = *βοηθείας* in Thuc. (i. 25. 2, 11; 38. 15; 58. 5; 69. 30, etc.) and Hdt. (iii. 148. 14; vii. 169. 11); later, 'vengeance.' — 5. **ἐπιβουλεύουσιν**: in this signification only here in Thuc. with inf. (ἐξελθεῖν), freq. with verbal subst. (ἀποχώρησιν, c. 109. 21; κατάλυσιν τῇ τυραννίδι, vi. 54. 15; τὸν ἔκπλουν, vii. 51. 5). For other examples with the inf., cf. Hdt. i. 24. 8; Plato *Symp.* 203 b; and see Herbst on Xen. *Sympos.* 4. 52, and Stallbaum on Plato *Prot.* 343 c. — Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξυμπολιορκοῦμενοι: cf. ii. 6. § 4; 78. § 3. — 7. **βιάσασθαι**: 'to force their way through,' abs. in const., as in vii. 67. 24; 79. 8. — ἐσηγησαμένου τὴν πείραν: *having suggested the attempt.* ἐσηγεῖσθαι = auctorem esse, also iv. 76. 8; vi. 90. 3; 99. 7; vii. 73. 5. — 8. **ἀνδρὸς μάντεως**: for the subst. indicating vocation used as adj., see on i. 115. 9; Kr. *Spr.* 57, 1, 1; Kühn. 405, 1. Soothsayers in the army are mentioned also Hdt. ix. 37; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 19. — 9. **Εὐπόμπιδου**: so with Bk. (after Palāt.) in preference to the clearly incorrect Εὐπολπίδου (of the remaining better

Mss.), as also to Εὐμολπίδου (of inferior Mss.), which Pp. prefers. The name occurs nowhere else, but its very rareness made it more likely to be miscopied. — ὃς καὶ ἐστρατήγει: *who was also strategus*, seems to indicate that the attitude of Eupompidas was of esp. importance to the plan of the Plataeans. A similar plan of the strategus Aristeus during the siege of Potidaea (i. 65. § 1) was unsuccessful. Cf. also viii. 51. 8; 98. 4. Cl.'s explanation, 'who also directed the execution' of the plan, will not do, since, acc. to c. 22. 1, Eupompidas was not alone in the direction of the scheme. Besides, such an anticipation in the narrative would require the aor. (cf. i. 14. 15).

10. **ἀπώκνησαν**: as in c. 30. 12 (cf. vi. 92. 23; viii. 12. 2), with κίνδυνον as obj., which belongs also with μέγαν ἡγησάμενοι. Bl. compares Dem. xviii. 197 οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον, and the imitation of Procopius *B. G.* i., p. 180, 11 τῶν δὲ ἰόντων οἱ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον, ὁπίσω ἀπεκομίζοντο. St. takes ἀπώκνησαν as abs., as in c. 55. 10; iv. 11. 16; vii. 21. 23, supplying from above ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ τεῖχη. — **πως**: with omission

νον, μέγαν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ  
 εἴκοσι μάλιστα ἐνέμειναν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ἐθελονταὶ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.  
 κλίμακας ἐποίησαντο ἴσας τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων · ξυνε- 3  
 μετρήσαντο δὲ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν πλίνθων, ἣ ἔτυχε πρὸς  
 15 σφᾶς οὐκ ἐξαληλιμμένον τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν · ἡριθμοῦντο δὲ  
 πολλοὶ ἅμα τὰς ἐπιβολὰς καὶ ἔμελλον οἱ μὲν τινες ἀμαρτή-  
 σεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλείους τεύξεσθαι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λογισμοῦ,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλάκις ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ ἅμα οὐ πολὺ  
 ἀπέχοντες, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως καθορωμένου ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο

of unnecessary details. — 11. ἐς ἄν-  
 δρας διακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα :  
*about two hundred and twenty*, the  
 prepositional phrase representing the  
 subject, as in c. 85. 5 ; the object, in  
 c. 111. 17 ; 114. 22 ; iv. 80. 17 ; v. 6.  
 22 ; vii. 30. 16. Kühn. 432, 1 ; Kr.  
*Spr.* 60, 8, 1. Though Arn. be right  
 in saying that in the examples col-  
 lected by Matth., *Gr. Gr.* 298, 1, ἐς =  
*up to*, μάλιστα certainly gives here the  
 signification *about*. See on c. 21. 4. —  
 12. ἐνέμειναν : with dat. in figurative  
 sense also viii. 23. 24. — ἐθελονταί :  
 the resolution adopted by the whole  
 had therefore been annulled.

13. ἐποίησαντο : the mid., as with  
 ναῦς, i. 14. 14 ; viii. 56. 21 ; σταυρώ-  
 ματα, vi. 74. 12. — ἴσας : *sc.* τὸ μῆκος.  
*Cf.* vii. 42. 10 ; viii. 10. 8, and freq.,  
 where the term denoting number is  
 omitted. — ξυνεμετρήσαντο : *sc.* τὰς  
 κλίμακας, with Heilm. (*cf.* 1. 20),  
 rather than τὸ τεῖχος (Pp.). ξυν- indi-  
 cates the combination of particulars  
 toward a result, as ξυντεκμηράμενοι,  
 ii. 76. 5. *Cf.* Hdt. iv. 158. 6 ξυμ-  
 μετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς ἡμέρας. As  
 further instances of the same expe-  
 dient adopted under similar circum-

stances, Bl. cites Procop. *B. G.* i. 21 ;  
 Polyæn. vii. 10. 5 ; Liv. xxv. 23. — 14.  
 ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς : *by the layers*, instrum.  
 dative. G. 1181 ; H. 776 ; Kühn.  
 425, 6. — 15. οὐκ ἐξαληλιμμένον : ‘*not*  
*whitewashed*, a term found in Procop.  
*de Aedif.* p. 4, 22 and 27, 31 ; *Levit.*  
 xiv. 42, 43, and 48. Thus Pollux vii.  
 124 τιτάνῳ χρίειν, ἀλείφειν, ἐπαλείφειν,  
 καταλείφειν, ἐξαλείφειν. And so Eus-  
 tathius explains ἀλείφειν τοῖχον by τὸ  
 κονία χρίειν. Hence it appears that  
 the translators have here wrongly  
 rendered ἐξαληλιμμένον, “*plastered*  
*over.*” ’ Bl. — ἡριθμοῦντο δὲ πολλοὶ  
 . . . καὶ ἔμελλον : paratactic con-  
 nexion, in effect = ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἡριθ-  
 μοῦντο, ἔμελλον κτέ. ; while, on the  
 other hand, ἔμελλον οἱ μὲν τινες ἀμαρ-  
 τήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλείους τεύξεσθαι = καὶ  
 εἰ οἱ μὲν τινες ἡμάρτανον, ὅμως οἱ πλείους  
 τεύξεσθαι ἔμελλον. The rare mid.  
 ἡριθμοῦντο does not differ in meaning  
 from the act., as in Plato *Phaedr.*  
 270 d. For other examples, see Steph.  
*Thes.* s.v. Kr. *Spr.* 52, 8, 4 ; Kühn.  
 375, 4. — 16. ἔμελλον : see on c. 11. 4 ;  
 i. 107. 13. — 19. ῥαδίως καθορωμένου ἐς  
 ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τεύχους : *sc.* καθορᾶν.  
*Cf.* Hdt. v. 35. 17 κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν



20 τοῦ τείχους. τὴν μὲν οὖν ξυμμέτρησιν τῶν κλιμάκων 4  
οὕτως ἔλαβον, ἐκ τοῦ πάχους τῆς πλίνθου εἰκάσαντες τὸ  
21 μέτρον. τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν τῶν Πελοποννησίων τοιόνδε τῇ 1  
οἰκοδομήσει. εἶχε μὲν δύο τοὺς περιβόλους, πρὸς τε  
Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἴ τις ἔξωθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίοι, διείχον δὲ  
οἱ περίβολοι ἑκκαίδεκα πόδας μάλιστα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. τὸ 2  
5 οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο, οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες, τοῖς φύλαξιν οἰκή-

κεφαλὴν. καθορωμένου is grammatically construed with τοῦ τείχους, though logically the subj. is ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους. The sense of the passage (ἄμα οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχοντες . . . τοῦ τείχους) seems to be: "as they were not far off, but easily looked down upon the part of the wall which they wished to see." It is admissible to supply ὁρᾶν from καθορωμένου. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1065 δοκῶ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰσορῶν γυναιχ' ὁρᾶν. For the const. ὁρᾶν ἐς τι, cf. Dem. vi. 10 εἰς τὰ παρόντα ὁρῶν, Aesch. *Suppl.* 110 ἰδέσθω εἰς ὕβριν, Eur. *Peliad.* frg. 7 ὁρῶσι δ' οἱ διδόντες εἰς τὰ χρήματα, Paus. i. 24. 2 ἐς αὐτοὺς καιομένους ὁρᾶ. The part of the wall referred to is, of course, ἣ ἔτυχε πρὸς σφᾶς οὐκ ἐξαλλημιμένον (l. 15). See App.

20. τὴν ξυμμέτρησιν . . . ἔλαβον: periphrasis, as in Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 15 μεθόδῳ καὶ δι' ὀργάνων εἰληφέναι δοκεῖ τὴν μέτρησιν. For similar periphrases, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 345; *Phil.* 536. — 21. τῆς πλίνθου: the sing. used collectively, as τὸν ἀριστερόν πόδα, c. 22. 11; τῆς κεφαλῆς, ii. 49. 5; τῆς νεώς, vii. 62. 14; 65. 7. One might infer from this passage that one thickness of bricks prevailed at that time in Greece, at any rate, in Boeotia. — εἰκάσαντες: aor. partic., synchronous

with ἔλαβον. Cf. ii. 68. 10. Kr. *Spr.* 53, 6, 8.

21. Description of the wall of circumvallation and of the manner of guarding it.

2. δύο τοὺς περιβόλους: the pred. position of δύο perhaps emphasizes the special precaution against an attack also from without. — πρὸς Πλαταιῶν: on the side toward Plataea. Kr. *Spr.* 68, 37, 1. Cf. iv. 31. 5; 100. 15; 130. 2. — 4. μάλιστα: as used with statements of quantity implies approximation, though the reality may be more or less. Cf. c. 109. 9; 113. 10; i. 13. 11.

5. τὸ οὖν μεταξὺ τοῦτο, οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες . . . ὥκοδόμητο: this interval, the 16 feet, had been built up as dwelling-places assigned severally to the guards. οἰκήματα is pred., though Thuc. seems, by a sort of anacoluthon, to have construed ὥκοδόμητο rather with it than with τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτο, as the following ξυνεχῇ shows. Cl., who thinks the irregularity is caused by the insertion of οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες, explains οἰκήματα as the real subj. of both members, with τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτο as adv. modifier. St. strikes out, with v. H. and Widmann, οἱ ἑκκαίδεκα πόδες, and explains οἰκήματα διανενημένα as accus., after the analogy

ματα διανευεμημένα ὠκοδόμητο, καὶ ἦν ξυνεχῇ ὥστε ἐν φαίνεσθαι τείχος παχὺ ἐπάλξεις ἔχον ἀμφοτέρωθεν. διὰ 3 δέκα δὲ ἐπάλξεων πύργοι ἦσαν μεγάλοι καὶ ἰσοπλατεῖς τῷ τείχει, διήκοντες ἔς τε τὸ ἔσω μέτωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ 10 αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ ἔξω, ὥστε πάροδον μὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργον, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῶν μέσων διῆσαν. τὰς οὖν νύκτας, ὁπότε 4 χειμῶν εἶη νοτερός, τὰς μὲν ἐπάλξεις ἀπέλειπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πύργων, ὄντων δι' ὀλίγου καὶ ἄνωθεν στεγανῶν, τὴν

of ὄνομα ὀνομάζεσθαι, i. 122. 25. Bl. cites a case of appos. similar to οἱ ἐκκαίδεκα πόδες from App. Bell. Civ. iv. 106 τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων, τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια, δίοδος ἦν. — 6. διανευημένα : cf. ii. 17. 18, where the more unusual κατανείμασθαι is used. — καὶ ἦν ξυνεχῇ : sc. τὰ οἰκήματα, though Steup thinks this incompatible with the rest of the sent., and renders, *it was continuous* (i.e. the περίβολοι were connected), the neut. pl. being indef., as in i. 7. 2 ; 8. 8 ; 102. 6.

7. διὰ δέκα ἐπάλξεων : *at intervals of ten battlements*, i.e. there were ten battlements or turrets between each two of the greater towers. See Steph. Thes. s.v. διά. G. 1206, 1 c ; H. 795, 1 e ; Kühn. 434, i. 1 b ; Kr. Spr. 68, 22, 3. Cf. δι' ὀλίγου, l. 13 ; διέχοντες, c. 22. 8. — 8. ἰσοπλατεῖς : rare word for ἴσοι τὸ πλάτος. Thuc. is fond of compounds in ἰσο- (ἰσοδίαυτος, ἰσοκίνδυνος, ἰσόνομος, ἰσοπαλής, ἰσοπληθής, ἰσόρροπος, ἰσόψηφος). Cf. Aesch. Agam. 1444, 1471. — 9. διήκοντες ἔς τε τὸ ἔσω . . . καὶ τὸ ἔξω : i.e. the towers united the two walls as if by a bridge. The first καὶ means *and*, the second *also*. See on c. 16. 12 ; 31. 8. ἐς is omitted before τὸ ἔξω

with nearly all the Mss. Kühn. 451, 2. See on i. 6. 20 ; vi. 78. 4. οἱ αὐτοί, which is pred., stands in the second clause, as in i. 23. 13, not in the first, as in c. 47. 18 ; ii. 40. 12 ; iv. 17. 3. It seems unnecessary to omit either the first καὶ with L. Herbst (Philol. xxiv. p. 681), or καὶ οἱ αὐτοί with Cobet. — 10. ὥστε πάροδον μὴ εἶναι παρὰ πύργον : *so that it was impossible to pass by a tower*, i.e. either on the inner or on the outer side. εἶναι in pregnant sense, = ὑπάρχειν, as often, particularly after a neg. See on i. 2. 5. παρὰ πύργον is bracketed by St., following Naber (in v. H.'s Stud. Thuc. p. 39). But it makes the sense clearer, and the sing. before δι' αὐτῶν is used collectively. — 11. διῆσαν : sc. οἱ φύλακες, i.e. in going from one μεταπύργιον to another. For change from inf. to finite verb after ὥστε, see GMT. 603.

12. χειμῶν νοτερός : the adj. is not pred., but forms with χειμῶν a single conception, *rain-storm*. Schol. δίνγρος καὶ ὑετὸν ἔχων. The same idea is expressed in c. 22. 2 by χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ. χειμῶν is so used iv. 6. 6 ; 103. 5. — 13. ὄντων : as usual in supplementary causal clauses, placed



φυλακὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν τείχος ᾧ περιεφρουροῦντο  
15 οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιοῦτον ἦν.

22 Οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ παρεσκεύαστο αὐτοῖς, τηρήσαντες νύκτα 1  
χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ καὶ ἅμ' ἀσέληνον ἐξῆσαν.  
ἡγοῦντο δὲ οἷπερ καὶ τῆς πείρας αἴτιοι ἦσαν. καὶ πρῶτον  
μὲν τὴν τάφρον διέβησαν ἣ περιείχεν αὐτούς, ἔπειτα προσ-  
5 ἐμείξαν τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων λαθόντες τοὺς φύλακας,  
ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν μὲν οὐ προΐδόντων αὐτῶν, ψόφῳ δὲ τῷ  
ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι αὐτοὺς ἀντιπαταγοῦντος τοῦ ἀνέμου οὐ

first. Cf. c. 2. 9; i. 124. 4. — δι' ὀλίγου: at a little distance, as c. 43. 14; ii. 89. 41; vii. 71. 9. — 14. περιεφρουροῦντο: found only here in Thuc., and elsewhere only in late writers, e.g. Dio C. xl. 36. See on c. 17. 10.

22. The 220 Plataeans, who persist in their purpose, scale on a rainy night the encompassing wall.

1. παρεσκεύαστο: the impers. pass., rarer in Greek than in Latin. See on i. 46. 1. G. 1240, 2; H. 602; Kr. Spr. 61, 5, 6; Kühn. 378, n. 2. — τηρήσαντες . . . ἀσέληνον: τηρήσαντες also i. 65. 4; iv. 27. 10; vi. 2. 21; as φυλάξαντες, ii. 3. 17; vii. 83. 15. Cf. Dion. H. Ant. iii. 65. 2 φυλάξαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδασι καὶ ἀνέμῳ, Dio C. lxxxix. 12 ἐτήρησε νύκτα ἀσέληνον καὶ ὑετῷ λάβρῳ βρονταῖς τε χειμέριον. For other imitations see Bl.'s translation (note). The rain was mixed with snow, as shown by ἀνέμῳ ὑπονειφομένη, c. 23. 25. — 2. ἐξῆσαν: impf. of the act in progress, as i. 26. 23; 49. 2, the details of the execution being expressed by aors. διέβησαν (3), προσέμειξαν (4). — 3. οἷπερ καὶ τῆς πείρας

αἴτιοι ἦσαν: see on c. 20. 7, 9. — 4. ἣ περιείχεν αὐτούς: i.e. the inner ditch next to the besieged. — προσέμειξαν τῷ τείχει: they reached the foot of the wall. προσέμειξαν of approach also c. 31. 12; i. 46. 8; vi. 104. 19. On the form see St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 39; Meisterhans, p. 144. — 6. ἀνὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν μὲν: in the darkness. ἀνά of local extension also iv. 72. 11 (Kühn. 433, 1, 2); not found elsewhere in Thucydides. For position of μὲν, see Kühn. 528, 1. — οὐ προιδόντων, οὐ κατακουσάντων: without obj., in the general sense of see and hear. The gens. abs. after preceding accus. (τοὺς φύλακας), on account of the independent importance of the causes expressed. GMT. 850; H. 972 d; Kr. Spr. 47, 4, 2; Kühn. 494 b. Cf. c. 13. 30; i. 114. 2. — αὐτῶν: sc. τῶν φυλάκων. — ψόφῳ τῷ: this order, by which stress is thrown on the attribute, is freq. in Thuc. See on i. 1. 6. The dat. depends on ἀντιπαταγοῦντος, which is found only here in Thuc.; elsewhere only in late writers, e.g. Arr. Anab. v. 12. 3; Dio C. xlviii. 48; Plut. Mor. 1000 b.

κατακουσάντων · ἅμα δὲ καὶ διέχοντες πολὺ ᾗσαν, ὅπως 2  
τὰ ὅπλα μὴ κρουόμενα πρὸς ἀλλήλα αἰσθησιν παρέχοι.  
10 ᾗσαν δὲ εὐσταλεῖς τε τῇ ὀπλίσει καὶ τὸν ἀριστερόν πόδα  
μόνον ὑποδεδεμένοι ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν.  
κατὰ οὖν μεταπύργιον προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις 3  
εἰδότες ὅτι ἐρήμοί εἰσι, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰς κλίμακας  
φέρουντες, καὶ προσέθεσαν · ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν  
15 ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι ἀνέβαινον, ὧν ἡγείτο Ἀμμέας ὁ

8. διέχοντες πολὺ : cf. ii. 81. 14.  
The measure of πολὺ here of course must not be supposed greater than necessity demanded. — 9. τὰ ὅπλα : placed for emphasis between ὅπως and μὴ. Cf. viii. 45. 15. — 10. εὐσταλεῖς τῇ ὀπλίσει : = ψιλοί, 14, 17. κούφην ὀπλισιν περιβεβλημένοι, Schol. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 797 εὐσταλῇ στόλον. The armour was of various sorts, acc. to § 3. — τὸν ἀριστερόν πόδα μόνον . . . πρὸς τὸν πηλόν : the emphasis seems to be on μόνον, i.e. only the left foot was shod, the right being bare to prevent slipping in the mud. Cf. Sall. Jug. 94, Ceterum illi, qui escensuri erant, praedocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret. Arnold quotes from Scott's *Lay of Last Minstrel* iv. 8,

“Each better knee was bared to aid  
The warrior in the escalade.”

But many editt. think the meaning is, that the left foot was shod for security against slipping, the right unshod διὰ κούφωτα, as the Schol. explains. See App.

12. κατὰ . . . προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις : what is summarily stated at l. 5 in the aor. is here repeated, with somewhat more exact designation of the point of attack, in the impf., which tense prevails as far as ἐμελλον, l. 20. With προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, cf. vii. 22. 8 πρὸς τὰς ἐντὸς προσμεῖξαι. But see App. — 13. εἰδότες ὅτι ἐρήμοί εἰσι : sc. on account of the νύξ χειμέριος, as explained c. 21. § 4. — πρῶτον μὲν . . . (19) ἔφερον : see App. — 14. προσέθεσαν, (16) ἀνέβη : these two particular facts alone of the whole account are expressed by the aorist. Arn. says, ‘The transition from painting a scene to stating a fact is marked by the variation of tense from ἀνέβαινον to ἀνέβη; the first represents the party in the very act of mounting the wall, the second records the fact that their commander was the first man who did mount it.’ — ἔπειτα, (17) ἔπειτα : after πρῶτον μὲν, cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3. 14. — ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι : for the collective sing., see Kr. *Spr.* 44, 1, 7. Cf. ii. 70. 14. For the use of ξὺν, which is chiefly poetic, seldom occurring in Attic prose except in Xen., see G.



Κοροίβου, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη (μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι  
 ἐξ ἑφ' ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον)· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ  
 ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξὺν δορατίοις ἐχώρουν, οἷς ἕτεροι  
 κατόπιν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον, ὅπως ἐκείνοι ῥᾶον προσβαί-  
 20 νοιεν, καὶ ἔμελλον δώσειν ὅποτε πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶεν.  
 ὥς δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο, ἥσθοντο οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων 4  
 φύλακες· κατέβαλε γάρ τις τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἀντιλαμβανό-  
 μενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων κεραμίδα, ἣ πεσοῦσα δοῦπον  
 ἐποίησε. καὶ αὐτίκα βοή ἦν· τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸ 5  
 25 τείχος ὥρμησεν· οὐ γὰρ ἦδει ὅ τι ἦν τὸ δεινὸν σκοτεινῆς  
 νυκτὸς καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος, καὶ ἅμα οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν  
 Πλαταιῶν ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐξελθόντες προσέβαλλον τῷ  
 τείχει τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἣ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν

1217; Kühn. 431, 2. — 16. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι: *i.e.* Ammeas and his eleven companions, who were to attack in two squads of six each the two nearest towers. — 20. εἶεν: for the form, see on c. 42. 22. St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 62.

21. ἥσθοντο: without expressed obj. as i. 95. 21; i. 18. 9, etc. — οἱ ἐκ τῶν πύργων φύλακες: for the attraction of the prep., see on c. 5. 1 and i. 8. 9. — 23. δοῦπον: Cl. has adopted this reading of one Ms. (A), instead of the vulg. ψόφον, with Bk., Goell., and St., on the ground that it is not only the more appropriate, but also the rarer word, and hence rather to be attributed to Thuc. than to the copyist. It is used chiefly in poetry, but occurs in Xen. *Anab.* ii. 2. 19. But the vulg. seems to be supported by the imitations which Bl. cites from Dio C. (xliii. 11 and xlv. 17), where ψόφον is read.

24. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ὥρμησεν: *i.e.* the garrison, which had gone into shelter from the rain, now hastened each to his own station on the wall. στρατόπεδον, *troops*, without reference to any fixed array, as in ii. 25. 9, and freq. — 25. τὸ δεινόν: *the danger*. Cf. i. 70. 11; 84. 8; i. 20. 13. — σκοτεινῆς νυκτὸς... ὄντος: the partic. belongs to both substs., σκοτεινῆς νυκτὸς being treated as a single word. — 26. τῶν Πλαταιῶν: the part. gen. in the very unusual position between the art. and partic., as in c. 36. 19; 65. 14; i. 126. 33; vi. 102. 1. See Merriam, *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 1882, p. 45. Kr. Spr. 47, 9, 11. — 27. προσέβαλλον: so Steup reads (for the vulg. προσέβαλον), with two Mss. (C and f), as being more natural in describing an event that was not momentary, and in accordance with the following impfs. Cf. esp. παρανίσχον, l. 35. — 28. ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἣ: *from*

ὑπερέβαινον, ὅπως ἤκιστα πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν.  
 30 ἐθορυβοῦντο μὲν οὖν κατὰ χώραν μένοντες, βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν φυλακῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπόρῳ  
 ᾗσαν εἰκάσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον. καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτῶν, 7  
 οἷς ἐτέτακτο παραβοηθεῖν εἴ τι δέοι, ἐχώρουν ἔξω τοῦ  
 τείχους πρὸς τὴν βοήν, φρυκτοὶ τε ἤρροντο ἐς τὰς  
 35 Θήβας πολέμιοι. παρανίσχον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως 8

the opposite side. ἔμπαλιν ἢ also in Hdt. i. 207. 13; ix. 56. 8. ἢ as in τοῦναντίον ἢ, vi. 68. 14; vii. 80. 6; Plato *Gorg.* 481 c. — 29. ὑπερέβαινον: with the corresponding οἱ ὑπερβαίνοντες (c. 23. 1), of what was at that time going on. — πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν νοῦν ἔχοιεν: give attention to them. Cf. vii. 19. 32; viii. 8. 16.

30. ἐθορυβοῦντο: were in great excitement. Cf. v. 65. 28. — κατὰ χώραν: at their post. Cf. i. 28. 18. — 31. ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν φυλακῆς: from the post assigned to each. αὐτῶν, or ἐαυτῶν, is both by position and emphasis preferable to αὐτῶν of most of the Mss.; for as the οὐδεὶς clause is only the complement of κατὰ χώραν μένοντες, the pl. αὐτῶν refers back to the subj. of ἐθορυβοῦντο. G. 960; H. 673 b. Cf. c. 91. 6; viii. 48. 28. St. reads αὐτῶν (intensive). Kr. *Spr.* 47, 9, 12. — ἐν ἀπόρῳ ᾗσαν εἰκάσαι τὸ γιγνόμενον: they were at a loss to conjecture what was going on. Cf. i. 25. 2 ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν.

32. οἱ τριακόσιοι: for the art., see on c. 3. 18. The number is a favourite one for a corps of picked men, esp. among the Lacedaemonians. See Trieber, *N. Jahrb.* ciii. p. 443 ff.

Cf. ii. 25. 17; iv. 70. 14; 125. 19.

— 33. ἐτέτακτο: impers., as in c. 61. 12, and with dat. and inf., as i. 19. 6; v. 31. 10 (Kr., ἐπετέτακτο; Cobet, προσετέτακτο). — ἐχώρουν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὴν βοήν: since the towers from which the cry of alarm came were, as all the rest, ἰσοπλατεῖς τῷ τείχει (c. 21. 9), one could not know whether the danger was from the city or from without; but under the circumstances it was natural to think first of danger from without, i.e. from Athens. And so the 300, as well as the guards of the remaining towers, left the Plataeans, who were crossing, for the time unmolested. ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὴν βοήν, i.e. to the place whence the cry came, in the proper sense of βοηθεῖν. The φρυκτοὶ πολέμιοι were signals to indicate danger from the enemy. Cf. ii. 94. 1. From this place and c. 80. 7, Arn. infers (against the Schol. and Polyb. x. 40) considerable proficiency in the art of signalling. See Merriam, *Telegraphing among the Ancients*, Arch. Inst. Am., Classical Series iii. — 35. παρανίσχον: lit. raised by the side of, i.e. so as to counteract the others. The compound not found elsewhere in Thuc.; intr. in Plut.



Πλαταιῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους φρυκτοὺς πολλοὺς πρότερον  
 παρσκευασμένους ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅπως ἀσαφῇ τὰ  
 σημεῖα τῆς φρυκτωρίας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ καὶ μὴ  
 βοηθοῖεν, ἄλλο τι νομίσαντες τὸ γιγνόμενον εἶναι ἢ  
 40 τὸ ὄν, πρὶν σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐξιόντες διαφύγοιεν  
 23 καὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιλάβοιντο. οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες 1  
 τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐν τούτῳ, ὥς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἀνε-  
 βεβήκεσαν καὶ τοῦ πύργου ἑκατέρου τοὺς φύλακας δια-  
 φθείραντες ἐκεκρατήκεσαν τὰς τε διόδους τῶν πύργων  
 5 ἐνστάντες αὐτοὶ ἐφύλασσον μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῖν,

*Aemil. Paul.* 32. — 37. ὅπως . . . ἢ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν : the same change of mood as in vi. 96. 18, 19 ; vii. 17. 15, 17 ; viii. 87. 14, 17. GMT. 321 ; Kr. *Spr.* 54, 8, 2 ; Kühn. 553, 6. — 38. τῆς φρυκτωρίας : as *Ar. Aves* 1161 ; *Aesch. Agam.* 33, 490. Cf. φρυκτωροί, viii. 102. 2 ; φρυκτωρεῖν, c. 80. 7. — 40. οἱ ἐξιόντες : cf. c. 20. 6 ; 22. 2. — πρὶν διαφύγοιεν : opt. by assimilation after μὴ βοηθοῖεν. GMT. 643 ; Kühn. 399, 6 b. — 41. τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιλάβοιντο : reach safety. Cf. iv. 128. 12 ; vii. 60. 17 ; 77. 29. For the gen., see G. 1099 ; H. 738 ; Kühn. 416, 2.

23. They succeed in crossing the wall and the outer ditch.

1. οἱ ὑπερβαίνοντες τῶν Πλαταιῶν : these words are the general subj. of the whole sent., which is afterwards distributed into οἱ μὲν (7), οἱ δέ (9). The expression stands, as σφῶν οἱ ἄνδρες, οἱ ἐξιόντες, c. 22. 40, opp. to οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Πλαταιῶν ὑπολελειμμένοι, c. 22. 27, or οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Πλαταιῆς, c. 22. 36 ; 24. 15, and answers to the const. ἐκ τοῦμπαλιν ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτῶν ὑπερέβαινον, c. 22. 29.

The pres. partic. is used to designate all the participants so long as the undertaking lasts. See on c. 4. 13. — 2. ὥς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν . . . ἐπιβοηθεῖν : parenthetical subord. clause. See Steup, following Pp., *Rh. Mus.* xxxiii. p. 253 f. Most commentators end the parenthetical clause at ἐκεκρατήκεσαν, and make τε, in l. 4, correl. to καὶ in l. 6. But, with this const., ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων . . . βάλλοντες would be a mere repetition of τὰς τε διόδους . . . ἐπιβοηθεῖν. The first part of the parenthetical clause is not resumptive, but progressive, since above (c. 22. 21) only a number of the detachment of Ammeas was said to have ascended the wall, while here οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν includes not only the whole twelve, but also those armed with spears. — 3. τοῦ πύργου ἑκατέρου : cf. c. 22. 17. — 4. τὰς διόδους τῶν πύργων : i.e. the passages through the lower part of the towers. Cf. c. 21. 11. — 5. αὐτοί : opp. to the former guards. See on i. 100. 14. — ἐφύλασσον μηδένα . . . ἐπιβοηθεῖν : cf. vii. 17. 5 ; also ii. 69. 4 φυλακὴν εἶχε μήτ' ἐκπλεῖν.

καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς πύργοις  
καὶ ἐπαναβιβάσαντες ἄνδρας πλείους οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύρ-  
γων τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν εἶργον  
βάλλοντες, οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πλείους πολλὰς προσθέντες  
10 κλίμακας ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπώσαντες διὰ τοῦ μετα-  
πυργίου ὑπερέβαινον. ὁ δὲ διακομιζόμενος αἰεὶ ἵστατο ἐπὶ 2  
τοῦ χείλους τῆς τάφρου καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἠκόντι-  
ζον, εἴ τις παραβοηθῶν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος κωλυτῆς γίγνοιτο  
τῆς διαβάσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες διεπεπεραίωντο, οἱ ἀπὸ 3  
15 τῶν πύργων, χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι καταβαίνοντες, ἐχώρουν

The const., *μή* with inf., is the same as with *κωλύειν*. — 6. *καί*: *also*. It was not deemed sufficient simply to guard the passages of the towers. — 7. *πλείους*: *several, a number*, as in c. 22. 21, or possibly, *more*, *sc.* than those that guarded the passages below. — 8. *καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν*: belongs to *εἶργον*, not to *ἐπιβοηθοῦντας*, and, with a reference to *τὰς διόδους φυλάσσοντες*, as well as to *ἐπαναβιβάσαντες*, more fully explains *ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων*. Kr. explains, '*they kept back from the towers the advancing foe, shooting at them from below and from above.*' — 9. *οἱ δέ*: *i.e.* those still at the foot of the wall; *οἱ πλείους* being appos., as in viii. 80. 13, but not restrictive, as in ii. 4. 19. — *προσθέντες*: *sc.* τῷ τείχει. — 10. *ἅμα*: connects *προσθέντες* closely with *ἀπώσαντες*. — 11. *ὑπερέβαινον*: includes, acc. to what follows, also the crossing of the outer ditch.

ὁ δὲ διακομιζόμενος αἰεὶ ἵστατο: *always as one came over he halted*. *αἰεὶ* belongs not only to the iterative partic. ὁ διακομιζόμενος (= ὅποτε τις δια-

κομίζοιτο), but also to ἵστατο, — hence its position. Kr. Spr. 50, 10, 5. See on i. 2. 4. The pl. idea implied in this clause finds expression in the verbs that follow. — ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τῆς τάφρου: *i.e.* the outer ditch (c. 24. 13), to be distinguished from the inner mentioned c. 22. 4. With *χείλος*, *bank*, cf. *labrum fossae*, Liv. xxxvii. 37. — 13. *παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος*: *by the side of the wall*. — *κωλυτῆς γίγνοιτο τῆς διαβάσεως*: = *κωλύοι τὴν διάβασιν*. See on c. 2. 11.

14. *πάντες*: *sc.* except those still on the two towers. — 15. *χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι καταβαίνοντες*: parenthetical, *the last descending with difficulty*. *οἱ τελευταῖοι* is in part. appos. to *οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων*, as i. 119. 5; ii. 54. 4. Of the smaller detachment (= *οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων* = *οἱ μὲν*, l. 7 above), under whose protection the larger division crossed the wall, those who descended last got down with difficulty, being hard pressed doubtless by the enemy, who must have pushed after them through the towers. See Steup, *Rh. Mus.* xxxiii. p. 255. Arn., Bl., and



ἐπὶ τὴν τάφρον, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτοῖς ἐπεφέ-  
 ροντο λαμπάδας ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πλαταιῆς ἐκείνους 4  
 ἑώρων μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλους τῆς  
 τάφρου, καὶ ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον ἐς τὰ γυμνά, αὐτοὶ  
 20 δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὄντες ἦσσαν διὰ τὰς λαμπάδας καθεω-  
 ρῶντο. ὥστε φθάνουσι τῶν Πλαταιῶν καὶ οἱ ὕστατοι δια-  
 βάντες τὴν τάφρον, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βιαίως· κρύσταλλός 5  
 τε γὰρ ἐπεπήγει οὐ βέβαιος ἐν αὐτῇ ὥστ' ἐπελθεῖν, ἀλλ'  
 οἷος ἀπηλιώτου † ἢ βορέου ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον, καὶ ἡ νύξ  
 25 τοιούτῳ ἀνέμῳ ὑπονειφομένη πολὺ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπε-  
 ποιήκει, ὃ μόλις ὑπερέχοντες ἐπεραιώθησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ

Jow. take only χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι as parenthetical. — 16. οἱ τριακόσιοι : cf. c. 22. 33.

18. μᾶλλον : *more*, i.e. better. Cf. ἦσσαν, l. 20. — ἐκ τοῦ σκότους : cf. Xen. *Anab.* vii. 4. 18 ἡκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους. — 19. τὰ γυμνά : i.e. the unprotected parts of the body, as in v. 10. 17 ; 71. 6. Cf. Liv. xxii. 50 in latus dextrum quod patebat Numidae iacularentur. — 20. διὰ τὰς λαμπάδας : i.e. the enemy's torches, which lighted only the space just around the bearers. — 22. βιαίως : *hard pressed*. Kühn. 497, 5. Cf. ii. 33. 14 βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι, iv. 31. 15 ἀναχώρησις βιαιοτέρα, v. 73. 22 ἀποχώρησις οὐ βίαιος.

κρύσταλλος ἐπέπήγει : cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 501 περᾷ κρυσταλλοπήγα διὰ πόρον, Eur. *Rhes.* 441 φυσήματα κρυσταλλόπηκτα. — 23. ἐπελθεῖν : διαδραμεῖν, Schol. — 24. οἷος ἀπηλιώτου ἢ βορέου ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον : *such as* (is formed) *when the wind is east instead of north, rather watery*. This interpretation, given by the Schol. and

Va., and adopted by Arn., Bl., and Jow., is doubtless the best that can be made out of the text as it stands. For the omission of μᾶλλον before ἡ, which Jow. thinks is softened by its occurrence after ὑδατώδης, Arn. cites Soph. *Ajax* 966 ἐμοὶ πικρὸς τέθνηκεν ἡ κείνοις γλυκὺς. Dobree brackets ἡ βορέου. Pp. would transpose ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον, or bracket ὑδατώδης. For the temporal gens., see G. 1136 ; H. 759 ; Kühn. 418, 8 b ; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 2, 1. On the form ἀπηλιώτης, see Lobeck on Soph. *Aj.* 805. ὑδατώδης occurs only here in Thuc. — καὶ ἡ νύξ . . . ὑπονειφομένη : *and the night with such a wind somewhat snowy* (lit. *besnowed*). A bold and rather poetic use of ὑπονειφομένη that seems not to be found elsewhere. Cf. ὑπένειφεν, iv. 103. 5. On the form ὑπονειφομένη, which most of the best Mss. have, see J. Schmidt, *zur Gesch. d. indogerm. Vokalismus* i. p. 134 ; Stahl *Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 39. Cobet, *ad Hyper.* p. 57, prefers ὑπονειφομένη. — 26. ὃ μόλις ὑπερέχοντες ἐπεραιώθησαν : *which they crossed scarcely keep-*

καὶ ἡ διάφευξις αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέ-  
**24** γεθος. ὁρμήσαντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἐχώ- 1  
 ρουν ἄθρόοι τὴν ἐς Θήβας φέρουσαν ὁδόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχον-  
 τες τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρώον, νομίζοντες ἥκιστα  
 σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέσθαι τὴν ἐς τοὺς  
**5** πολεμίους· καὶ ἅμα ἐώρων τοὺς Πελοποννησίους τὴν  
 πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς τὴν ἐπ' Ἀθηνῶν  
 φέρουσαν μετὰ λαμπάδων διώκοντας. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἔξ ἧ 2

*ing* (their heads) *above*. *δ* belongs to both partic. and verb. For *ὑπερέχειν* with acc. in fig. sense, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1365. — *ἐγένετο . . . μᾶλλον*: Cl. explains that *ἐγένετο* is not merely passive of *ποιεῖσθαι*, but has the stronger meaning of successful accomplishment, as in v. 55. 15; vi. 74. 3; viii. 57. 8. “And their escape was accomplished more, etc.” But cf. vii. 41. 3 *τὴν κατάφευξιν ἐποιοῦντο*. The idea of successful accomplishment is inseparable from the expression *ἐγένετο ἡ διάφευξις*. *διάφευξις*, which occurs elsewhere only in late writers, for *διαφυγή*, acc. to Thuc.’s preference for forms in *-σις*, which appears esp. in connexion with the pass. *γίγνεσθαι*. Cf. c. 92. 16; i. 73. 1; 75. 14; ii. 11. 17; 14. 7; 94. 2; iv. 74. 18; 85. 1; 113. 1; 116. 10; v. 82. 18; vi. 103. 17; vii. 42. 7; viii. 21. 2; 66. 9; 89. 26; 97. 13. On Thuc.’s use of verbal nouns in *-σις*, see *Introd. to Book I.* p. 49, and Sihler, *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* xii. p. 96 ff. — 27. *διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος τὸ μέγεθος*: for the order, see on i. 32. 8.

**24.** *212 men, having eluded their pursuers, reach Athens.*

**3.** *τὸ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρώον*:

the temenos of the Plataean hero Androcates, who is mentioned by Plut. *Arist.* 11, is referred to also by Hdt. ix. 25. 18, and Plut. *ibid.* — *νομίζοντες . . . ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους*: *thinking those would least suspect that they had taken this road, which led to the enemy*. The irregularity in the order of words arose from emphasizing *σφᾶς ταύτην*. For the rare verb *ὑποτοπῆσαι*, used by Thuc. elsewhere only in aor. partic., see on i. 20. 9, and for aor. inf. after *νομίζειν* referring to the future, see note and App. on ii. 3. 9. St. inserts *ἄν* after *ἥκιστα*. GMT. 127; Kühn. 389, n. 8. — 5. *τὴν πρὸς Κιθαιρῶνα καὶ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς*: through this pass, called by the Athenians, from the wood-covered peaks, *Δρυὸς κεφαλαί*, by the Boeotians, from the three easily distinguishable summits, *Τρεῖς κεφαλαί* (Hdt. ix. 39. 5), ran one of the three main roads between Boeotia and Attica in a southeasterly direction by Eleutherae. See Vischer, *Erinnerungen aus Griechenland*, p. 533; Bursian i. p. 249. — 7. *μετὰ λαμπάδων*: cf. c. 23. 17. — *διώκοντας*: abs., *hastening forward*. For the acc. connected with *διώκοντας*, as well as those with *ἐχώ-*



ἐπτα σταδίους οἱ Πλαταιῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐχώρησαν,  
 ἔπειθ' ὑποστρέψαντες ἦσαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος φέρουσιν  
 10 ὁδὸν ἐς Ἐρύθρας καὶ Ὑσιᾶς, καὶ λαβόμενοι τῶν ὁρῶν  
 διαφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἄνδρες δώδεκα καὶ διακό-  
 σιοι ἀπὸ πλειόνων· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ἀπετράποντο  
 ἐς τὴν πόλιν πρὶν ὑπερβαίνειν, εἰς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξω τάφρῳ  
 τοξότης ἐλήφθη. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ χώραν 3  
 15 ἐγένοντο τῆς βοηθείας παυσάμενοι· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
 Πλαταιῆς τῶν μὲν γεγεννημένων εἰδότες οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ  
 ἀποτραπομένων σφίσιν ἀπαγγειλάντων ὥς οὐδεὶς πε-  
 ρίεστι, κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες, ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐσπέν-  
 δοντο ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς, μαθόντες δὲ τὸ ἀληθές  
 20 ἐπαύσαντο.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἄνδρες οὕτως ὑπερβάντες

ρησαν and ἦσαν below, see G. 1057; Kühn. 409, 1, 7.

9. τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρος . . . Ὑσιᾶς: this road, which branched off eastward not far from Plataea, is to be distinguished from that which led directly from Thebes to Hysiae, mentioned by Paus. ix. 1. 6 οὐ τὴν εὐθείαν ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβῶν τὴν πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Ὑσιᾶς πρὸς Ἐλευθερῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. — 10. ἐς Ἐρύθρας καὶ Ὑσιᾶς: the remoter point is mentioned first, for Erythrae was east of Hysiae. Cf. c. 29. 6, and see on ii. 7. 16. For the accent of Ἐρύθρας, see Eustathius on Hom. B 499 Ἐρύθραι μὲν βαρυτόνως αἱ τῆς Βοιωτίας, Ἐρυθραὶ δὲ ὀξύτόνως αἱ τῆς Ἰωνίας. — λαβόμενοι: having reached, with gen., as in c. 106. 10; viii. 80. 13. G. 1099; H. 739; Kühn. 416, 2. Cf. ἀντιλαβέσθαι in the same sense c. 22.

1. — 12. ἀπὸ πλειόνων: i.e. the 220 mentioned in c. 20. 11. ἀπό as in

c. 112. 30; i. 49. 25; 110. 2; vii. 87. 26. Kühn. 414, N. 4. — εἰσὶ τινες οἱ: treated as a single subst., some, hence the pres. is retained. G. 1029; H. 998.

14. κατὰ χώραν ἐγένοντο: returned to their post. Cf. κατὰ ξυλλόγους γίγνεσθαι, c. 27. 7; κατὰ ξυστάσεις γίγνεσθαι, ii. 21. 15; ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο, Xen. Anab. iv. 8. 15. κατὰ χώραν is found elsewhere only with

μένειν (c. 22. 30; i. 28. 18; ii. 58. 17; iv. 14. 28; 26. 3; 76. 26; vii. 49. 24; viii. 71. 21; 86. 16). — 15. τῆς βοηθείας: see on c. 22. 34. — οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: the proleptic use of ἐκ caused by the following κήρυκα ἐκπέμψαντες. See on c. 22. 22. — 18. ἐσπένδοντο ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς: conative impf. Schol. σπονδὰς ἐξήτουν ποιῆσαι. GMT. 36; Kühn. 382, 6 b. With acc. of thing and dat. of person also c. 109. 10; 114. 11. Kühn. 424, N. 1 b. — 21. οἱ μὲν δὴ . . . οὕτως ὑπερβάντες

25 ἐσώθησαν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος 1  
 τελευτῶντος ἐκπέμπεται Σάλαιθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐς  
 Μυτιλήνην τριήρει. καὶ πλεύσας ἐς Πύρραν καὶ ἐξ αὐ-  
 τῆς πεζῇ κατὰ χαράδραν τινά, ἣ ὑπερβατὸν ἦν τὸ περι-  
 5 τείχισμα, διαλαθὼν ἐσέρχεται ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, καὶ  
 ἔλεγε τοῖς προέδροις ὅτι ἐσβολή τε ἅμα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 ἔσται καὶ αἱ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες παρέσονται ἃς ἔδει βοη-  
 θῆσαι αὐτοῖς, προαποπεμφθῆναί τε αὐτὸς τούτων ἕνεκα  
 καὶ ἅμα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελησόμενος. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μυτιλη- 2

ἐσώθησαν: cf. c. 20. 12 ἐνέμειναν τῇ  
 ἐξόδῳ ἐθελονταὶ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. The fate  
 of the city and of those who remained  
 in it is narrated in c. 52-68.

25. The beleaguered Mytileneans  
 are encouraged to hold out by the  
 Lacedaemonian Salaethus, who steals  
 into the city.

2. ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος: the art., sus-  
 pected by Kr., is protected by c. 100.  
 11; v. 52. 3; viii. 26. 8; 35. 2. The  
 use of the art. is nowhere more vari-  
 able than with names of peoples. —  
 ἐς Μυτιλήνην: which was in the con-  
 dition described c. 18. § 5. — 3. ἐς  
 Πύρραν: on the inmost recess of the  
 bay which extends from the west  
 coast deep into the island, whence  
 the distance to Mitylene was short-  
 est. — 4. κατὰ χαράδραν τινά: i.e.  
 along the dry bed of a torrent.  
 Cf. c. 98. 7; 107. 14; 112. 22. — ἣ  
 ὑπερβατὸν ἦν: if the text be sound,  
 either, as Bl., because the wall of the  
 Athenians had not been completed  
 across the ravine, or, as St., because  
 it was lower there and less carefully  
 guarded. Steup, who assumes that  
 the wall must have been everywhere

of the same height — measured from  
 base to top — and hence not easier  
 to cross in the ravine than elsewhere,  
 favors Cl.'s suggestion of an outlet  
 for the water left open in the bed of  
 the torrent, in which case v. Herw.'s  
 conjecture ὑποβατόν, for ὑπερβατόν,  
 would be probable. — 5. διαλαθὼν:  
 i.e. λάθρα διελθὼν or ὑπερβάς. Con-  
 trary to the usual const., λανθάνω takes  
 here the form of the limiting parti-  
 ciple. GMT. 893; Kühn. 482, n. 14.  
 — 6. τοῖς προέδροις: prob. the official  
 title of the ruling board under the  
 oligarchical constitution of Mytilene.  
 Cf. viii. 67. 15, where the first five men  
 to be chosen under the constitution  
 proposed by Pisander are called πρό-  
 εδροι. See Plehn, *Lesbos*, p. 93. —  
 7. αἱ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες: cf. c. 16.  
 § 3. — 8. προαποπεμφθῆναί τε: the  
 particle introduces the *third* member.  
 For the change from const. with ὅτι  
 to inf., cf. c. 2. 12, 15; 3. 12, 14, and  
 see on i. 87. 11. Kühn. 550, n. 3.  
 — 9. καὶ ἅμα . . . ἐπιμελησόμενος:  
 for partic. co-ord. with prepositional  
 phrase, cf. c. 34. 17; 42. 23; i. 39. 2;  
 80. 3; ii. 89. 22.



10 ναῖοι ἐθάρσουν τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἦσσαν εἶχον  
τὴν γνώμην ὥστε ξυμβαίνειν. ὃ τε χειμῶν ἐτελεύτα οὗ-  
τος, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν  
Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

26 \* Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, 1  
ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην [δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα] ναῦς  
ἀπέστειλαν, ἄρχοντα Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος,  
προστάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι  
5 ἐσέβαλον, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν θορυβούμε-

10. πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους: Cl. con-  
strues with ἦσσαν εἶχον τὴν γνώμην, as  
v. 44. 7; 48. 10; Xen. *Anab.* ii 5. 29  
(cf. also Thuc. v. 13. 8; 14. 4), *they had  
their mind less turned* (were less in-  
clined) *to the Athenians*, ὥστε ξυμ-  
βαίνειν being an explanatory addition.  
But Steup connects πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
with ξυμβαίνειν, comparing c. 27. 3,  
in which case the order of words  
would be as in vii. 86. 12 τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ  
τῆς νήσου ἄνδρας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ  
Νίκλας προθυμήθη . . . ὥστε ἀφεθῆναι,  
and ὥστε pleonastic after εἶχον τὴν  
γνώμην, as often after πείθειν (see on  
c. 31. 10), παρασκευάζειν (c. 36. 20),  
δεῖσθαι (i. 119. 7), ψηφίζεσθαι (v. 17.  
20; vi. 88. 47), δόξαν (viii. 79. 2),  
ξυγχωρεῖσθαι (v. 17. 12). Kühn. 473,  
n. 6. This certainly brings out more  
clearly the evident sense of the pas-  
sage.—11. ὃ τε χειμῶν κτέ.: only here  
is this formula for the conclusion  
of the year introduced by τε, *and so  
this winter ended*. Generally the con-  
nexion is looser: with καί, as c. 88.  
13; ii. 47. 2; 103. 5; iv. 51. 5; 116.  
14; 135. 8; v. 39. 18; 51. 10; 56. 19;  
81. 10; 83. 20; vi. 7. 24; 93. 20;

vii. 18. 32; viii. 6. 32; 60. 16; or  
with μέν (in *resumé*), as c. 116. 7;  
ii. 70. 21.

#### FIFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

cc. 26–88.

26. *The next spring the Pelopon-  
nesians send a fleet to succour Myti-  
lene, and make at the same time a  
fourth invasion of Attica.*

1. οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι . . . (4) αὐτοὶ  
καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι: see on c. 1. 1. —  
2. [δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα]: Cl. ex-  
plains that here, where the actual  
sending of the expedition is de-  
scribed, the exact number is given in-  
stead of the round number forty used  
elsewhere in the account (c. 16. 16;  
25. 7; 29. 1; 69. 1). Arn. thinks the  
two additional ships may have been  
the Spartan contingent, which in such  
expeditions was always small. Cf.  
viii. 6. 31. Steup brackets the words.  
See App. — 3. ἄρχοντα: for ἔχοντα  
of the Mss. See App. — ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς  
ναύαρχος: cf. c. 16. 17. Here, as ii.  
66. 6; 80. 12, the nauarchy extends  
from the summer of one year to the  
next. — 5. ὅπως . . . ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν:

νοι ἥσσον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην καταπλεούσαις ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν. ἡγείτο δὲ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ταύτης Κλεομέ- 2

the reason why the invasion was made exactly then, not earlier nor later. Cf. § 4 and c. 25. 6 ὅτι ἐσβολή τε . . . παρέσονται. — ἀμφοτέρωθεν θορυβούμενοι : *i.e.* not only threatened by the fleet sailing to Lesbos, but actually attacked by a land force in Attica. — 6. ἥσσον : *i.e.* less than they could but for the invasion then made into Attica, against which part of the Athenian forces would be engaged. The Spartan government did not anticipate, of course, that in consequence of the slowness and cowardice of Alcidas the Athenians would hear of the fall of Mytilene soon after they heard of the sailing of Alcidas, and so would not need to send thither any more ships. Cf. c. 29. § 1. — ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην καταπλεούσαις ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν : the sense of the whole final clause seems to be, “that the Athenians embarrassed both by sea and land might the less with their ships sail to Mytilene and bring aid” (lit. *with their ships sailing to Mytilene bring aid*). So St. explains (*Goett. Gel. Anz.* 1882, p. 97), taking the dat. as instrumental. The text is generally interpreted, “that the Athenians might the less advance against the ships sailing to Mytilene.” But ἐπιβοηθεῖν τινι means always, if the dat. is not instrumental, *hasten to the aid of* (cf. i. 73. 24; iv. 1. 11; 29. 23; 43. 15; Hdt. vii. 207. 9; viii. 1. 12; 14. 5); besides, to make καταπλεούσαις attrib. would require either that ναυσὶν follow ἐς

τὴν Μυτιλήνην, or that the article be repeated after ναυσὶν. Steup brackets καταπλεούσαις. See App. καταπλεῖν does not differ essentially from the simple verb, as also in i. 51. 13; ii. 103. 3; iv. 26. 20; viii. 35. 4; 108. 1. ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν, with the best Mss., instead of ἐπιβοηθήσωσιν. GMT. 324; H. 881 c.

7. ἡγείτο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ταύτης : cf. ii. 10. 9. — Κλεομένης ὑπὲρ Πανσανίου : οὗτος ὁ Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Πλειστοάναξ παῖδες εἰσι Πανσανίου τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀριστεύσαντος ἐπὶ τῶν Μήδων, Schol. See on i. 94. 1; 114. 11. Archidamus, who had led the previous invasions, was prob. still alive, but hindered by illness. His death must have occurred soon after, for his son Agis, as king, leads the expedition of the following year, c. 89. 3. See Kr. *Hist.-phil. Stud.* i. p. 151. Elsewhere, in narrating Peloponnesian invasions of Attica, Thuc. always adds the father's name to that of the leader (c. 1. 3; i. 114. 11; ii. 19. 6; 47. 6; iv. 2. 3; vii. 19. 3 — cf. also c. 89. 3; ii. 71. 3). But everywhere else a Spartan king is the leader. The present passage differs, it is true, also from i. 107. 6, where in the account of the expedition into central Greece, which led to the battle of Tanagra, it is said, Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Πανσανίου βασιλέως, νέου ὄντος ἔτι, ἡγουμένον. Still one is less inclined to accept, with G. Osberger (*Festgruss f. Heerwagen*, p. 89 f.), the loss



νης ὑπὲρ Πανσανίου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος νιέος βασιλέως  
 ὄντος καὶ νεωτέρου ἔτι, πατρὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὢν. ἐδήλωσαν 3  
 10 δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τά τε πρότερον τετμημένα [καὶ] εἴ τι ἐβε-  
 βλαστήκει καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἐσβολαῖς παρελέλειπτο·  
 καὶ ἡ ἐσβολὴ αὕτη χαλεπώτατη ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις  
 μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν. ἐπιμένοντες γὰρ αἰεὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λέ- 4  
 σβου τι πεύσεσθαι τῶν νεῶν ἔργον ὡς ἤδη πεπεραιω-  
 15 μένων ἐπεξῆλθον τὰ πολλὰ τέμνοντες. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν  
 ἀπέβαινε αὐτοῖς ὦν προσεδέχοντο καὶ ἐπελελοίπει ὁ  
 σῖτος, ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.  
 27 Οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς αἶ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς 1  
 οὐχ ἦκον ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἀλλὰ ἐνεχρόνιζον, καὶ ὁ  
 σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἀναγκάζονται ξυμβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς

of ὁ Πανσανίου before ὑπὲρ Πανσανίου, since the absence of Λακεδαιμονίων with βασιλέως is also unusual. In i. 107. 6, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι occurs as subj. 8. ὑπέρ: *in place of*. Kühn. 435, i. 2 a: — νιέος: this form of gen. also i. 13. 26; i. 37. 2; ii. 100. 14; νιοῦ, v. 16. 24. See on i. 13. 26. — 9. νεωτέρου ἔτι: *yet too young*, sc. to rule. Cf. vi. 12. 10 νεώτερος ἔτι ὢν ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν. — πατρὸς δέ: see App.

10. [καί]: see App. — 11. ὅσα . . . παρελέλειπτο: cf. ii. 57. 8, where, in the account of the second invasion, τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἔτεμον must mean, *ravaged all parts* of the land, not *every point*. παραλείπειν, *spare*, as in ii. 13. 7. — 13. μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν: cf. ii. 57. § 2. — ἐπιμένοντες . . . τι πεύσεσθαι: for the const. with inf., see on c. 2. 7; 12. 11. — 14. ὡς ἤδη πεπεραιωμένων: as was natural to assume, since the fleet was expected to make all haste (c. 29. 2), instead of proceeding with the

utmost slowness, as it did (c. 27. 2; 29. 3). For const. of the partic., see on c. 4. 15. — 15. ἐπεξῆλθον: abs., *they went forward*, as i. 62. 24. Cf. Plato *Gorg.* 492 d. Bm. takes τὰ πολλὰ with ἐπεξῆλθον, comparing c. 67. 1 ταῦτα ἐπεξήλθομεν (used fig.), and ii. 94. 13 καταδραμόντες τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὰ πολλὰ. — 16. ἐπελελοίπει ὁ σῖτος: i.e. the corn brought with them. Cf. c. 1. 8; ii. 10. 4; 23. 11. — 17. ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις: for the formula, see on c. 1. 9.

27. 28. *In Mytilene the democratic party comes into power, whereupon the authorities surrender the city to Paches, on condition that the fate of the Mytileneans should be decided by the Athenians.*

1. ὡς . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου: as Salaethus had promised, c. 25. 7. — 2. ἐνεχρόνιζον: only here in Thuc., as ἐνδιατρίβειν, c. 29. 3; v. 12. 6; vii. 81. 20. — 3. ἐπελελοίπει: not entirely,

Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὰδε. ὁ Σάλαιθος καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ προσδε-  
 5 χόμενος ἔτι τὰς ναῦς ὀπλίζει τὸν δῆμον πρότερον ψιλὸν  
 ὄντα ὡς ἐπεξιών τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οἱ δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἔλαβον 3  
 ὄπλα, οὔτε ἠκροῶντο ἔτι τῶν ἀρχόντων, κατὰ ξυλλόγους  
 τε γιγνόμενοι ἢ τὸν σῆτον ἐκέλευον τοὺς δυνατοὺς φέ-  
 ρειν ἐς τὸ φανερόν καὶ διανέμειν ἅπασιν, ἢ αὐτοὶ ξυγ-  
 10 χωρήσαντες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἔφασαν παραδώσειν τὴν  
 28 πόλιν. γνόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν οὗτ' ἀποκωλύ- 1  
 σειν δυνατοὶ ὄντες, εἴ τ' ἀπομονωθήσονται τῆς ξυμβά-  
 σεως κινδυνεύοντες, ποιοῦνται κοινῇ ὁμολογίαν πρὸς

as may be inferred from l. 8 below.  
 —**ξυμβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους** :  
 for the const., see Kühn. 441, iii. 1 b.  
 See on c. 25. 10.

5. **ὀπλίζει** : *i.e.* he gives them full  
 hoplite armour (viii. 25. 4), which  
 hitherto the *δυνατοί* had reserved to  
 themselves, the lower classes of citi-  
 zens serving as *ψιλοί*, with spear or  
 bow, without breastplate and shield.

7. **τῶν ἀρχόντων** : = *τῶν ἐν τοῖς*  
*πράγμασι* (c. 28. 1). — **κατὰ ξυλλόγους**  
**γιγνόμενοι** : *i.e.* coming together in  
 secret party meetings. So Xen.  
*Anab.* v. 7. 1 *καὶ ξύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο*  
*καὶ κύκλοι ξυνίσταντο*, and Arr. *Anab.*  
 v. 25. 2. Cf. *κατὰ ξυστάσεις γιγνό-*  
*μενοι*, ii. 21. 15; and see on c. 24. 14.  
 —8. **τὸν σῆτον** : the *δυνατοί* seem to  
 have anticipated the lack of provi-  
 sions, either by retaining for them-  
 selves the corn, which before the  
 revolt had been ordered from the  
 Pontus (*cf.* c. 2. 7, and see W. Herbst,  
*Der Abfall Mytilenes*, p. 11), or, if we  
 suppose, with Steup, that this never  
 arrived, by taking other precautions.  
 —**τοὺς δυνατοὺς** : *i.e.* the optimates or

*ὀλίγοι*, as i. 24. 13; ii. 65. 8; v. 4. 8;  
 viii. 21. 4. —9. **αὐτοί** : *for themselves*  
*alone*, as i. 139. 15; v. 60. 4; vi. 37. 3.  
 Cf. c. 28. 2 *εἰ ἀπομονωθήσονται τῆς*  
*ξυμβάσεως*. *αὐτοί* belongs with *ξυγχο-*  
*ρήσαντες παραδώσειν*. —**ξυγχωρήσαντες**  
**πρὸς Ἀθηναίους** : as ii. 59. 6. Cf. c.  
 28. 3; v. 29. 21; vii. 82. 7. See on  
 l. 3; 25. 10.

28. 1. **οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν** : as  
 in Dem. ix. 56; Arist. *Polit.* v. 7. 12,  
 = *οἱ ἄρχοντες, οἱ δυνατοί*, c. 27. 7, 8,  
 whose executive committee perhaps  
 were the *πρόεδροι* of c. 25. 6. Cf. *οἱ*  
*ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι*, Dem. ix, 2, and *οἱ*  
*ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα*, c. 62. 11; 72. 3.  
 See on c. 11. 11, and W. Herbst *l.c.*  
 —**οὔτε, τε** : on the correlation see  
 Kühn. 536, 3 a. —**ἀποκωλύσειν** : for  
 fut. inf. limiting *δυνατοὶ ὄντες*, see on  
 i. 27. 9; ii. 29. 26; vi. 6. 4. GMT.  
 113; Kühn. 389, n. 8. St. writes  
*ἀποκωλύειν*. See *Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 18 sqq. —  
 2. **δυνατοὶ ὄντες** : depends on *γνόντες*.  
 GMT. 904. — **εἰ ἀπομονωθήσονται** : in  
 accordance with the threat contained  
 in *αὐτοί*, c. 27. 9. — 3. **κινδυνεύοντες** :  
 still dependent on *γνόντες*. The pres.,



τε Πάχητα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὥστε Ἀθηναίοις μὲν  
 5 ἐξεῖναι βουλευῆσαι περὶ Μυτιληναίων ὁποῖον ἂν τι βού-  
 λωνται καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς,  
 πρεσβείαν δὲ ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας Μυτιληναίους  
 περὶ ἑαυτῶν · ἐν ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πάλιν ἔλθωσι, Πάχητα μήτε  
 δῆσαι Μυτιληναίων μηδένα μήτε ἀνδραποδίσαι μήτε  
 10 ἀποκτεῖναι. ἣ μὲν ξύμβασις αὕτη ἐγένετο, οἱ δὲ πράξαν- 2  
 τες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τῶν Μυτιληναίων  
 περιδεεῖς ὄντες, ὥς ἡ στρατιὰ ἐσῆλθεν, οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς ὁμῶς καθίζουσι · Πάχης δ' ἀναστή-  
 σας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι, κατατίθεται εἰς Τένεδον  
 15 μέχρι οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τι δόξῃ. πέμψας δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν 3

κινδυνεύοντες, which several good Mss. have, is doubtless only a slip of the copyist due to the preceding ὄντες. — κοινῇ: i.e. together with the democratic party. Cf. v. 32. 16; 35. 11; 42. 19. — πρὸς τε Πάχητα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον: for the const., see on c. 25. 10; 27. 3, 9. Paches doubtless conferred with the most prominent of his officers. The Athenian army could settle only the preliminaries, the final decision belonging to the demos at Athens. τὸ στρατόπεδον is tacitly opp. to πόλις, as in viii. 72. 2; 76. 3. — 4. ὥστε: on condition that, as in l. 14. See on i. 28. 18. GMT. 587, 2; H. 953 b. — 5. βουλευῆσαι: aor., to decide, as in i. 85. 5; 132. 28; ii. 6. 10; iv. 41. 1; vi. 39. 5; pres., to deliberate (i. 97. 2; iv. 15. 3), except in c. 42. 25, give advice. — 7. πρεσβείαν δὲ . . . Μυτιληναίους: the natural const. would be Μυτιληναίους δὲ πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν, but the interposition of καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν . . . αὐτούς led to a change of const. ἀποστέλ-

λειν depends on ἐξεῖναι in spite of the intervening clause. — 8. ἐν ὅσῳ ἂν πάλιν ἔλθωσι: this concise expression is really a mixture of ἐν ὅσῳ ἂν ἀπῶσι (cf. viii. 87. 8) and πρὶν ἂν (or ἕως ἂν, i. 90. 20) πάλιν ἔλθωσιν (cf. i. 91. 10). See also i. 14. 12 for similar σύγχυσις. ἐν ὅσῳ, until, also c. 52. 16.

10. οἱ πράξαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους: for the const. (πρὸς, with), see on c. 4. 20; i. 131. 7; ii. 5. 32. — 12. οὐκ ἠνέσχοντο: abs., could not keep quiet, as v. 45. 17. On the augments, see G. 544; H. 361 a. — 13. ὁμῶς: i.e. notwithstanding safety had been guaranteed them until the return of their embassy. For similar breviloquentia, cf. c. 49. 3; 80. 4; i. 105. 24; ii. 51. 24; iv. 96. 35. — καθίζουσι: sc. ἰκέται, which is expressed c. 70. 18; 75. 22; i. 24. 19; 126. 32. ἰκέται is omitted also c. 75. 15. — 14. κατατίθεται: places for safe-keeping. The mid. always in this sense. See on i. 115. 13. — 15. μέχρι οὗ: with subjv. with-

\*Αντισσαν τριήρεις προσεκτήσατο καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καθίστατο ἧ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει.

29 Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, 1  
οὓς ἔδει ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι, πλείοντες περί τε αὐ-  
τὴν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐνδιέτριψαν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον  
πλοῦν σχολαῖοι κομισθέντες τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως  
5 Ἀθηναίους λανθάνουσι, πρὶν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον, προσ-

out ἄν also iv. 16. 16; 41. 2; 46. 12. GMT. 620; Kühn. 398, N. 2. See on i. 137. 13, and St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 26. — 16. προσεκτήσατο: sc. αὐτήν. Antissa had resisted the Methymneans, as described in c. 18. § 2. — καὶ τᾶλλα . . . ἧ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει: and arranged the other matters pertaining to the army as he deemed best. Cf. c. 35. 7; i. 95. 8; ii. 6. 3.

29. Seven days later the Peloponnesian fleet arrives in that region.

2. ἔδει ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι: contrasted with πλείοντες . . . κομισθέντες, not without irony, a trace of which is observable also elsewhere, when allusion is made to naval operations of the Peloponnesians. See on c. 31. 11; 81. 1; ii. 7. 9; 93. 20. — 3. ἐνδιέτριψαν: see App. — 4. σχολαῖοι κομισθέντες: cf. χρόνιοι ξυνιόντες, i. 141. 30. For other cases of the pred. adj. used adv., see on i. 12. 3. G. 926; H. 619; Kr. Spr. 57, 5, 4. — τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηναίους: understood by Cl., St., and Bm., with L. Herbst (Philol. xvi. p. 312 f. — cf. xlii. p. 696 ff.), to be the crew of the 100 ships mentioned c. 16. 5, made up from the citizen classes (and metics). Cf. c. 91. 11; i. 105. 19; ii. 31. 6; iv. 28. 18; 77. 2. But Steup is prob. right in understanding here, with

Müller-Strübing (Thuk. Forsch. p. 117 ff.), those in Athens and Attica, as opp. to those that had been sent to Lesbos. For the fleet of Alcidas was not despatched till the summer of 427 B.C.; otherwise Thuc. could not have delayed mention of it till c. 26. § 1, and Salaethus, who departed from Sparta τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τελευτῶντος (c. 25. 1), could not have said προαποπεμφθῆναι αὐτός (c. 25. 8). Besides, the return of the 100 Attic ships, which is mentioned c. 16. 18, certainly occurred before Paches was despatched to Mytilene (c. 18. 15). See Müller-Strübing *ibid.* p. 120, and Jow. *ad loc.* Further, in three at least of the passages cited by Herbst (c. 91. 11; i. 105. 19; ii. 31. 6), οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως seems to mean, as here, simply those left in Athens and Attica, as opp. to those sent abroad. — 5. πρὶν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον: until they reached Delos, having thus accomplished the part of the voyage in which there was most danger of being sighted by Athenian ships. For πρὶν with indic., see on i. 51. 5; 118. 13; 132. 28; and Gildersleeve, *Am. J. of Ph.* ii. p. 469. GMT. 635; H. 924. σχεῖν with dat. also c. 33. 5; vii. 1. 14; elsewhere with ἐς or κατὰ with acc. Kr. Spr. 48, 1, 2; Kühn. 423, 5. See



μείξαντες δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ πυνθάνονται πρῶτον ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἐάλωκε. βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ 2  
 σαφὲς εἰδέναι κατέπλευσαν ἐς Ἑμβατον τῆς Ἐρυθραίας·  
 ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐαλωκυία ἐπτά ὅτ'  
 10 ἐς τὸ Ἑμβατον κατέπλευσαν. πυνθόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς  
 ἐβουλεύοντο ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ ἔλεξεν αὐτοῖς Τευτία-  
 πλος ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος τάδε·

30 “Ἀλκίδα καὶ Πελοποννησίων ὅσοι πάρεσμεν ἄρ- 1  
 χοντες τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ πλεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Μυτιλή-  
 νην πρὶν ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι, ὥσπερ ἔχομεν. κατὰ γὰρ 2  
 τὸ εἰκὸς ἀνδρῶν νεωστὶ πόλιν ἐχόντων πολὺ τὸ ἀφύ-

on vii. i. 14. — 6. τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ: the reverse of the geographical order, as in c. 102. 4; ii. 7. 16; 77. 10; 93. 1; viii. 88. 10; 108. 3. The place where they first received the news of the fall of Mytilene is named first, and πυνθάνεσθαι πρῶτον belongs with this; hence Haase's conjecture (*Lucubr. Thuc.* p. 23), Πάρῳ, is unnecessary.

7. τὸ σαφές: the exact situation. Cf. i. 10; i. 22. 16; vi. 60. 12, 20. —

8. Ἑμβατον: τὸ στενὸν τὸ μεταξὺ Χίου καὶ Ἐρυθρᾶς [for Ἐρυθρῶν], Schol. More correctly Steph. *Thes.* s.v. τόπος τῆς Ἐρυθραίας. — 9. τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐαλωκυία: the dat. to express the terminus a quo, as ταύτῃ in i. 13. 14. *It was about seven days after the fall of Mytilene when etc.* Kühn. 423, 25 f. Kr. *Spr.* 48, 5, 3. The pred. partic. has the same force as in ἐπιλιπόντι, c. 20. 3. — 11. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων: under present circumstances. ἐκ as in iv. 17. 4; v. 40. 19; 87. 2; vi. 70. 18; 93. 10; vii. 62. 4; 77. 1. Kr. *Spr.* 68, 17, 10; Kühn. 430, 2, 3 g.

Different is βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων, i. 79. 4.

30. But Teutiaplus the Elean advises to make without delay a night attack on Mytilene.

2. ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πλεῖν ἡμᾶς: unusual change of subj., as in iv. 118. 2; vi. 22. 1. For the usual const., cf. i. 31. 9; iv. 15. 2; 71. 6; v. 53. 5; vii. 4. 15; 74. 3. — 3. πρὶν ἐκπύστους γενέσθαι: as in iv. 70. 14; viii. 42. 2. This expression is used of persons also by Dio C. xli. 44; xlviii. 39; elsewhere of things. Cf. καταγγέλλτους γίγνεσθαι, vii. 48. 6; ἐξαγγέλλτοι γενέσθαι, viii. 14. 2; ἐπαίστος ἐγένετο, Hdt. ii. 119. 10. — ὥσπερ ἔχομεν: just as we are, i.e. without delay. See on i. 134. 14.

4. ἀνδρῶν: grammatically dependent on τὸ ἀφύλακτον, in the loose connexion which is close akin to the gen. abs., on the part of men who —. — πολὺ τὸ ἀφύλακτον εὐρήσομεν: for similar const., cf. viii. 66. 18 ἢ γὰρ ἀγνώτα ἂν εὕρεν ᾧ ἐρεῖ ἢ γνώριμον ἄπιστον. πολὺ is pred. with the

5 λακτον εὐρήσομεν, κατὰ μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ πάνν, ἧ̃ ἐκεῖ-  
 νοί τε ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιγενέσθαι ἄν τινὰ σφίσι πολέμιον  
 καὶ ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκὴ τυγχάνει μάλιστα οὔσα· εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ  
 τὸ πεζὸν αὐτῶν κατ' οἰκίας ἀμελέστερον ὥς κεκρατηκό-  
 των διεσπάρθαι. εἰ οὖν προσπέσοιμεν ἄφνω τε καὶ 3  
 10 νυκτός, ἐλπίζω μετὰ τῶν ἔνδον, εἴ τις ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστὶν  
 ὑπόλοιπος εὖνους, καταληφθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα. καὶ 4  
 μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνον, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄλλο τι

same position and effect as ἐλαχίστας, i. 34. 10; ἀμικτα, i. 77. 24. The use of a neut. partic. or adj. for an abstract noun is common in Thuc. It presents to the mind the abstract quality in operation. See on i. 36. 3. GMT. 829 a; H. 966 b; Kühn. 403 γ. — 5. καὶ πάνν: vel maxime, as c. 93. 10; i. 3. 5; ii. 11. 26; 51. 6; 65. 61; vi. 17. 32. — 6. ἀνέλπιστοι: active, as also vi. 17. 31; viii. 1. 15; and τὸ ἀνέλπιστον, ii. 51. 13; elsewhere in Thuc. with passive force, iv. 55. 8; vi. 33. 24. — ἐπιγενέσθαι: of unexpected attack, as c. 108. 3; iv. 25. 52; 93. 12; vii. 32. 12. — 7. ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκὴ τυγχάνει μάλιστα οὔσα: “and where defence happens to be chiefly our role.” This interpretation of Jung- hahn’s (*N. Jahrbh.* cxix. p. 358) is adopted by Steup. See also *Amer. J. of Phil.* x. p. 210, where the same explanation is given by C. F. Smith, independently of Junghahn. Cf. fol- lows Herbst (*Philol.* xvi. p. 305), “where our *strength* at present chiefly lies.” ἀλκή as in c. 108. 5; ii. 84. 24; Hdt. ii. 45. 7; iii. 78. 5; iv. 125. 21; ix. 102. 18. On Thuc.’s use of ἀλκή, see Diener, *De Sermone Thuc.* p. 12, and C. F. Smith, *Proc. Amer. Philol.*

*Assoc.* vol. xxii. p. xvii. — εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζόν: opp. to κατὰ μὲν θάλασ- σαν καὶ πάνν. — 8. ὥς κεκρατηκότων: “in the confidence of victory.”

10. ἐλπίζω: with inf. (pres. or aor.) and ἄν = *think* or *expect*. Cf. i. 127. 5; ii. 20. 4; v. 39. 5; vii. 61. 12, and ἀνέλπιστοι ἐπιγενέσθαι ἄν above. Cf. Chaucer, *Reeve’s Tale*, i. 109, ‘I hope he wii be deed.’ — μετὰ τῶν ἔνδον: *in agreement with those within* (cf. v. 44. 2; vi. 28. 11), as if an act. inf. clause were to follow; but the inter- position of the εἰ clause has caused a slight anacoluthon. For καταλαμ- βάνειν τὰ πράγματα, see on c. 11. 10. — εἴ τις ἄρα . . . εὖνους: intended not to express doubt, but to be as comprehensive as possible, *whoever is left well-disposed toward us*. For ἄρα, see on c. 56. 15.

12. ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνον: see on c. 20. 10. — νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι: this const. with νομίζειν or ἡγεῖσθαι gives to an ambiguous ex- pression a definite, and, in the view of the speaker, correct sense. This is the case with ἐορτή, i. 70. 29; τὸ ξυμφέρον, c. 56. 25; and here with the proverbial or formulary expres- sion, τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ πολέμου. See App.



εἶναι τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ εἴ τις στρατηγὸς ἔν τε αὐτῷ φυλάσσοιτο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνορῶν  
15 ἐπιχειροίη, πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο."

31 Ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ἀλκίδαν. 1  
ἄλλοι δέ τινες, τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας φυγάδων καὶ οἱ Λέσβιοι  
οἱ ξυμπλέοντες, παρήνουν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον  
φοβεῖται, τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων καταλαβεῖν τινα ἢ Κύμην  
5 τὴν Αἰολίδα, ὅπως ἐκ πόλεως ὀρμώμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν  
ἀποστήσωσιν (ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀκουσίως  
ἀφίχθαι), καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον ταύτην μεγίστην οὔσαν Ἀθη-

—13. τὸ τοιοῦτον : *i.e.* lack of precaution. — ὃ εἴ τις στρατηγὸς . . . πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο : *which, if a general both guard against in himself, and when he sees it in the enemy attacks, he would be most likely to succeed.* Cf. v. 9. § 4. — 14. τοῖς πολεμίοις : belongs both to ἐνορῶν and ἐπιχειροίη, but ὃ, which is obj. of φυλάσσοιτο in the first clause, belongs only to ἐνορῶν in the second. — 15. πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο : cf. c. 37. 26 ; 42. 20 ; v. 9. 14.

31. But Alcidas decides, in spite of the remonstrances of the Ionian fugitives and of those Lesbians who are present, to return to Peloponnesus.

1. τοσαῦτα : occurs esp. after short speeches, "so much and no more." Cf. c. 52. 13 ; ii. 12. 1 ; 72. 1, 13 ; iv. 11. 1 ; vii. 49. 1 ; also c. 62. 25, and Plato *Prot.* 318 a. τοσοῦτος ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος. — 2. ἄλλοι τινές : epexegetically explained by τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας . . . ξυμπλέοντες. For the part. gen., τῶν . . . φυγάδων, cf. iv. 78. 17. These fugitives are mentioned only here. — 3. οἱ ξυμπλέοντες : οἱ rightly added

by Madvig (*Adv.* i. p. 315) ; for the Lesbians on the fleet, not the Lesbians in general, must be meant. Herbst (*Philol.* xlii. p. 704) justifies the vulgate by assuming οἱ Λέσβιοι to be the ambassadors at Olympia, c. 8 ff. But οἱ Λέσβιοι, though a sufficiently explicit designation for this embassy in c. 16. 10, by no means suffices here, after the narration of so many different events, among them the fall of Mytilene, esp. as the sending of a second *later* embassy is mentioned, c. 5. 16. Prob. the majority of both embassies were with Alcidas ; but some representatives of Mytilenean interests must have remained at Sparta. — 5. ὅπως . . . ἀποστήσωσιν : aor. subjv. after ὅπως, as c. 49. 6 ; 81. 4 ; v. 85. 3. GMT. 318. — ὀρμώμενοι : ὀρμητήριον ἔχοντες, Schol. Cf. c. 85. 7 ; i. 64. 10 ; 90. 12 ; iv. 8. 36 ; 52. 16. — 6. οὐδενί : sc. τῶν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν θάλασσαν Ἑλλήνων. — ἀκουσίως : *unwelcome, unwished for* ; the passive force, which the adj. ἀκούσιος also has. — 7. καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον . . . γίγνηται : καὶ connects ἀποστή-

ναίων ἣν ὑφέλωσι, καὶ ἅμα, ἣν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσιν, αὐτοῖς  
 δαπάνη γίγνηται· πείσειν τε οἷεσθαι καὶ Πισσούθνην  
 10 ὥστε ξυμπολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐνεδέχετο, ἀλλὰ 2  
 τὸ πλείστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Μυτιλήνης  
 ὑστερήκει, ὅτι τάχιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πάλιν προσμεῖξαι.  
 32 ἄρας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐμβάτου παρέπλει· καὶ προσσχὼν Μυον- 1  
 νήσῳ τῇ Τηίων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οὓς κατὰ πλοῦν εἰλή-  
 φει ἀπέσφαξε τοὺς πολλούς. καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον καθ- 2

σωσιν and γίγνηται. On the text, see App. — 8. ὑφέλωσι : (so with Laur. and other Mss., not ἀφέλωσι, which Vat. and others have) of gradual withdrawal, as c. 13. 33; 82. 17. — καὶ ἅμα : also at the same time. See on c. 16. 12; 21. 10. — ἣν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσιν : second condition depending on καὶ (ὅπως) αὐτοῖς (i.e. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δαπάνη γίγνηται. The subj. of ἐφορμῶσι is the Athenians; σφίσιν refers to the Peloponnesians. ἐφορμεῖν with dat. as in vii. 3. 21; 12. 18; the pass. in i. 142. 19; viii. 20. 3. — 9. Πισσούθνην : satrap of Lydia. Cf. i. 115. 17. — 10. ὥστε : pleonastic after πείσειν, as in c. 66. 9; 70. 21; 75. 4; 100. 4; 102. 22; ii. 2. 23; v. 16. 23; 35. 31; viii. 45. 21. GMT. 588; Kühn. 473, n. 6.

ἐνεδέχετο : impf. corresponding to παρήνουν (l. 3). ἐνδέχεσθαι in this sense also viii. 50. 2. — 11. τὸ πλείστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν : he was for the most part of the opinion. There is a touch of irony in the expression. See on c. 29. 2. Cf. iv. 34. 5 τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστον εἰληφότες, Hdt. i. 120. 19 ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμην εἰμί, v. 126. 2 αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρῃ ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἦν, vii. 220. 5 ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ

γνώμη πλείστος εἰμι. — τῆς Μυτιλήνης : short for τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Μυτιλήνης. — 12. ὑστερήκει : with gen., as in Xen. Anab. i. 7. 12; Ages. 2. 1; Hdt. vi. 89. 12. Cf. Dem. iv. 32, 35. G. 1120; H. 749.

32. Alcidas sails along the coast of Asia Minor as far as Ephesus. His barbarous treatment of captives.

1. παρέπλει : i.e. southward. — προσσχὼν : see App. on i. 15. 3. — 2. Μυοννήσῳ : Myonnesus promunturium inter Teum Samumque est, Liv. xxxvii. 27. Cf. Strabo, p. 643 (end), ἡ Μυόννησος ἐφ' ὕψους χερρονησίζοντος κατοικεῖται. — κατὰ πλοῦν : without art., as in vii. 31. 14, corresponding to καθ' ὁδόν, ii. 5. 3; v. 3. 14; 37. 6. Cf. ἐν πλῶ. vi. 34. 61. — 3. ἀπέσφαξε : as, acc. to ii. 67. § 4, the custom of the Lacedaemonians was. — τοὺς πολλούς : part. apposition. G. 914; H. 624 d; Kr. Spr. 57, 8, n. Cf. i. 18. 2.

ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον καθορμισαμένου : cf. iv. 45. 3; vi. 97. 5; viii. 34. 11; 42. 20. Müller-Strübing (Thuk. Forsch. p. 128 ff.) denies the possibility of Alcidas having anchored at Ephesus, a city belonging to the Athenian alliance, and holds both Ἐφεσον here



ορμισαμένον αὐτοῦ Σαμίων τῶν ἐξ Ἀναίων ἀφικόμενοι  
 5 πρέσβεις ἔλεγον οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν αὐ-  
 τόν, εἰ ἄνδρας διέφθειρεν οὔτε χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους  
 οὔτε πολεμίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ξυμμάχους·  
 εἴ τε μὴ παύσεται, ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐς  
 φιλίαν προσάξουσθαι, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τῶν φίλων πολε-  
 10 μίους ἔξειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπείσθη τε καὶ Χίων ἄνδρας  
 ὅσους εἶχεν ἔτι ἀφῆκε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινάς· ὁρῶντες  
 γὰρ τὰς ναῦς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔφευγον, ἀλλὰ προσε-  
 χώρουν μᾶλλον ὥς Ἀττικάῃς, καὶ ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλα-  
 χίστην εἶχον μή ποτε Ἀθηναίων τῆς θαλάσσης κρα-  
 15 τούντων ναῦς Πελοποννησίων ἐς Ἰωνίαν παραβαλεῖν.

and Ἐφέσου in c. 33. 1 to be corrupt. But it seems, acc. to Strabo, p. 641 c, that at that time the harbour of Ephesus could not be closed, and so it was improbable that Alcidas could be kept out. See St. Gött. Gel. Anz. 1882, p. 98. — 4. Σαμίων τῶν ἐξ Ἀναίων: see on c. 19. 8. — 5. τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν: this claim of Sparta occurs often. See on c. 13. 35; i. 69. 8. — 6. εἰ . . . διέφθειρεν: the fact expressed in hypothetical form, in tone of reproach. Cf. c. 43. 19; 55. 7; i. 33. 8; 76. 8; 86. 4; iv. 85. 4. — χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους: cf. Hdt. vii. 209. 19. — 7. ὑπ' ἀνάγκης: only here in Thuc. (but freq. in the poets; see Steph. Thes. s.v.), = ἐξ ἀνάγκης, c. 40. 9; vi. 44. 5; vii. 27. 17. Cf. ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, c. 33. 12. — 9. προσάξεσθαι: will bring over, as in c. 91. 7; i. 99. 8; ii. 30. 7; iv. 86. 3; vi. 22. 4; vii. 7. 8.

11. ὁρῶντες . . . παραβαλεῖν: on the relation and position of these

words, see App. — 13. ἐλπίδα οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἶχον μή ποτε . . . παραβαλεῖν: ἐλπίδα, *expectation*, as in ii. 64. 6; 85. 16; 102. 21; vi. 87. 18; vii. 61. 8. For μή with inf., as after a verb of denial, see GMT. 807; H. 1029; Kühn. 516, 3 a. So after ἀπιστεῖν, i. 10. 3; ii. 101. 3; vi. 49. 13; ἀπιστία, c. 75. 18; ἀπορία, ii. 49. 25. Cf. also ii. 93. 14. See on vii. 6. 19. — 15. ἐς Ἰωνίαν παραβαλεῖν: *cross over to Ionia*. παραβαλεῖν intr., as in Hdt. vii. 179. 3; Dem. xii. 16. So διαβάλλειν, ii. 83. 16. Kühn. 373, 2 a. Cl. rather favours Heilmann's explanation, *risk themselves thither*, like ἐς Ἰωνίαν παρακινδυνεύειν, c. 36. 11, and παραβάλλεσθαι, *risk* (as at play), i. 133. 11; ii. 44. 16; Hom. ι 322; τὸν κίνδυνον παραβάλλεσθαι, c. 14. 4; πλείω παραβάλλεσθαι, c. 65. 12; πρόθυμος ἦν παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ παρακινδυνεύειν, Polyb. iii. 90. 6; παραβόλως περαιωθεῖς, Polyb. i. 11. 9. Cf. παρατίθεσθαι, Hom. β 237; γ 74; ι 255. Though the uni-

33 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου ὁ Ἀλκίδας ἔπλει κατὰ τάχος καὶ 1  
φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο· ὥφθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Σαλαμινίας καὶ  
Παράλου ἔτι περὶ Κλάρων ὁρμῶν, αἱ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν  
ἔτυχον πλέουσai. καὶ δεδιὼς τὴν διώξιν ἔπλει διὰ τοῦ  
5 πελάγους ὥς γῇ ἐκούσιος οὐ σχήσων ἄλλη ἢ Πελοποννήσῳ.

Τῷ δὲ Πάχητι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἦλθε μὲν καὶ 2  
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἀγγελία, ἀφικνεῖτο δὲ καὶ πανταχό-  
θεν (ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς Ἰωνίας μέγα τὸ δέος

versality of the thought implied in *μή ποτε* makes it likely that *παραβαλεῖν* is fut., the aor. after *ἐλπίς* is not uncommon, c. 3. 14; ii. 80. 10; v. 9. 27; vi. 87. 18.

33. *Alcidas flees through the open sea back toward Peloponnesus, pursued in vain as far as Patmos by Paches.*

2. *φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο*: cf. *ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διώξιν*, l. 13; Lat. *fugam facere*. For this favourite form of periphrasis in Thuc., see on i. 50. 8. — *ὥφθη*: *had been seen*, sc. in the voyage from Embaton to Ephesus, as *ἔτι* shows; with which agrees the position of Clarus on the coast of Colophon, a few miles northwest of Ephesus. Cf. Strabo, p. 642 τὸ πρὸ Κολοφῶνος ἄλσος τοῦ Κλαρίου Ἀπόλλωνος. After leaving Ephesus he crossed the open sea, touching nowhere. For the further account of his voyage, cf. c. 69. § 1. — *τῆς Σαλαμινίας καὶ Παράλου*: the two swift Athenian state triremes kept always manned ready for extraordinary occasions and purposes. Cf. c. 77. 12; vi. 53. 1; 61. 20; viii. 73. 25; 74. 1. See *Dict. Ant.*; Boeckh, *P. E.* pp. 235, 334, 702. — 3. *αἱ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν πλέουσai*: they were

prob. sent out after news of Alcidas's expedition was received at Athens, to reconnoitre and take orders to Paches. — 4. *τὴν διώξιν*: sc. of the Attic fleet after it should have heard of the Peloponnesian fleet. — *ἔπλει διὰ τοῦ πελάγους*: see on c. 4. 20. This is a strengthened repetition of *ἔπλει κατὰ τάχος*, after the parenthetical clause (*ὥφθη . . . πλέουσai*) stating the cause of the haste. — 5. *ὥς γῇ ἐκούσιος οὐ σχήσων*: *determined not of his accord to put to land*. For *σχεῖν* with dat., see on c. 29. 5.

6. *τῷ Πάχητι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*: with these dats. the three clauses, that follow in inverse order of importance, are to be closely connected. The clause *ἀτειχίστου γὰρ . . . τὰς πόλεις*, which gives the ground of *πανταχόθεν*, being set off from the main sent., the increasing importance of the news that comes to Paches is apparent: *ἦλθε μὲν*, the first fleeting rumour; *ἀφικνεῖτο δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν*, of repeated urgent messages; *αὐτάγγελοι ἔφρασαν*, report based upon personal observation and giving exact details (*ἔφρασαν* as in i. 145. 4). The reference of *αὐτόν* to



ἐγένετο μὴ παραπλέοντες οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, εἰ καὶ ὥς  
 10 μὴ διανοοῦντο μένειν, πορθῶσιν ἅμα προσπίπτοντες τὰς  
 πόλεις), αὐτάγγελοι δ' αὐτὸν ἰδοῦσαι ἐν τῇ Κλάρῳ ἣ τε  
 Πάραλος καὶ ἡ Σαλαμινία ἔφρασαν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς 3  
 ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν Πάτμου τῆς νήσου  
 ἐπεδίωξεν, ὥς δ' οὐκέτι ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνετο, ἐπανε-  
 15 χώρει. κέρδος δὲ ἐνόμισεν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ μετεώροις περιέ-

Alcidas becomes easier now through this closer connexion of the last clause with the two first. — 9. καὶ ὥς: even thus, i.e. although the condition of Ionia (ἀτειχίστου κτέ.) was a temptation. καὶ ὥς also i. 44. 11; vii. 74. 2; 81. 30; viii. 51. 10; 56. 10; 87. 18. Jow. suggests "in any case," as in i. 44. 10 ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὥς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, viii. 51. 9 καὶ οἱ μὲν τειχισμὸν τε παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, καὶ ὥς μέλλουσα, Σάμος θᾶσσον ἐτειχίσθη. — 10. ἅμα: connects πορθῶσιν προσπίπτοντες with παραπλέοντες. "They might in passing take advantage of the opportunity to plunder the cities." — 11. αὐτάγγελοι: as in Plut. *Ant.* 71; *Cat. Maj.* 14; Arr. *Anab.* iv. 2. § 6; in the sense, *bringing one's own message*, Soph. *O. C.* 333; *Phil.* 568 (cf. αὐτὸς ἄγγελος, *Phil.* 500).

12. ὑπὸ σπουδῆς: as in v. 66. 9; viii. 107. 1; elsewhere σπουδῇ, κατὰ σπουδὴν, or διὰ σπουδῆς. Kühn. 442, I d. — 13. Πάτμου: the correct form, though against most of the Mss., which have Λάτμου. Latmus is a mountain in Caria, not an island. — 14. ἐπεδίωξεν: of eager pursuit, also ii. 79. 27; iv. 43. 17; vii. 23. 11;

41. 5; Hdt. iv. 1. 8; 160. 11. — ὥς δ' οὐκέτι ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνετο: when he appeared no longer within reach (lit. *catching*). As Alcidas is to be understood as the obj. of ἐπεδίωξεν, so here he is subj. of ἐφαίνετο. That Dio C. so understood is clear from his close imitation (li. 1.), ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐν καταλήψει ἐφαίνοντο, ἀνεχώρησαν. Pp. takes ἐφαίνετο impers., as vi. 60. 7 οὐκ ἐν παύλῃ ἐφαίνετο. See also Pp. on i. 137. 25. — ἐπανεχώρει: turned back again, as in c. 96. 9; 108. 12; i. 63. 14; 131. 5; v. 41. 22; 55. 15; vi. 70. 16; 97. 24. — 15. κέρδος δὲ ἐνόμισεν κτέ.: the emphasis is on ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαι. The result of the ships being overtaken at some place is expressed personally by ἠναγκάσθησαν and the inf. dependent on it. He thought it fortunate, since he had not come up with them in the open sea, that they had not been hemmed in somewhere and compelled to encamp, and thus give themselves the trouble of watching and blockading them. Such a blockade would have been expensive. See App. on c. 31. 7. Besides, Lesbos was not yet completely subdued (c. 35. § 1). — μετεώροις: Schol. ταῖς Ἀλκίδου ναυσίν. μετέωρος, in the

τυχεν, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαι ἤναγκάσθησαν στρα-  
τόπεδον ποιέισθαι καὶ φυλακὴν σφίσι καὶ ἐφόρμησιν  
34 παρασχεῖν. παραπλέων δὲ πάλιν ἔσχε καὶ ἐς Νότιον τὸ 1  
Κολοφώνιον, οὗ κατώκηντο Κολοφώνιοι τῆς ἄνω πόλεως  
ἐαλωκυίας ὑπὸ Ἰταμάνους καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στά-  
σιν ἰδίᾳ ἐπαχθέντων (ἐάλω δὲ μάλιστα αὕτη, ὅτε ἡ δευ-  
5 τέρα Πελοποννησίων ἐσβολὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐγίγνετο).

sense *out at sea*, freq. in Thuc. (i. 48. 4; ii. 91. 12; iv. 14. 3, etc.), not in Hdt. or Xenophon. — 17. σφίσι: sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, since Paches is to be understood as subj. of ἐνόμισεν. Kr. Spr. 58, 4, 3. — ἐφόρμησιν: blockade, as ii. 89. 42; viii. 15. 14.

34. On his return voyage Paches treacherously brings Notium, the port of Colophon, again into subjection to Athens.

1. πάλιν: with παραπλέων, on the way back. — Νότιον: the port of Colophon, about two miles from the latter, or ἄνω πόλις (l. 2), acc. to Liv. xxxvii. 26. 5; acc. to Schuchhardt (Mitt. d. deutsch. arch. Inst., Ath. Abth. xi. p. 410) about nine miles. On the events of this chapter, see Ullrich, Beitr. p. 114, A. 130, Boeckh, Staatsh. ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 699, Wilamowitz, Philol. Unters. i. p. 86 f. The relation of the Νοτιῆς of the Attic tribute-lists to the Colophonian Notium is doubtful, for Hdt. mentions (i. 149. 3) an Aeolian Notium. See Boeckh *ibid.* p. 712. — 2. κατώκηντο: with adv. designation of place, as ii. 96. 6; 99. 20; v. 83. 13; with acc., i. 120. 8. Thuc. uses the pf. and plpf. always in the mid. (as in the passages just cited); the pres. and aor., only in the

active (l. 6; viii. 6. 4; 108. 19). —

3. Ἰταμάνους: not otherwise known. He seems to have been the leader of a Persian band who acted without orders from Pissuthnes. — τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίᾳ ἐπαχθέντων: here, as often in Thuc., the attrib. partic. is placed after a noun which is attended by other modifiers. See on i. 11. 19; vii. 23. 14; and Merriam, Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. xiii. p. 39. ἰδίᾳ for ἰδίαν of the Mss. is doubtless correctly restored by Kr. As in c. 2. 10, it is to be taken with κατὰ στάσιν, “on account of party-discord by one of the factions.”

— 4. μάλιστα: used with statements of measure, numbers, dates, to imply that the account given is the best possible approximation, though the reality may be more or less. Cf. i. 13. 11; ii. 36. 9. — ὅτε ἡ δευτέρα Πελοποννησίων ἐσβολὴ . . . ἐγίγνετο: sc. in the spring of 430 B.C. Cf. ii. 47. § 1, 2. The impf. of contemporaneous action. Thus is explained why the anti-Athenian party in Colophon ventured at this time to revolt; just as the Lesbians made the attempt when the Athenians ἦσαν τεταλαιπωρημένοι ὑπὸ τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, c. 3. 1.



ἐν οὖν τῷ Νοτίῳ οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ κατοικήσαντες 2  
 αὐτόθι αὖθις στασιάσαντες οἱ μὲν παρὰ Πισσούθνου  
 ἐπικούρους Ἀρκάδων τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπαγαγόμενοι  
 ἐν διατειχίσματι εἶχον (καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω πόλεως Κο-  
 10 λοφωνίων οἱ μηδίσαντες ξυνεσελθόντες ἐπολίτευον), οἱ δὲ  
 ὑπεξελθόντες τούτους καὶ ὄντες φυγάδες τὸν Πάχητα  
 ἐπάγονται. ὁ δὲ προκαλεσάμενος ἐς λόγους Ἰππίαν τῶν 3  
 ἐν τῷ διατειχίσματι Ἀρκάδων ἄρχοντα, ὥστε, ἣν μηδὲν  
 ἀρέσκον λέγει, πάλιν αὐτὸν καταστήσειν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος σῶν  
 15 καὶ ὑγιᾶ, ὁ μὲν ἐξῆλθε παρ' αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνον μὲν ἐν

6. οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ κατοική-  
 σαντες αὐτόθι : *those who had fled for  
 refuge and settled there.* For the  
 nom. in part. appos. (οἱ μὲν, οἱ δέ, 10),  
 see G. 914; H. 624 d; Kr. Spr. 56,  
 9, 1. — 7. Πισσούθνου : see on c. 31.  
 9. — 8. Ἀρκάδων : the Arcadians  
 appear as mercenaries even in the  
 Persian wars. Cf. Hdt. viii. 26. 2 βλου  
 τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἔνεργοι βουλόμενοι εἶναι.  
 Cf. vii. 57. 50. — ἐπαγαγόμενοι : on  
 the form, see App. — 9. ἐν διατειχί-  
 σματι : here and vii. 60. 9, “a space  
 cut off from the rest of the city by  
 an enclosing wall.” Cf. Polyb. viii.  
 36. 9; xvi. 31. 5, 8; 33. 1; Liv. xxxvii.  
 11. 10, 11. — καὶ τῶν . . . ἐπολίτευον :  
 supplementary explanation, by which  
 the regular const. (οἱ μὲν . . . εἶχον, οἱ δέ  
 . . . ἐπάγονται) is interrupted, as in c.  
 33. 8–11. Among the Colophonians  
 who had left the upper city at the time  
 of the Persian occupation and settled  
 in Notium, a pro-Persian party was  
 again developed, and this, having de-  
 clared itself by a combination with  
 Pissuthnes, was joined by the original  
 Medizing party in Colophon (ξυνεσελ-  
 θόντες ἐπολίτευον). Colophon being

thus in the power of the barbarians,  
 the pro-Athenian party had to leave  
 Notium also, but now by treachery  
 and violence on the part of Paches  
 again got the upper hand. Their  
 enemies, οἱ μηδίσαντες, had to leave  
 Notium, which for security was made  
 an Attic colony. — 11. ὑπεξελθόντες :  
 with acc. only here, as ὑποχωρεῖν, ii.  
 88. 11; ὑπεκφεύγειν, ii. 90. 21; 91. 4;  
 ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα, iv. 28. 13. It  
 is intr. iv. 74. 7; vi. 51. 9; viii. 70. 2;  
 98. 3. Kr. Spr. 46, 6, 8.

12. τῶν : for τόν of the Mss., since  
 the art. is abs. necessary with Ἀρκά-  
 δων, while it is not indispensable with  
 ἄρχοντα (cf. v. 51. 8; viii. 92. 32). —  
 13. ὥστε : see on c. 28. 4. — 14. ἀρέσκον :  
 for the use of the partic. expressing  
 an adj. notion always in readiness  
 to exert itself, see on i. 38. 8; v. 41.  
 23; *Am. J. of Ph.* iv. p. 297. — κατα-  
 στήσειν : *to put back*, as in c. 59. 24.  
 For the fut. inf., see GMT. 591, 2. —  
 σῶν καὶ ὑγιᾶ : *safe and sound*. Sim-  
 ilar formulas are *salvus et incol-*  
*lumis, salvus et sospes, sain*  
*et sauf.* — 15. ὁ μὲν ἐξῆλθε . . . ὁ  
 δ' ἐκείνον . . . εἶχεν : a very striking

φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ προσβαλὼν τῷ τειχίσματι  
 ἑξαπιναίως καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων αἰρεῖ, τοὺς τε Ἀρκά-  
 δας καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐνήσαν διαφθείρει· καὶ τὸν  
 Ἰππίαν ὕστερον ἐσαγαγὼν ὥσπερ ἐσπείσατο, ἐπειδὴ ἐν-  
 20 δον ἦν, ξυλλαμβάνει καὶ κατατοξεύει. Κολοφωνίοις δὲ 4  
 Νότιον παραδίδωσι πλὴν τῶν μηδισάντων. καὶ ὕστερον  
 Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκιστὰς πέμψαντες κατὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νόμους  
 κατώκισαν τὸ Νότιον, ξυναγαγόντες πάντας ἐκ τῶν πό-  
 λεων, εἴ ποὺ τις ἦν Κολοφωνίων.

35 Ὁ δὲ Πάχης ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην τήν τε 1  
 Πύρραν καὶ Ἔρεσον παρεστήσατο καὶ Σάλαιθον λαβὼν

anacoluthon. The author instead of continuing with ἐξελθόντα αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, proceeds after the interposed clause, ὥστε . . . ὑγιᾶ, by a transition in parataxis to const. with finite verb. See on i. 26. 16. Similar anacoluthon iv. 80. 16. Kr. Spr. 56, 9, 3. — ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ: in custodiâ liberâ. Cf. Dio C. xxxvi. 36 ἐκείνον ἐν φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ εἶχεν, Diod. iv. 46 ἐλευθέρα φυλακή. — 16. τῷ τειχίσματι: the διατειχίσμα of l. 9, 13. — 17. οὐ προσδεχομένων: sc. τῶν ἐντος. Gen. abs. without expressed subj., as often in Thuc., when it can easily be supplied from the context. GMT. 848; H. 972 a. See on i. 2. 8. — 19. ὥσπερ ἐσπείσατο: cf. l. 13. Concerning this horrible perfidy, Grote expresses surprise that 'Thucydides recounts it plainly and calmly, without a single word of comment.' Cl.'s explanation, that the historian's indignation can be felt in the short, sharp way in which the occurrences are set one over against the other, ἐσαγαγὼν . . . ἐπειδὴ ἐνδον ἦν . . . ξυλλαμβάνει, is, to say the least,

not very convincing. Cf. Polyaen. iii. 2.

21. πλὴν τῶν μηδισάντων: i.e. those mentioned in l. 10, who now either returned, or in their turn φηγάδες ἐγένοντο. — 22. οἰκιστὰς: as always in Thuc., not the colonists themselves, but those sent out to arrange the government and laws of the colony to be founded. Cf. c. 92. 22; i. 24. 4; 25. 8; iv. 102. 11; vi. 3. 2; 4. 23; 5. 11. The new Notium, whither were recalled all the Colophonians who had become fugitives during the disturbances, received now under Attic 'oecists' an Attic constitution, κατὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νόμους. — 23. κατώκισαν: re-settled, as vi. 5. 16; 48. 13; 76. 7, 9; 84. 6. — ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: i.e. from the neighbouring Ionic cities, whither the adherents of the Attic party had fled at the time of the Persian occupation.

35. After subduing Pyrrha and Eresus, Paches sends the instigators of the revolt of Mytilene as prisoners to Athens.

2. Πύρραν καὶ Ἔρεσον: which had



ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον κεκρυμμένον ἀποπέμπει  
 εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Τενέδου Μυτιληναίων  
 5 ἄνδρας ἅμα οὓς κατέθετο καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ αἴτιος  
 ἐδόκει εἶναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως (ἀποπέμπει δὲ καὶ τῆς 2  
 στρατιᾶς τὸ πλεόν, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπομένων καθίστατο  
 τὰ περὶ τὴν Μυτιλήνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Λέσβον ἣ αὐτῷ  
 36 ἐδόκει). ἀφικομένων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ Σαλαίθου οἱ 1  
 Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μὲν Σάλαιθον εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, ἔστιν ἃ  
 παρεχόμενον τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ ἀπὸ Πλαταιῶν (ἔτι γὰρ  
 ἐπολιορκοῦντο) ἀπάξειν Πελοποννησίους· περὶ δὲ τῶν 2  
 5 ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς

sided with Mytilene, c. 18.5. Antissa had already been reduced (c. 28. 15). — **παρεστήσατο** : reduced, in Thuc. only in aor., serving as causative to *προσχωρεῖν τινι*, to submit. See on i. 29. 22. — **Σάλαιθον** : cf. c. 25. § 1; 27. § 2. — **4. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Τενέδου** : for the proleptic const., see on c. 5. 1. — **5. οὓς κατέθετο** : acc. to c. 28. 15 this was done *μέχρι οὗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τι δόξη*. In sending the instigators of the revolt to Athens, Paches doubtless obeyed a command received thence. — **καὶ εἴ τις κτέ.** : for the conditional clause co-ord. with a case, see Kr. *Spr.* 59, 2, 4; 60, 10, 1.

**6. τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πλεόν** : as in c. 36. 22; i. 73. 27; 118. 10. — **7. τοῖς λοιποῖς** : as *τοῖς λειπομένοις*, ii. 12. 19. It is construed with *ὑπομένων* alone, and is the usual dat. of accompaniment, used chiefly in reference to military forces. G. 1189, 1190; H. 774. — **καθίστατο** : see on c. 28. 17.

**36.** The Athenians in the first impulse of their anger adopt the severest

measures in regard to the Lesbian prisoners, as well as to all the inhabitants of Mytilene, but the matter is reconsidered in the ecclesia on the following day.

**2. ἔστιν ἃ** : as in ii. 67. 26. G. 1029; H. 998. — **3. παρεχόμενον** : Schol. *πρᾶξαι ὑπισχνούμενον*. Cf. i. 39. 7; iv. 108. 15. — **τὰ τ' ἄλλα** : before *καί*, which introduces a definite circumstance, only to emphasize the latter, in which case the use of the art. is regular. "He made various offers and especially —." Cf. i. 129. 9; 132. 8; iv. 108. 11; v. 46. 21; 52. 12; vi. 8. 7; vii. 65. 6. — **ἔτι γὰρ ἐπολιορκοῦντο** : cf. c. 20–24; 52. 1. — **4. ἀπάξειν** : i.e. to effect their withdrawal, as in i. 109. 6; vi. 73. 9.

**5. γνώμας ἐποιοῦντο** : only here in the sense of *deliberated*, lit. *offered their several views*, = *γνώμας σφλίσιν αὐτοῖς προυτίθεσαν*, i. 139. 18. In ii. 2. 24, *γνώμην ποιεῖσθαι* means *form a plan*; in i. 128. 28; vii. 72. 8, *offer a plan*. — **ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ . . . ἔδοξεν** : paratactic const., as i. 48. 3; 61. 2.

οὐ τοὺς παρόντας μόνον ἀποκτείνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς  
 ἅπαντας Μυτιληναίους ὅσοι ἡβῶσι, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖ-  
 κας ἀνδραποδίσαι, ἐπικαλοῦντες τήν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν  
 καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποίησαντο, καὶ  
 10 προσξυνεβάλετο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὀρμῆς αἱ Πελοπον-  
 νησίων νῆες ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι  
 παρακινδυνεύσαι· οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ βραχείας διανοίας ἐδόκουν

Concerning the decree, *cf.* Ael. *Var. Hist.* ii. 9; Diod. xii. 55. — 7. ὅσοι ἡβῶσι: the orig. mood of the decree is retained in indir. discourse. GMT. 689, 2; H. 933; Kühn. 399, 3. — 8. ἐπικαλοῦντες: construed loosely with ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, as if ἐβουλεύσαντο had preceded. H. 1063; Kr. *Spr.* 56, 9, 4; Kühn. 493, 1 a. For similar cases of anacoluthon, see on ii. 53. 13. — τήν τε . . . καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι: Cl. inserts καὶ before ὅτι. St. explains that τε is used as if the author had continued, as he seems to have intended, with καὶ ὅτι κτέ., or καὶ τὸ τὰς Πελοποννησίων ναὺς τολμήσαι κτέ., but after the ὅτι clause the const. is changed to finite verb. For similar changes in const., see on i. 16. 2. *Cf.* Hdt. i. 85. 5; 129. 4; ii. 44. 5. See App. — 10. προσξυνεβάλετο: this reading of almost all the better Mss. is protected by Thuc.'s usage. The sing. verb before a pl. subj. occasions no difficulty, since αἱ νῆες τολμήσασαι = τὸ τὰς ναὺς τολμήσαι. *Cf.* iv. 26. 14; viii. 9. 11. προσξυμβάλλεσθαι, which is used also by Hippocr. 797 e; 807 e, is further protected by the similar use of ξυμβάλλεσθαι c. 45. 24; Plato *Apol.* 36 a; *Legg.* 791 c; Xen. *Cyrop.*

i. 2. 8; *Hell.* vii. 1. 35. In apparent imitation of the present passage, Arist. says, 'Αθ. Πολ. 19, συνεβάλλετο δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω μοῖραν τῆς ὀρμῆς τοῖς Λάκωσιν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους τοῖς Πεισιστρατίδαις ὑπάρχουσα φίλια. Bl. and Kr. read προσξυνελάβοντο (with Laur. and some inferior Mss.), the former citing iv. 47. 3 ξυνελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου οὐχ ἥκιστα, κτέ., and Dio C.'s imitation, xliii. 47. 4 προσξυνελάβετο γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τούτου, ὅτι κτέ. — οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὀρμῆς: = οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν τῆς ὀρμῆς. *Cf.* ii. 21. 19, and Arist. *l.c.* The phrase is to be taken as obj. of προσξυνεβάλετο. *Cf.* Lys. xxx. 16; Dem. xli. 11. *Cf.* τὸ πλείστον τῆς γνώμης, c. 31. 11; τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλείστον, iv. 34. 5. See on i. 5. 10. Kühn. 416, n. 4. ὀρμή, *excitement, impulse.* *Cf.* iv. 4. 4; vii. 71. 32. — 11. ἐς Ἰωνίαν παρακινδυνεύσαι: *venture over to Ionia.* See on c. 32. 15. παρακινδυνεύειν also iv. 26. 18. *Cf.* ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς διεκινδύνευσεν, vii. 47. 11. See on i. 63. 3. — 12. οὐκ ἀπὸ βραχείας διανοίας: *after no slight consideration, i.e. after long premeditation; or, with St. and others, non parvo consilio = ὀλίγον οὐδὲν ἐπινοοῦντες* (ii. 8. 1). Kr. compares Liban. *Basil.* 117 d οὐκ ἀπὸ βραχείας γνώμης εἰς τὸν πόλεμον κατέ-



τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιήσασθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν τριήρη ὥς 3  
 Πάχητα ἄγγελον τῶν δεδογμένων, κατὰ τάχος κελεύοντες  
 15 διαχρήσασθαι Μυτιληναίους. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετάνοιά 4  
 τις εὐθὺς ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναλογισμὸς ὥμὸν τὸ βούλευμα  
 καὶ μέγα ἐγνώσθαι, πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ  
 τοὺς αἰτίους. ὥς δ' ᾗσθοντο τοῦτο τῶν Μυτιληναίων οἱ 5  
 παρόντες πρέσβεις καὶ οἱ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμ-  
 20 πράσσοντες, παρεσκεύασαν τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὥστε αὐθις  
 γνώμας προθεῖναι (καὶ ἔπεισαν ῥᾶον, διότι καὶ ἐκείνοις  
 ἐνδηλον ἦν βουλόμενον τὸ πλεόν τῶν πολιτῶν αὐθις

στησαν. For ἀπό in this sense, see on i. 91. 28; for βραχεία, see on i. 14. 11.

14. ἄγγελον: pred. to τριήρη, as viii. 106. 18 ἀπέστειλαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τριήρη ἄγγελον, τῆς νίκης.—15. διαχρήσασθαι: to destroy, as i. 126. 37; vi. 61. 17; Hdt. i. 24. 12; i. 110. 18; Antiph. i. 23; Aeschin. iii. 244; Xen. Mem. iv. 2. 17.

16. ἀναλογισμός: not re-consideration, but reflection, as viii. 84. 1. So ἀναλογίζεσθαι, v. 7. 3; viii. 83. 10.—ὥμὸν τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα: the pred. position of the adjs. throws the chief stress on them. μέγα pregnant=δεινόν. See on c. 3. 3. μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ, as in ii. 62. 18, and often in Hdt. and Dion. H. The neg. implied in μᾶλλον ἢ sometimes induces a pleonastic neg. in the following clause. Kühn. 516, 6; Kr. Spr. 49, 2, 4.—18. τῶν Μυτιληναίων οἱ παρόντες πρέσβεις: Steup thinks this cannot be the same embassy as that mentioned in c. 28. 7, because Paches could not have executed the decree of the Athenians without violating the agreement (c. 28. 8, 9). But it

seems more natural, since Thuc. mentions neither the return of the embassy of c. 28. 7, nor the sending of another, to suppose that the πρέσβεις remained at Athens in the hope of persuading the Athenians to milder measures. The spirit of the agreement was fulfilled when orders came from Athens, whether the ambassadors returned or remained.—19. οἱ . . . ξυμπράσσοντες: cf. c. 101. 4. For the position of the gen. τῶν Ἀθηναίων, see on c. 22. 27.—20. παρεσκεύασαν: induced, as in iv. 132. 11; viii. 52. 1; and passive in vii. 35. 2. Kühn. 473, 2.—τοὺς ἐν τέλει: i.e. the prytanes, or the ten στρατηγοί, the former of whom ordinarily summoned assemblies, though the latter had this right in war and under extraordinary circumstances. See on ii. 22. 4; 59. 11; iv. 118. 53. See Schoemann, Gr. Ant. i.<sup>3</sup> p. 404.—21. αὐθις γνώμας προθεῖναι: to bring the subject again under consideration, also c. 42. 1; vi. 14. 3; and in c. 38. 2, λέγειν προτιθέναι. See on i. 139. 18.—22. ἐνδηλον ἦν: with partic., as in ii. 64. 31.

τινας σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι βουλεύσασθαι). καταστάσης δ' 6  
 εὐθὺς ἐκκλησίας ἄλλαι τε γινώμαι ἀφ' ἐκάστων ἐλέγοντο  
 25 καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κλεινέτου, ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐνενι-  
 κήκει ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, ὧν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα βιαίότατος  
 τῶν πολιτῶν τῷ τε δῆμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθα-  
 νώτατος, παρελθὼν αὐθις ἔλεγε τοιάδε·

37 “Πολλάκις μὲν ἤδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημο- 1  
 κρατίαν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἐτέρων ἄρχειν, μάλιστα δ'  
 ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑμετέρα περὶ Μυτιληναίων μεταμελεία. διὰ 2  
 γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδεὲς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἄλ-

G. 1589; H. 981. Cf. iv. 41. 14; vi. 36. 6. — τὸ πλεόν τῶν πολιτῶν: see on c. 35. 6. — 23. **τινας**: indef., it is true, as in iv. 69. 4; vi. 41. 4; vii. 29. 14, but referring to τοὺς ἐν τέλει, l. 20. — ἀποδοῦναι: with inf. as i. 144. 12; ii. 71. 14.

23. **καταστάσης ἐκκλησίας**: as in i. 31. 15, of an assembly convoked for a special purpose, i.e. σύγκλητος. See Schoemann *Gr. Antiq.* i.<sup>3</sup> p. 403. — 24. **ἀφ' ἐκάστων ἐλέγοντο**: ἀπό, on the part of, as in c. 82. 41; v. 82. 16; vi. 32. 18; with μνηέσθαι, vi. 28. 1; ἀγγέλλεσθαι, vi. 45. 2. See on i. 17. 4, and Herbst, *Gegen Cobet*, p. 50. — 25. **τὴν προτέραν ἐνενικήκει**: here of the person, as ii. 12. 6; 54. 7 of the view that prevails. For the cognate acc. τὴν προτέραν sc. γνώμην, see G. 1052; H. 716 a; Kr. *Spr.* 46, 6. Cf. Plato *Gorg.* 456 a οἱ νικῶντες τὰς γνώμας, Ar. *Nub.* 432. See App. — 26. **βιαίότατος**: most arbitrary and arrogant, as in i. 95. 1. — 27. **παρὰ πολὺ**: by far. Kühn. 349<sup>b</sup>, 7 b. Cf. i. 29. 19; ii. 8. 13; 89. 16; viii. 6. 16. — **πιθανώτατος**: cf. iv. 21. 10; vi. 35. 9;

and see Introd. to Book I., p. 45, 46. Aristotle says of Cleon, 'Αθ. Πολιτ. 28, δοκεῖ μάλιστα διαφθεῖραι τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀνέκραγε καὶ ἐλοιδορήσατο καὶ περιζωσάμενος ἐδημηγόρησε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐν κόσμῳ λεγόντων.

SPEECH OF CLEON. cc. 37–40.

37. The demos is too prone to mild treatment of subject states; it incurs thereby great harm, but will incur greater still, if it does not enforce decrees once adopted, and recognize that for the welfare of the state, sober judgment (σωφροσύνη) on the part of citizens is above all things requisite.

1. **πολλάκις μὲν . . . καὶ ἄλλοτε . . . μάλιστα δέ**: cf. vii. 8. 5. — 2. **ἀδύνατον**: incompetent. See Ullrich, *Beitr.* 1862, p. 20 ff. For the neut. pred. adj. with fem. subj., see G. 925; H. 617. Cf. l. 16; vi. 39. 1; Hdt. i. 62. 6; Ar. *Eccl.* 236. — **ἐτέρων**: in the general and comprehensive sense of any others, as i. 85. 6; ii. 35. 14.

3. **διὰ γὰρ τὸ . . . ἔχετε**: cf. similar thought in i. 68. § 1. — 4. **τὸ καθ' ἡμέ-**



5 λήλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους τὸ αὐτὸ ἔχετε, καὶ ὅ τι ἂν  
 ἢ λόγῳ πεισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀμάρτητε ἢ οἴκτῳ ἐνδῶτε,  
 οὐκ ἐπικινδύνως ἡγείσθε ἐς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν τῶν  
 ξυμμάχων χάριν μαλακίζεσθαι, οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυ-  
 10 ραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐ-  
 τοὺς καὶ ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους· οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε  
 βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοί, ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἰσχύι  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἐκείνων εὐνοίᾳ περιγένησθε. πάντων δὲ 3

ραν . . . πρὸς ἀλλήλους : more fully expressed by Pericles in ii. 37. § 2. πρὸς and ἐς denoting general relations without difference of meaning here, as l. 7, 9 below; also c. 54. 2; i. 32. 10; 38. 1. — 5. τὸ αὐτό : sc. τὸ ἀδεές καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον. — καὶ ὅ τι ἂν . . . μαλακίζεσθαι : and whatever false step you make through being misled by their words, or whatever you yield through pity, you do not consider that your yielding brings danger to yourselves and does not win favour from your allies. — 6. ἢ λόγῳ πεισθέντες . . . ἢ οἴκτῳ ἐνδῶτε : i.e. the two chief sources from which Cleon has reason to fear opposition to his advice, to which is added in c. 40 ἡ ἐπιέλκεια. Instead of ἐνδόντες, as was to be expected, ἐνδῶτε is made co-ord. with ἀμάρτητε. — οἴκτῳ : cf. c. 40. 7; 48. 1. — 7. ἐπικινδύνως ἐς ὑμᾶς : cf. i. 91. 26 ἐς τοὺς πάντας ὠφελιμώτερον. — καὶ οὐκ : and not, differing from οὐδέ as et non from neque. — οὐκ ἐς τὴν χάριν : lit. not for the gratitude of. Cf. c. 40. 19; ii. 40. 22. — 8. μαλακίζεσθαι : as in c. 40. 34; vi. 29. 11. — ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν : exactly as Pericles had expressed himself in ii. 63. 8. Thuc. prob. purposely puts into the mouth

of Cleon turns of thought and expression which are clearly echoes of the speeches of Pericles. Cf. c. 38. § 1; 40. § 4. Far as Cleon was removed from him in mind and mode of thinking, he had yet learned from him what was effective in a speech. — 9. καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους : emphatically opp. to ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. And indeed as against those who are themselves plotting against you and bear your rule unwillingly. — 10. οὐκ ἐξ ὧν . . . περιγένησθε : this explanation of ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους is added without connecting word, as c. 63. 8 ἣν αὐτοὶ μάλιστα προβάλλεσθε· ἱκανή γε ἦν κτέ., iv. 10. 10 τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω· μενόντων ἡμῶν ξύμμαχον γίγνεται. In all three cases a rel. pron. (here οἷ) is read in only a few and inferior Mss. They obey you not in consequence of the kindnesses you do them to your own hurt, but in consequence of the superiority you have acquired by strength rather than by their good will. So Cl. and Bm. explain, but see App. ἐξ ὧν, for the assimilation, see G. 1032; H. 996 a. μᾶλλον ἢ completely subordinates the second member. Cf. l. 26; c. 63. 20; 64. 9.

δεινότατον εἰ βέβαιον ἡμῖν μηδὲν καθεστήξει ὧν ἂν δόξη  
 πέρι, μηδὲ γνωσόμεθα ὅτι χείροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις  
 15 χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις,  
 ἀμαθία τε μετὰ σωφροσύνης ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ δεξιότης  
 μετὰ ἀκολασίας, οἳ τε φαυλότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς  
 τοὺς ξυνετωτέρους ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἄμεινον οἰκοῦσι τὰς

13. βέβαιον: the adj. is pred. to καθεστηκέναι, as c. 102. 25; i. 70. 2; 102. 6; ii. 59. 8; iv. 26. 24; 78. 12; vi. 15. 17; vii. 28. 31. Pred. adjs. occur with the pres. καθίστασθαι, iv. 92. 15; with the aor. καταστήναι, i. 6. 16; 23. 11; vi. 59. 4. — ὧν ἂν δόξη πέρι: i.e. περὶ τούτων, περὶ ὧν ἂν δόξη, or, with Ullrich (*Beitr.* p. 23), = περὶ τούτων ἃ ἂν δόξη, in which case it would be an instance of the rare attraction of the nom., as in vii. 67. 19. G. 1033; Kühn. 555, n. 4. — 15. κρείσσων ἐστίν: is stronger, i.e. can use its strength more effectually, as also c. 48. 8. — ἀκύροις: without authority, i.e. not enforced. The antithesis to ἀκίνητοι is not logically exact, but suits the case. Alcibiades uses a similar paradox, vi. 18. § 7; but in neither case is the argument fair, because the question is not one of abolishing a fundamental law of the state (κινεῖν νόμον), but of rescinding a decree of the demos (καθαίρειν ψήφισμα), which could be set aside by another ψήφισμα. Cleon's wish seems to be 'to confound ψήφισματα and νόμοι together, and to excite against the repeal of one of the former the same strong feeling which was entertained in Greece against any alteration of the latter.' Arn. On the relation of νόμος, which, acc. to Aristotle, was

a law of general application, to ψήφισμα, a decree for an individual case (*Eth.* v. 14; *Pol.* iv. 4), see Tarbell, *Am. J. of Ph.* x. p. 79 ff. See also Hermann, *Gr. Ant.* i. 6 § 91. Cf. Dio C.'s imitation of the passage (liii. 10), τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ μένοντα, κὰν χείρῳ ἢ, συμφορώτερα τῶν ἀεὶ καινοτομουμένων, κὰν βελτίῳ εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐστίν. Junge, *zur Rede d. Kleon*, 1879, p. 2 ff., thinks that the words μηδὲ . . . ἀκύροις, and in § 4, οἱ μὲν φαίνεσθαι and οἱ δὲ . . . εἶναι, refer to a law against reconsidering, within a certain period, things concerning which there was already a ψήφισμα. A comparison with vi. 14 makes this argument seem plausible; but surely in that case Cleon would have made the charge of παρανόμων. — 16. ἀμαθία: ignorance, i.e. lack of training and experience. Cf. i. 68. 4; ii. 40. 14. The whole sentiment is like that of Archidamus in i. 84. § 3 (cf. *Arist. Rhet.* i. 15. 12), and is more in accord with Spartan ideas than with Athenian, as expressed by Pericles in ii. 40. — δεξιότης: cleverness, = ξύνεσις, l. 23; c. 82. 50. — 17. οἱ φαυλότεροι: the simpler, i.e. humbler, inferior, as c. 83. 8. Cf. also vii. 77. 9. — πρὸς: in comparison with, as in c. 56. 16; i. 6. 15; 10. 8; ii. 35. 11. Kühn. 441, iii, 3 c; Kr. *Spr.* 49, 2, 8. — 18. ὥς



πόλεις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε νόμων σοφώτεροι βούλονται 4  
 20 φαίνεσθαι τῶν τε αἰεὶ λεγομένων ἐς τὸ κοινὸν περιγίγνε-  
 σθαι, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μείζουσιν οὐκ ἂν δηλώσαντες τὴν γνώ-  
 μην, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τὰ πολλὰ σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις·  
 οἱ δ' ἀπιστοῦντες τῇ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ξυνέσει ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν  
 τῶν νόμων ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι, ἀδυνατώτεροι δὲ τοῦ καλῶς  
 25 εἰπόντος μέμψασθαι λόγον, κριταὶ δὲ ὄντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου  
 μάλλον ἢ ἀγωνισταὶ ὀρθοῦνται τὰ πλείω. ὥς οὖν χρή 5

ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον : *for the most part*, only here, like ὡς τὰ πλείω, c. 83. 8, for the usual ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ii. 13. 23; v. 107. 3. See App. on i. 12. 4. — ἄμεινον οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις : *administer their states better*. The passive occurs viii. 67. 6 ἄριστα ἡ πόλις οἰκῆσεται. Cf. also i. 17. 4; vi. 18. 44. For the sentiment, cf. Eur. *El.* 386 οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν εὖ καὶ δώματα.

19. οἱ μὲν : *sc. οἱ ξυνετώτεροι*. — 20. τῶν τε αἰεὶ . . . περιγίγνεσθαι : *and to surpass whatever is on every occasion said for the public good*. λέγεσθαι ἐς τὸ κοινόν = ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλευέσθαι, i. 91. 29. Cf. in commune consulere, Ter. *Andria* iii. 3. 16; in commune consultare, Plin. *Epist.* vi. 15. 16. With the general sentiment Arn. compares Tac. *Hist.* i. 26 consilii quamvis egregii, quod non ipse adferret, inimicus, et adversus peritos pervicax. — 21. ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις . . . τὴν γνώμην : *as if in no other affairs of greater importance could they display their opinion, i.e. show their insight*. Cf. Dio C. xlvii. 1 ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητα διαδείξας. For partic. with ἂν representing aor. opt.,

see GMT. 215; H. 987 a; Kr. *Spr.* 69, 7, 1. See on vii. 67. 26. — 22. σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις : *cf. vi. 15. 20*. — 23. οἱ δέ : *sc. οἱ φαυλότεροι*. — τῇ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ξυνέσει : *their own cleverness*. Cf. τὸ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εὐψυχον, ii. 39. 6. — ἀμαθέστεροι τῶν νόμων : *cf. the expression of Archidamus, i. 84. 13, ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροφίας παιδευόμενοι*. — 24. ἀδυνατώτεροι . . . λόγον : *less able to criticise the speech of a good speaker*. It is only in the order of the words that the clause is like the preceding. See on i. 69. 32. ἀδυνατώτεροι, *sc. ἡ ξυνετώτεροι*, limited by μέμψασθαι, τοῦ καλῶς εἰπόντος depending on λόγον. — 25. κριταὶ δὲ ὄντες . . . ἀγωνισταί : *being impartial judges rather than contending disputants*. For ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, see on c. 10. 12; i. 77. 8. ἀγωνισταί has also the secondary meaning of partisans striving for personal pre-eminence and advantage. Cf. l. 27 ξυνέσεως ἀγωνί, and c. 82. 50 ξυνέσεως ἀγώνισμα. — 26. ὀρθοῦνται τὰ πλείω : *they are generally in prosperity*, and with them the state, which, as the antithesis to σφάλλουσι τὰς πόλεις shows, is esp. had in mind. ὀρθοῦνται as in c. 30. 15; 42. 20; ii. 60. 5; v.

καὶ ἡμᾶς ποιούντας μὴ δεινότητι καὶ ξυνέσεως ἀγῶνι  
ἐπαιρομένους παρὰ δόξαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει παραινέιν.

**38** “Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ <sup>1</sup>  
θαυμάζω μὲν τῶν προθέντων αὐθις περὶ Μυτιληναίων

9. 14; III. 24; vi. 9. 11; viii. 64. 18; Hdt. i. 208. 8. τὰ πλείω is a little stronger than τὰ πολλά in l. 22. Bl. and Jow. render ὀρθοῦνται here *judge rightly*, or *are in the right*.

ῶς: for καὶ οὕτως only here in Thuc. and rare also elsewhere in Attic prose. It occurs in Plato, *Prot.* 338 a (as here with οὖν); *Rep.* 530 d. Cf. Hdt. ix. 18. 11. It is common in Homer and other poets, rare in the Attic poets. See Kr. *Dial.* 77, 1. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1242; Eur. *Bacch.* 1068. Kr. *Spr.* 25, 10, 11; Kühn. 561, n. 4. — 27. ἡμᾶς: *we*, who come forward as orators, as opp. to ὑμέτερον πλήθος. Cf. c. 43. 13. — δεινότητι καὶ ξυνέσεως ἀγῶνι: *with eloquence and the exercise of cleverness*. Strictly the gen. δεινότητος was to be expected, but instead of this, one quality (δεινότης) and the ambitious exercise of the other (ξυνέσεως ἀγῶν) are loosely connected. δεινότητι, Schol. τῇ ῥητορικῇ δυνάμει. Cf. viii. 68. 9. — 28. παρὰ δόξαν: “contrary to our own judgment,” as in Plato *Crit.* 49 c; *Prot.* 337 b. So Steup explains, citing in support of his view c. 38. § 2, and c. 42. 29 παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγει. See also Junge, *ibid.* p. 7 f. But Cl. adopts, with St. and Bm., Reiske’s conjecture (see also Ullrich, *Beitr.* 1862, p. 48) παρὰ τὸ δόξαν (*contrary to the decree of the majority*), because παρὰ δόξαν means everywhere else in Thuc. *contrary to*

*expectation*, which is, of course, inadmissible here. Cf. c. 39. 25; 93. 4; i. 141. 21; ii. 49. 28; iv. 106. 10; viii. 42. 13. With this view, τὸ δόξαν is as τὸ δοκοῦν, c. 38. 11; i. 84. 8, and παραινέιν, absolute, as in ii. 13. 15; vi. 24. 7; viii. 46. 29; 71. 25.

**38.** *That our magistrates should suffer a reconsideration of our decision concerning Mytilene is surprising, and attempts to persuade you to a different conclusion can proceed only from dishonest motives. But it is no wonder that attempts are made to mislead you by fine-sounding words, since you are wont to devote yourselves to the enjoyment of brilliant speeches rather than to forming a judgment from actual circumstances.*

1. ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι: the very words of Pericles, ii. 61. 5. Cf. Soph. *O. R.* 557 καὶ νῦν ἔθ’ αὐτός εἰμι τῷ βουλευματι. Dio C. imitates the passage, xxxviii. 44 ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. Cf. also Soph. *Phil.* 521; Eur. *Phoen.* 920. — 2. θαυμάζω τῶν προθέντων . . . λέγειν: τῶν προθέντων is short for τῶν προθέντων ὅτι προύθεσαν. Cf. ὑμῶν θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε, Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 53; also Lys. xii. 86; Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 135. For the gen., see G. 1126; H. 744; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 10, 9; Kühn. 417, n. 9. προθεῖναι λέγειν for the more usual προθεῖναι λόγον, or προθεῖναι γνώμας (c. 36. 21; cf. c. 42. 1) = ἀποδοῦναι



λέγειν καὶ χρόνου διατριβὴν ἐμποιησάντων, ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς  
 τῶν ἡδίκηκότων μᾶλλον (ὃ γὰρ παθὼν τῷ δράσαντι ἀμ-  
 5 βλυτέρᾳ τῇ ὀργῇ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀμύνασθαι δὲ τῷ παθεῖν  
 ὅτι ἐγγυτάτῳ κείμενον ἀντίπαλον μάλιστα τὴν τιμω-  
 ρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει), θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἔσται ὁ ἀντε-

βουλεύσασθαι (c. 36. 23). Cf. Hdt. viii. 49. 2 προθεῖναι γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι. See Schoemann, *de Comit. Athen.*, p. 104. — 3. ἐμποιησάντων: causing, as in i. 2. 17; ii. 51. 16. — πρὸς τῶν ἡδίκηκότων: in the interest of those who have done wrong. For πρὸς with gen., see G. 1216 a; H. 805, 1 b; Kr. *Spr.* 68, 37, 1; Matth. 590, 6. Cf. c. 59. 1; ii. 86. 19; iv. 10. 8; 29. 11; 92. 36; vii. 36. 18; 81. 27; viii. 36. 9. — 4. ἀμβλυτέρᾳ τῇ ὀργῇ: with duller anger, i.e. anger that has already cooled off. The thought must be completed by supplying the words χρόνου διατριβῆς ἐμποιηθείσης. Cf. ii. 40. 21. — 5. ἐπεξέρχεται: with the dat. (τῷ δράσαντι), in the sense of *revenge* (v. 89. 3; vi. 38. 10), as in that of *attack* (c. 27. 6; ii. 23. 1; v. 9. 8), of *pursuit* (iv. 14. 20). — ἀμύνασθαι: without art. as subject. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 6, 3. Cf. ii. 35. 7; 39. 22; 54. 8; 63. 14; Xen. *Resp. Laced.* 9. 2 ἔπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ σφύζεσθαι εἰς τὸν πλείω χρόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ κακίᾳ. — τῷ παθεῖν: the dat. depends not upon ἐγγυτάτῳ alone, which always takes the gen. in Thuc., but upon ἐγγυτάτῳ κείμενον, the partic. being pf. pass. of τιθέναι. Schol. εἰ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι τῷ παθεῖν ἐγγὺς τεθείη. Cf. ἐγγυτέρῳ καταστῆσαι Ἀθηναίους, ii. 89. 47. Kr. *Di.* 48, 9, 2; Matth. 542, n. 1. In Plut. *de Sera* 2, this passage is

cited, and the sentiment approved by the speaker,—not by Plutarch. — 6. ἀντίπαλον μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει: takes the punishment that is most adequate. On the omission of ὅν, see App. ἀναλαμβάνει τιμωρίαν is not found elsewhere, but is to be compared with such expressions as ἐχθραν, ἀπέχθειαν, κίνδυνον ἀναλαμβάνειν. Reiske and Cl. conjecture λαμβάνει, considering the ἀνα simply a repetition of the preceding -αν, and so St. writes. Kr. suggests ἀντιλαμβάνει.— 7. θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἔσται ὁ ἀντερῶν κτέ.: as the first clause contains a defiant threat, so by ἀξιόσων ἀποφαίνειν τὰς μὲν Μυτιληναίων κτέ. the presumptive opponent is, with intentional perversion, forced into a false alternative. “Whoever does not vote for the severest punishment of the Mytileneans must show (*I wonder who will presume to show*) that the revolt of the Mytileneans is helpful to us, while our misfortunes are hurtful to our allies,” i.e. that they, by their revolt, which was certainly detrimental to Athens (ἡμετέρας ξυμφοράς), did us good, but themselves harm. From the impossibility of proving this is to be deduced the necessity of extreme severity. That the guilt of revolting and the necessity of its punishment do not, however, neces-

ρῶν καὶ ἀξιώσων ἀποφαίνειν τὰς μὲν Μυτιληναίων ἀδι-  
 κίας ἡμῖν ὠφελίμους οὔσας, τὰς δ' ἡμετέρας ξυμφορὰς τοῖς  
 10 ξυμμάχοις βλάβας καθισταμένας. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἡ τῷ 2  
 λέγειν πιστεύσας τὸ πάννυ δοκοῦν ἀνταποφῆναι ὡς οὐκ  
 ἔγνωσται ἀγωνίσαιτ' ἄν, ἡ κέρδει ἐπαιρόμενος τὸ εὐπρε-  
 πὲς τοῦ λόγου ἐκπονήσας παράγειν πειράσεται. ἡ δὲ πό- 3  
 λις ἐκ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων τὰ μὲν ἄθλα ἑτέροις δίδω-  
 15 σιν, αὐτὴ δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ἀναφέρει. αἵτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς 4

sarily imply the destruction of the  
 guilty, Cleon purposely does not say.  
 A correct conception of the con-  
 nexion shows that every change pro-  
 posed is unnecessary. See Junge,  
*ibid.* p. 9 f.

10. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι . . . ἀγωνίσαιτ'  
 ἄν : and it is plain that either he has  
 such confidence in his powers of speech  
 as to contend that what is universally  
 acknowledged is not established (clearly  
 known), or, to use St.'s words, id  
 quod omnibus probatum est  
 non constat. τὸ δοκοῦν is here used  
 in the philosophical sense found in  
 Xen. Mem. iv. 6. 15 διὰ τῶν δοκούντων  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄγειν τοὺς λόγους. For  
 the force of ἔγνωσται, cf. Dem. xxi. 41  
 ἂν γὰρ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγνωσμένα ὑπάρχει  
 παρ' ὑμῖν. For the inf., ἀνταποφῆναι,  
 dependent on ἀγωνίσαιτ' ἄν, cf. c. 82.  
 59; iv. 87. 23; viii. 89. 30, and see  
 Kr. Spr. 55, 3, 16. The term ἀγω-  
 νιζεσθαι is chosen as if the reference  
 were to the delivery of a *show-piece*  
 (ἀγώνισμα, i. 22. 19), and the figure  
 of an oratorical competition is kept  
 up in what follows (ἀγώνων l. 14, ἀγω-  
 νοθετοῦντες and θεαταί l. 16, ἀνταγω-  
 νιζόμενοι l. 25). The interpretation  
 above is essentially that also of Heil-

mann, Arn., Kr., and Bm. Others  
 (Portus, Duker, Kistemacher, Bre-  
 dow, Haacke, Goell., and Bl.), under-  
 standing τὸ δοκοῦν to refer to the  
 decree passed the day before, ex-  
 plain, "What was most certainly  
 your resolution has really not been  
 adopted." But this, it is objected,  
 would require τὸ δόξαν. — 12. ἡ κέρ-  
 δει ἐπαιρόμενος . . . πειράσεται : or  
 incited by gain (i.e. bribed), elaborat-  
 ing what is plausible in words he will  
 try to mislead you. Thus an insinua-  
 tion of bribery is made in advance  
 against any reply. It is the course  
 which is aptly characterized in c. 42.  
 12 ἐκπλήξαι ἂν τοὺς τε ἀντεροῦντας καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀκουσομένους. For κέρδει ἐπαιρό-  
 μενος, see on ἀγῶνι ἐπαιρομένους, c. 37.  
 27. In c. 40. § 1 also, Cleon makes  
 a distinction between those of his  
 opponents who would display their  
 oratorical skill and those who are  
 bribed. παράγειν as in i. 34. 9; 91. 6;  
 ii. 64. 1. For τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τοῦ λόγου,  
 cf. c. 11. 10. For the neut. adj. in  
 place of abstract noun, see on c. 30.  
 4; i. 36. 3.

14. ἑτέροις : Schol. τοῖς ῥήτορσι. —

15. ἀναφέρει : Schol. ἀναφέρει, ἀναδέ-  
 χεται. It seems not to occur else-



κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, οἷτινες εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἔργα ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων σκοποῦντες ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἤδη, οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν πιστό-  
 20 τερον ὄψει λαβόντες ἢ τὸ ἀκουσθέν, ἀπὸ τῶν λόγῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων· καὶ μετὰ καινότητος μὲν λόγου ἀπα- 5

where with κίνδυνον, but cf. ἀναφέρειν φθόνους καὶ διαβολάς, Polyb. i. 36. 3; ἀναφέρειν φθόνους καὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Polyb. iv. 59. 10; ἀναφέρειν τὸν πόνον, Dion. H. x. 24.

αἵτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς: just as unworthy motives are imputed by Cleon to his presumptive opponent, so the hearer who would show himself favourable to the former is charged with perverse conduct throughout, and this is expressed in a series of parties. and pred. adjs., continuing to the end of the chapter. The charges made are threefold: 1) that in the deliberation more value is placed upon words than facts (κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες . . . ἀπὸ τῶν λόγῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων); 2) that in speeches what is new and unusual is more applauded than what is tried and in the long run wholesome (καὶ μετὰ καινότητος . . . ἀποβησόμενα); 3) that in the hankering after an ideal state actual conditions are neglected (ζητοῦντές τε . . . ἱκανῶς); and finally all these errors are traced to the mania for rhetorical and sophistical performances (ἀπλῶς τε . . . βουλευομένοις). — 16. ἀγωνοθετοῦντες: cf. Aeschin. c. Ctes. 180 ὑπολάβετε τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀγωνοθέτας πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς, Xen. Anab. iii. 1. 21 ἀγωνοθέται οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν. — θεαταὶ μὲν . . . τῶν ἔργων: “instead of seeing

facts as they are and listening to speeches with judgment, you are on the contrary hearers of facts and seers of speeches, in that you view facts past and future in the light of what the orators say (ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων) and attend upon the speeches as spectators of a contest of sophists, in which the prize is awarded for technical adroitness, not for the truth.”

Bm. — 17. τὰ μὲν . . . ἐπιτιμησάντων: not in the facts, but in the discussion of them (τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων, τῶν λόγῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων), is found the rule or measure by which is determined (ἀπὸ . . . σκοποῦντες) both the practicability of the μέλλοντα ἔργα, and the truth about the πεπραγμένα (though these ought to be experienced, not heard about). σκοπεῖν ἀπό as in i. 21. 11; ii. 48. 14. — 19. τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἤδη: sc. σκοποῦντες. — οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν πιστότερον ὄψει λαβόντες ἢ τὸ ἀκουσθέν: not taking what is done as more to be trusted, because you have seen it, than what is heard. λαβεῖν = ὑπολαβεῖν, as in ii. 42. 17; iv. 106. 6. With the sentiment of the whole passage, cf. vii. 48. 20 ff. τὸ δρασθὲν as in vi. 53. 8.

21. καὶ μετὰ καινότητος μὲν λόγου . . . ἐθέλειν: the best to be deceived with novelty of words and to be un-

τᾶσθαι ἄριστοι, μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου δὲ μὴ ξυνέπεσθαι  
 ἐθέλειν, δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν αἰεὶ ἀτόπων, ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν  
 εἰωθότων, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἕκαστος βουλό- 6  
 25 μενος δύνασθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς τοιαῦτα  
 λέγουσι μὴ ὕστεροι ἀκολουθῆσαι δοκεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ, ὁξέως  
 δέ τι λέγοντος προεπαινέσαι, καὶ προαισθῆσθαι τε πρό-  
 θυμοι εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ προνοῆσαι βραδεῖς τὰ ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν ἀποβησόμενα· ζητοῦντές τε ἄλλο τι, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἢ 7

willing to follow with the rest in case of approved advice, i.e. where a proposition (λόγου) has been tested and approved. With μετὰ καινότητος λόγου, cf. Isoc. x. 2 ἐπὶ τῇ καινότητι τῶν εὐρημένων. ἄριστοι, sc. ὄντες, ironical, adepts. It is equiv. to ἐπιτήδειοι, as the Schol. says, just as in Hdt. i. 193. 13 ἀρίστη. . . Δήμητρος κάρπον ἐκφέρειν, iii. 80. 21 διαβολὰς ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. Cf. also Hdt. i. 136. 2 μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, and Hes. Op. 763, 779, 813; Soph. O. T. 440; Ar. Nub. 430; Xen. Cyrop. v. 4. 44. G. 1526; H. 952. — 23. δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν αἰεὶ ἀτόπων: slaves of every new extravagance. δοῦλοι ὄντες, i.e. χαίροντες καὶ πιστεύοντες, Schol. ἀτόπων as in ii. 49. 8; Schol. παραδόξων. Cf. Greg. Naz. i. p. 53. δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων, Aristid. ii. 150 a τῆς χρείας αἰεὶ δούλους εἶναι. — ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν εἰωθότων: scorers of what is established. ὑπερόπται not found elsewhere in Attic; Schol. καταφρονούντες. Both δοῦλοι and ὑπερόπται are explanatory of ἄριστοι, while τῶν αἰεὶ ἀτόπων represents καινότητος λόγου, as τῶν εἰωθότων does δεδοκιμασμένου. In illustration of the whole passage, Bl. compares Ar. Eccles. 581–588.

24. μάλιστα μὲν, εἰ δὲ μή: as in i. 32. 4; ii. 72. 8; iv. 104. 20; v. 21. 15; viii. 91. 15. — αὐτὸς ἕκαστος βουλόμενος: the distrib. pron. after pl. subj. (ὁμεῖς), as in i. 141. 27; ii. 16. 11. — 25. ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι κτέ.: the pl. is resumed. On the partic. depends not only δοκεῖν, but also εἶναι with its preds. πρόθυμοι and βραδεῖς. On δοκεῖν depend both ἀκολουθῆσαι and προεπαινέσαι. Vying with those that say such things, in seeming not to follow after them in insight, but when any one says anything clever to applaud it beforehand. Cf. Dio C. lii. 8 ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι μὴ δοκεῖν ὀργίζεσθαι. — τοιαῦτα: sc. καινά and ἀτοπα. So generally explained, but Steup brackets τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι. See App. — 27. προεπαινέσαι: found only here. Cf. ἐπαινέσαι, approve, iv. 65. 8; v. 37. 24. — καὶ προαισθῆσθαι τε . . . ἀποβησόμενα: and (vying) in being both eager to perceive beforehand what is said and slow to anticipate what will come of it. The first καὶ connects εἶναι with δοκεῖν; while τε, καὶ connect προαισθῆσθαι πρόθυμοι and προνοῆσαι βραδεῖς, the emphasis being on the former, as in ii. 39. 24. See App. 29. ἄλλο τι . . . ζῶμεν: an entirely



30 ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν, φρονοῦντες δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρόντων  
 ἱκανῶς· ἀπλῶς τε ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ ἡσσώμενοι καὶ σοφιστῶν  
 θεαταῖς ἐοικότες καθημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πόλεως βου-  
 λευομένοις.

39 “ὦν ἐγὼ πειρώμενος ἀποτρέπειν ὑμᾶς ἀποφαίνω 1  
 Μυτιληναίους μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν ἡδίκηκότας ὑμᾶς.

*different world, so to speak, from that in which we live.* ὡς εἰπεῖν as always in Thuc., not ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, as in Plato and the orators. GMT. 777, 1; II. 956. Cf. i. 1. 9. For the pl. οἷς after ἄλλο, see Kr. *Spr.* 58, 4, 5. — 31. ἀπλῶς τε: *and in a word*, as in c. 45. 29; 82. 34. τε inferential, *and so*, as que in Lat. See on i. 4. 5. — ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ: cf. c. 40. 7 ἡδονῇ λόγων. — ἡσσώμενοι: with dat. as vii. 25. 41 οὐ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχύι . . . ἡσσηθέεν. Elsewhere in figurative sense with the gen., as iv. 37. 6; v. 111. 15. In connexion with Cleon's placing the source of all evil in the prevailing enjoyment of fine speeches, is to be remembered the fact that about the end of this summer (see on c. 86. 12) Gorgias came to Athens for the first time, as ambassador from Leontini, and though Cleon could not have had him in mind in his real speech, Thuc. doubtless did, as he wrote the speech. — σοφιστῶν: only here in Thuc., in Cleon's mouth, in the same unfavourable sense as often in Aristophanes (*Nub.* 331, 1111), Xenophon (*Mem.* i. 6. 13), and Plato (*Phaedr.* 257 d; *Prot.* 312 a, etc.). — 32. θεαταῖς ἐοικότες καθημένοις: the perversity of the practice of the sophists, whose object was not instruction, but vainglorious display, is characterized by *θεαταῖ*

(cf. *θεαταῖ* τῶν λόγων, l. 16). *καθημένοις* is usually taken as explanatory of *θεαταῖς*, *sitting idly*, as in Dem. ii. 23, 24; iv. 9, 44; viii. 77 — similarly iv. 124. 24. But Kr. objects that no activity is required of spectators, and Steup seems clearly right in considering (with Hude, p. 98) *θεαταῖς* as pred. *Like men sitting as spectators of sophists rather than like men deliberating about the welfare of the state.*

39. *Do not allow yourselves to be deceived in this case, but recognize that the Mytileneans have been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in that they have taken advantage of our embarrassment, in order to revolt, although they were far more favoured than other allies.* § 1–5.

*All are alike guilty, the demos as well as the aristocrats, and untimely forbearance would only occasion further revolts, and bring upon you greater and greater losses.* § 6–8.

1. ὦν: sc. ἐπιτηδεύματων ὦν εἶπεν ἄρτι, Schol. It covers the whole course of the Athenians as described in c. 38. § 4–7. The rel. is emphatic, as in c. 43. 1; 46. 20; i. 9. 19, etc. — ἀποφαίνω: *I declare*, as in ii. 62. 10. Cf. c. 67. 10. v. H.'s conjecture, ἀποφανῶ, is unnecessary. — 2. δῆ: with the sup. as in c. 113. 22; i. 1. 8; vii. 87. 23, and freq. — μίαν πόλιν:

ἐγὼ γάρ, οἵτινες μὲν μὴ δυνατοὶ φέρειν τὴν ὑμετέ- 2  
 ραν ἀρχὴν ἢ οἵτινες ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκασθέντες  
 5 ἀπέστησαν, ξυγγνώμην ἔχω· νῆσον δὲ οἵτινες ἔχοντες  
 μετὰ τειχῶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μόνον φοβούμενοι τοὺς  
 ἡμετέρους πολεμίους, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ τριήρων παρασκευῇ  
 οὐκ ἄφρακτοι ἦσαν πρὸς αὐτούς, αὐτόνομοί τε οἰκοῦν-  
 10 τες καὶ τιμώμενοι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑφ' ἡμῶν τοιαῦτα εἰργά-  
 σαντο, τί ἄλλο οὗτοι ἢ ἐπεβούλευσάν τε καὶ ἐπανεστή-  
 σαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν (ἀπόστασις μὲν γε τῶν βίαιόν  
 τι πασχόντων ἐστίν), ἐζήτησάν τε μετὰ τῶν πολεμιωτά-  
 των ἡμᾶς στάντες διαφθεῖραι; καίτοι δεινότερόν ἐστιν

appos. to Μυτιληναίους, as viii. 40. 7 τοῖς Χίοις . . . μιᾷ γε πόλει . . . πλείστοι γενόμενοι. For similar expressions, cf. c. 113. 21; i. 80. 13; vi. 20. 8; viii. 68. 5. Kr. Spr. 49, 10, 5.

3. οἵτινες: without τούτοις, as in v. 16. 16, about equiv. to εἴ τινες. Kr. Spr. 51, 13, 3. — δυνατοί: without δυνατες, co-ord. with the partic. ἀναγκασθέντες, as in c. 38. 22 ἄριστοι is with βουλόμενος and ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι. — 5. νῆσον δὲ οἵτινες: νῆσον, as strongest security for an αὐτάρκης θέσις (i. 37. 11) and for immunity from attack (ἀληπτόν, i. 37. 20), placed before the rel. Cf. vi. 36. 1. Kr. Spr. 54, 17, 7; Kühn. 606, 6. Cf. δίκας δὲ ὅτι ἐθέλομεν, i. 144. 14. οἵτινες, though hypothetical, has so manifest a reference to the Mytileneans that in l. 8 the neg. is οὐ not μή. — 7. ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτοί: not entirely dependent, therefore, on Attic protection. ἐν ᾧ, in which case. See on i. 39. 11. — παρασκευῇ: force, as in vi. 31. 6; vii. 36. 3. Lesbian triremes are men-

tioned c. 4. 6; i. 116. 11; ii. 9. 20; 56. 7. — 9. τιμώμενοι: see on c. 9. 12. — ἐς τὰ πρῶτα: imprimis, as c. 56. 22. — 10. τί ἄλλο ἢ: as in c. 58. 24; v. 98. 8, with following finite verb. The same elliptical const. as οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ, ii. 16. 10. H. 612; Kr. Spr. 62, 3, 7; Kühn. 587, 18. — ἐπανεστήσαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν: rose up against rather than revolted from. For the paronomasia, freq. in Thuc., cf. c. 82. 31, and see on i. 33. 26. Cf. Dion. H. Ant. iii. 8. 2 οὐ μόνον ἀπόστασιν ἐβούλευσαν ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανάστασιν, Dio C. lxxi. 24 δημοσία τε ἀπόστασις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπανάστασις. — 11. μὲν γε: as if the explanation of the ἐπανάστασις also were to follow; but this is omitted since it is clear enough from the context. For the combination μὲν γε, see on i. 40. 15. — 12. μετὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων στάντες: combining with our worst enemies. Cf. i. 33. 22; vii. 57. 4; 61. 12, and see on c. 11. 18. — 13. ἡμᾶς: emphatic position, as in i. 68. 1; 70.



ἢ εἰ καθ' αὐτοὺς δύναμιν κτώμενοι ἀντεπολέμησαν. παρά- 3  
 15 δειγμα δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔτε αἱ τῶν πέλας ξυμφοραὶ ἐγένοντο,  
 ὅσοι ἀποστάντες ἤδη ἡμῶν ἐχειρώθησαν, οὔτε ἡ παρ-  
 οὔσα εὐδαιμονία παρέσχεν ὄκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινά·  
 γενόμενοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον θρασεῖς καὶ ἐλπίσαντες μα-  
 κρότερα μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς βουλήσεως,  
 20 πόλεμον ἤραντο, ἰσχὺν ἀξιώσαντες τοῦ δικαίου προθεῖ-  
 ναι· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ὤήθησαν περιέσεσθαι, ἐπέθεντο ἡμῖν οὐκ  
 ἀδικούμενοι. εἶωθε δέ, τῶν πόλεων αἷς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ 4

5; v. 82. 23; vii. 78. 26. — 14. καθ' αὐτούς: *of themselves*, as in iv. 64. 14, 21, and freq. — κτώμενοι: *seeking to acquire*, as in ii. 62. 26. Cf. ἐπικτᾶσθαι, i. 144. 2; ii. 65. 24.

παράδειγμα: *warning example*. The sing. as in iv. 92. 18, but the plur. c. 10. 20; ii. 24; vi. 77. 4. It is placed first, as if to be pred. to both οὔτε clauses; but as εὐδαιμονία of course cannot be a warning, an anacoluthon arises. For similar const., cf. c. 96. 11. — 16. ὅσοι . . . ἐχειρώθησαν: cf. c. 10. § 4 ff.; i. 98. § 4; 99. — 17. παρέσχεν ὄκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν: for the neg., see on c. 32. 14. — τὰ δεινά: *dangers*. See on c. 22. 26. — 18. ἐλπίσαντες μακρότερα μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐλάσσω δὲ τῆς βουλήσεως: the antithesis is well chosen, in order to rouse both contempt and bitterness. “Their hopes went indeed far beyond their strength, but not far enough to satisfy their hate.” Cf. Schol. ἥλπισαν, φησὶν, ἀποστῆναι ἡμῶν, ὅπερ μεῖζον μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν, ἔλαττον δὲ τῆς βουλήσεως αὐτῶν. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἀποστῆναι ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ καθελεῖν τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως, διὰ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεῶς ζῆν. Herbst (*Zu Thuk. Erkl.*

*u.s.w.* 1892, p. 82) thinks that a contrast is intended between the Mytilenean view of their own power and that of the Athenians, *i.e.* they expected for themselves more than they could accomplish and from the Athenians less than they (the Mytileneans) could wish, so greatly did they underestimate the strength of the Athenians. — 20. ἰσχὺν ἀξιώσαντες . . . προθεῖναι: “having once determined to put might before right.” The clause is all the more effective since a good word (ἀξιώσαντες) is made to serve in a bad cause. ἰσχύς, as i. 76. 15, of brute force. προθεῖναι with acc. and gen. also c. 84. 14; i. 76. 15; Hdt. iii. 53. 16; Soph. *O. C.* 419. — 21. ἐν ᾧ: emphasizes here more sharply than usual the *moment*, when in the hope of getting the better of the Athenians, now hard pressed by war and pestilence (cf. c. 3. § 1; 13. § 3), they made an unprovoked attack. See on l. 7.

22. εἶωθε δὲ . . . ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν: *unexpected good fortune is wont to make insolent those cities upon which it has come in the highest degree and in the shortest time*. With the sentiment, cf. Liv. xxx. 42. 15 raro

δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία ἔλθῃ, ἐς ὕβριν τρέ-  
πειν (τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατὰ λόγον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐτυχοῦντα  
25 ἀσφαλέστερα ἢ παρὰ δόξαν, καὶ κακοπραγίαν, ὥς εἰπεῖν,  
ῥᾶον ἀπωθοῦνται ἢ εὐδαιμονίαν διασώζονται). χρῆν δὲ 5  
Μυτιληναίους καὶ πάλαι μηδὲν διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων  
ὑφ' ἡμῶν τετιμῆσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐς τόδε ἐξύβρισαν·  
πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος τὸ μὲν θεραπεῦον  
30 ὑπερφρονεῖν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ὑπεῖκον θαυμάζειν.

“Κολασθέντων δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀξίως τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ 6

simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari; also Thuc. iv. 17. § 4; Dem. i. 23; Aristid. ii. 57. ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία is subj. of both clauses. For the Mytileneans it consisted in the straits of the Athenians, indicated by ἐν ᾧ . . . περιέσεσθαι. αἷς = ταύτας αἷς, the terminal dat. with ἐλθεῖν, as in c. 70. 2 and often. See on c. 5. 12; i. 13. 12. μάλιστα and δι' ἐλαχίστου are adv. with ἔλθῃ. Cf. δι' ὀλίγου, iv. 95. 1; v. 69. 19; vi. 47. 10; vii. 15. 13, and see on ii. 42. 24. ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν has ταύτας understood as object. Cf. c. 13. 4. See App. — 24. τὰ πολλὰ κτέ.: the Schol. correctly explains = ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. The subj. is εὐτυχοῦντα with its modifiers. “And for the most part success that comes to men in accordance with reasonable calculations is safer than that which surpasses expectation, and mankind apparently find it easier to repel adversity, than to maintain prosperity.” εὐτυχοῦντα as in iv. 62. 17; 79. 4. For omission of art., cf. c. 48. 8. GMT. 827. διασώζεσθαι as in v. 16. 11; 46. 9.

26. χρῆν δὲ . . . τετιμῆσθαι: for the

const., see GMT. 415, 419; H. 834, 897. — καὶ πάλαι: iam pridem. Cf. c. 13. 5; 104. 14. — 27. μηδὲν διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων: pred. to τετιμῆσθαι, without any advantage over others. οὕτω τετιμῆσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὥς οὐδὲν διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων, Schol. διαφερόντως, which St. has adopted, is the reading of some of the Mss., and is supported by Thuc.'s usage (i. 38. 10; 138. 11; ii. 40. 11; 51. 2; viii. 68. 17), as well as by the imitation of Dio C. xxxviii. 39. 3 ἢ οὖν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐχρήν μηδὲν διαφερόντως ἡμᾶς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἠξήσθαι. — 28. καὶ οὐκ: introduces in parataxis the result of the cond. implied in the preceding clause. — ἐς τόδε: adeo, as in i. 75. 8. — ἐξύβρισαν: also i. 84. 6. — 29. πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως κτέ.: passes from the present case to a general remark, as in i. 99. 6; viii. 45. 6; Plut. Tim. 52 a. With the sentiment, cf. iv. 61. 19. — τὸ θεραπεῦον, τὸ μὴ ὑπεῖκον: collective neuters with personal force, as ii. 45. 5; iv. 61. 20. Kr. Spr. 43, 4, 17. — 30. ὑπερφρονεῖν: with acc. also vi. 68. 10. Kr. Spr. 47, 23, 1.

31. κολασθέντων: on the form, see



μὴ τοῖς μὲν ὀλίγοις ἢ αἰτία προστεθῇ, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπο-  
 λύσητε. πάντες γὰρ ἡμῖν γε ὁμοίως ἐπέθεντο, οἷς γ' ἐξῆν  
 ὡς ἡμᾶς τραπομένοις νῦν πάλιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι· ἀλλὰ  
 35 τὸν μετὰ τῶν ὀλίγων κίνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι βεβαιότερον ξυν-  
 απέστησαν. τῶν τε ξυμμάχων σκέψασθε εἰ τοῖς τε ἀναγ- 7  
 κασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τοῖς ἐκούσιν ἀποστᾶσι  
 τὰς αὐτὰς ζημίας προσθήσετε, τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα οὐ βρα-  
 χεῖα προφάσει ἀποστήσεσθαι, ὅταν ἡ κατορθώσαντι ἐλευ-  
 40 θέρωσις ἢ ἡ σφαλέντι μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον; ἡμῖν δὲ 8  
 πρὸς ἐκάστην πόλιν ἀποκεκινδυνεύσεται τά τε χρήματα

App. — καὶ νῦν : *even now*, opp. to καὶ πάλαι, l. 27. — καὶ μή : covers both the following clauses. — 32. ἢ αἰτία προστεθῇ : for the act. with acc., cf. l. 38 ; 42. 25 ; iv. 20. 12. — ἀπολύσητε : for aor. subjv. in prohibition, see GMT. 259 ; H. 874 ; Kühn. 397, 3. — 33. ἡμῖν γε : *i.e.* against us at least they were united, even if they were at variance among themselves. — οἷς γ' ἐξῆν : grammatically construed with πάντες, though really only the δῆμος is had in mind here, as well as in the next clause. For const., see on l. 26 above. — 34. τραπομένοις : this reading of a few good Mss., is more appropriate with ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶναι than the vulg. τρεπομένοις. “Who might have turned to us and been now reinstated in their city.” As to this rendering, which is essentially that of Va., see also L. Herbst, *Philol.* xlii. p. 711. — ἀλλὰ . . . ξυναπέστησαν : *but considering the danger with the oligarchs safer (than that with us), they joined them in revolt.* Cf. c. 47. 3. Const. βεβαιότερον with κίνδυνον, as v. 108. 2.

36. τῶν τε ξυμμάχων : introduces the new consideration with emphasis. The part. gen. covers not only τοῖς τε ἀναγκασθεῖσιν . . . ἀποστᾶσι, but also τίνα οἴεσθε ὄντινα οὐ. Both ἀναγκασθεῖσιν and ἐκούσιν are pred. to ἀποστᾶσι. — 38. τίνα . . . ὄντινα οὐ : as in c. 46. 8, this becomes by attraction one word, as it were, in force and const. like οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ, c. 81. 24 ; vii. 87. 14. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4. 25 οὐδένα ἔφασαν ὄντιν' οὐ δακρύοντ' ἀποστρέφεσθαι. Kr. Spr. 51, 10, 11 ; Kühn. 555, 5. After the long protasis, οἴεσθε repeats σκέψασθε of l. 36. — βραχεῖα προφάσει : *on a trifling pretext*, as in i. 141. 4. For the force of βραχεῖα, see on c. 36. 12 ; i. 14. 11. — 39. κατορθώσαντι, σφαλέντι : cf. c. 14. 5, 7 ; ii. 65. 28, 29 ; vi. 12. 7, 8. — ἐλευθέρωσις ἢ παθεῖν : for the noun and inf. co-ordinated as subj. of ἢ, see Kr. Spr. 59, 2, 3.

40. ἡμῖν δέ : what follows, though logically dependent on σκέψασθε, is grammatically independent. — 41. ἀποκεκινδυνεύσεται : pass. prob. only here ; in vii. 81. 26 intr. Kr. Spr. 52, 3, 4. Cf. ii. 43. 26 ἡ ἐναντία μετα-

καὶ αἱ ψυχαί, καὶ τυχόντες μὲν πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παρα-  
 λαβόντες τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου, δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν, τὸ λοι-  
 πὸν στερήσεσθε, σφαλέντες δὲ πολεμίους πρὸς τοῖς ὑπ-  
 45 ἀρχουσιν ἔξομεν, καὶ ὃν χρόνον τοῖς νῦν καθεστηκόσι δεῖ  
 ἐχθροῖς ἀνθίστασθαι, τοῖς οἰκείοις ξυμμάχοις πολεμή-  
 σομεν.

40 “Οὐκ οὖν δεῖ προθεῖναι ἐλπίδα οὔτε λόγῳ πιστὴν 1  
 οὔτε χρήμασιν ὠνητήν, ὥς ξυγγνώμην ἀμαρτεῖν ἀνθρω-  
 πίνως λήψονται. ἄκοντες μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔβλαψαν, εἰδότες

βολή . . . ἔτι κινδυνεύεται, Dem. xviii. 278 τῶν ὄλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, xxxiv. 28 τὰ χρήματα ἤδη κινδυνεύεται τῷ δανείσαντι, xix. 285 τὰ μέγιστα κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει. For fut. pf. expressing certainty that an action will immediately take place, see GMT. 79; Kr. Spr. 53, 9, 3. — 42. **τυχόντες** : = κατορθώσαντες, as in c. 42. 18; 82. 31; iv. 63. 13; v. iiii. 27. — 43. **τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου** : the future revenue, i.e. that which would have accrued if the state had not been destroyed. Cf. i. 123. 2. τὸ λοιπὸν is pleonastic, it is true, but after the inserted rel. clause it is not without force. But see App. — **δι' ἣν** : elsewhere ἥπερ (ῆ) with ἰσχύειν, as i. 142. 12; ii. 13. 18. It is connected κατὰ ξύνεσιν with τῆς προσόδου without ἔπειτα. — 44. **στερήσεσθε, ἔξομεν** : change of pers., as in v. 9. § 1. Kühn. 371, n. 5. — 45. **δεῖ** : Cobet's conjecture, ἔδει, is unnecessary, since Cleon could hardly mean, either here or c. 40. 39, that their enemies would have to be entirely neglected, but only that conflicts with their ξύμμαχοι would cripple opposition to the νῦν καθεστηκότες ἐχθροί.

40. As their guilt has been wilfully incurred, do not weakly allow yourselves to be moved by pity, charm of words, or a spirit of fairness to change your decree. They have merited the severest punishment, and this will secure the permanence of your rule; whereas by revoking your decree you would condemn yourselves.

1. **προθεῖναι** : proponere, not προσθεῖναι (although in Vat. and other good Mss.); alone appropriate with ἐλπίδα. Cf. c. 52. 18 κατηγορία οὐδεμία προετέθη. — **οὔτε λόγῳ πιστὴν οὔτε χρήμασιν ὠνητήν** : neither relying on eloquence, nor to be bought with money. Both here and c. 38. § 2, those who would merely show their cleverness are set over against those who are bribed. πιστός in this sense also in Plato Legg. 824 b, and freq. in the poets. — 2. **ὥς ξυγγνώμην ἀμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως λήψονται** : that they will be excused as having erred humanly, i.e. pardonably. Cf. Dem. xix. 238 ξυγγνώμη ἀδελφῷ βοηθεῖν. ξυγγνώμη λήψεσθαι = ξυγγνωσθήσεσθαι, hence the inf. clause, ἀμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως, giving the ground of the pardon. Cf. Hdt. i. 89. 14 ξυγγρόντες ποιεῖν σε δίκαια.



δὲ ἐπεβούλευσαν· ξύγγνωμον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκούσιον. ἐγὼ 2  
 5 μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πρῶτον καὶ νῦν διαμάχομαι μὴ μετα-  
 γνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ προδεδογμένα, μηδὲ τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφο-  
 ρωτάτοις τῇ ἀρχῇ, οἴκτῳ καὶ ἡδονῇ λόγων καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ,  
 ἀμαρτάνειν. ἔλεός τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους δίκαιος ἀντι- 3

Kr. *Spr.* 61, 7, 5; Kühn. 473, 5. ξυγ-  
 γνώμη as in c. 44. 6. For its const.  
 with inf., cf. iv. 61. 17; v. 88. 1;  
 Hdt. i. 39. 1. With the sentiment  
 of the passage, cf. c. 45. 7; Xen.  
*Cyrop.* vi. i. 37 ξυγγνώμων τῶν ἀνθρω-  
 πίνων ἀμαρτημάτων, Dio C. p. 24 τοῖς  
 ἀμαρτάνουσι ξυγγνώμην κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώ-  
 πινον. — 4. ξύγγνωμον: = ξυγγνώμης  
 ἄξιον (Schol.), as in iv. 98. 19. Cf.  
 Dem. xviii. 274 ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων;  
 ξυγγνώμη ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ,  
 Dion. H. *Ant.* i. 58 ἅπαν δὲ ξυγγνώμης  
 ἄξιον τὸ ἀκούσιον. On the accent of  
 ξύγγνωμον (not ξυγγνώμον) after the  
 analogy of κακόδαιμον, see Götting,  
*Accentelehre*, p. 329 f.

5. καὶ τότε: sc. διεμαχεσάμην. Cf.  
 i. 86. 7; vi. 60. 13. — διαμάχομαι:  
 with μή and inf. as in c. 42. 7; Xen.  
*Anab.* v. 8. 23; Eur. *Alc.* 694. Cf.  
 also i. 143. 25; v. 41. 14; vii. 63. 1.  
 Kühn. 597, 2 k. τότε refers to what  
 happened in the assembly the day  
 before. Cf. c. 69. 2; i. 101. 8. —  
 μὴ μεταγνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ προδεδογμένα:  
 depends only on νῦν διαμάχομαι, hav-  
 ing no reference to the τότε πρῶτον  
 clause. Kr. *Spr.* 55, 3, 16. μεταγνῶ-  
 ναι means rather *unvote* than *repent*.  
 Cf. i. 44. 4. The view of Müller-  
 Strübing (*Thuk. Forsch.* p. 187 ff.)  
 and others, that τὰ προδεδογμένα  
 refers to a decree adopted before  
 the assembly of the previous day,

is inconsistent with τότε πρῶτον,  
 whether the assumed decree were a  
 general measure that was of import-  
 ance for the question of the treat-  
 ment of the Mytileneans, or a specific  
 decree referring thereto. For Cleon  
 would hardly have made so covert a  
 reference to such a measure, and  
 such an anticipatory decree would  
 be wholly at variance with c. 35 f. —  
 6. τρισὶ τοῖς ἀξυμφορωτάτοις: the  
 order as in i. 74. 3. — 7. ἡδονῇ λόγων:  
 cf. ἀκοῆς ἡδονῇ, c. 38. 31; also i. 84.  
 9; ii. 37. 12. — ἐπιεικείᾳ: *fairness*  
 (Matthew Arnold's 'sweet reason-  
 ableness'), esp. the benevolent treat-  
 ment by the ἀρχουσα πόλις of her  
 allies, which does not allow her supe-  
 riority to be felt. Cf. i. 14; 48. 2;  
 also i. 76. 20, τὸ ἐπιεικές and its  
 result.

8. ἔλεός τε: the first of the τρία τὰ  
 ἀξυμφορώτατα, the other two being  
 οἳ τε τέρποντες (10), καὶ ἡ ἐπιεικεία (13).  
 Note the different connexion in i. 74.  
 4 (τε, καί, καί). — τοὺς ὁμοίους: Cl.,  
 St. and Bl. interpret, *those who are*  
*like-minded*, as in i. 71. 7; but Steup  
 rightly follows Kr. in understanding,  
*those who are placed in like circum-*  
*stances*, i.e. only toward equals, and  
 not subject-allies, is mercy in order.  
 Only this view is compatible with  
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης καθεστῶτας αἰεὶ πολεμίους. —  
 δίκαιος ἀντιδίδουθαι: for the pers.

δίδοσθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὗτ' ἀντοικτιοῦντας ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 10 κης τε καθεστῶτας αἰεὶ πολεμίους· οἳ τε τέρποντες λόγῳ  
 ῥήτορες ἔξουσιν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐλάσσοσιν ἀγῶνα, καὶ μὴ ἐν  
 ᾧ ἡ μὲν πόλις βραχέα ἡσθεῖσα μεγάλα ζημιώσεται, αὐτοὶ  
 δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εὖ εἰπεῖν τὸ παθεῖν εὖ ἀντιλήψονται· καὶ ἡ  
 ἐπιείκεια πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐπιτηδείους καὶ τὸ λοι-  
 15 πὸν ἔσεσθαι μᾶλλον δίδοται ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίως τε καὶ  
 οὐδὲν ἡσσον πολεμίους ὑπολειπομένους. ἔν τε ξυνελών 4  
 λέγω· πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ τά τε δίκαια ἐς Μυτιληναίους  
 καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἅμα ποιήσετε, ἄλλως δὲ γνόντες τοῖς μὲν

const. with inf., see GMT. 762; H. 944 a. The unusual inf. pass., as in c. 94. 22; Xen. *Cyneg.* 3. 3; Plato *Legg.* 751 b. GMT. 763; H. 952 a. — 9. ἀντοικτιοῦντας: found only here. — ἐξ ἀνάγκης: necessarily, as in vi. 44. 5; vii. 27. 17. — 11. ῥήτορες: here, in Cleon's mouth, as well as in the two other passages in Thuc. (vi. 29. 14; viii. 1. 5), used already in its unfavourable secondary meaning to characterize those who make a profession of oratory (cf. τέρποντες λόγῳ) and use it for personal or party purposes. — ἔξουσιν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐλάσσοσιν ἀγῶνα: i.e. the orators who consider political deliberations as an ἀγών (c. 38. § 4) will have an opportunity to display their cleverness in other matters of less importance, which will be no hardship to those who treat every matter ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις μείξουσιν οὐκ ἀν δηλώσαντες τὴν γνώμην (c. 37. 21). — 12. βραχέα: combines the ideas of short duration and slight enjoyment. For the neut. adj. as cognate acc., see G. 1054; H. 716 b; Kr. *Spr.* 46, 5, 4. — 13. τὸ παθεῖν εὖ: τὸ χρηματίσασθαι

ὑπὸ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, Schol. The same insinuation of bribery as in l. 2 above and c. 38. 12. The phrase is strengthened by its chiasmic relation to the preceding. — 14. ἐπιτηδείους: = πιστούς, faithful as allies, as in vi. 46. 8. — 15. ὁμοίως τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἡσσον: on Thiersch's conjecture ὁμοίως for ὁμοίους, see App. With the expression, cf. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα, vii. 44. 32; πλεῖστος φόβος καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐλάσσων, vii. 85. 17. — 16. ὑπολειπομένους: who always remain, chiasmatically opposed to μέλλοντας.

ἐν τε: the reading of one Ms. (C. acc. to Hude), adopted by St. and Cl. for ἐν δέ of the other Mss., acc. to Thuc.'s constant usage in a resumé. So ξυνελών τε, ii. 41. 1; vi. 80. 14; ἀπλῶς τε, c. 38. 31; 45. 29; 82. 34; τό τε ξύμπαν, c. 92. 17; iv. 63. 9; vii. 77. 33; τό τε ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, vii. 49. 18; παράπαν τε, vi. 18. 41; παντί τε τρόπῳ, ii. 21. 21; iv. 4. 11. See Haase, *Lucubr.* p. 75. — 18. τὰ ξύμφορα: sc. ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. Cf. i. 42. 3. — τοῖς μὲν οὐ χαριεῖσθε: you will not win their gratitude. Cf. c. 37. 7 οὐκ ἐς τὴν



οὐ χαριεῖσθε, ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικαιοῦσεσθε· εἰ  
 20 γὰρ οὗτοι ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖς ἂν οὐ χρεὼν ἄρχοιτε.  
 εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οὐ προσήκον ὅμως ἀξιούτε τοῦτο δρᾶν, παρὰ  
 τὸ εἰκός τοι καὶ τούσδε ξυμφόρως δεῖ κολάζεσθαι, ἣ παύε-  
 σθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι.  
 τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημίᾳ ἀξιώσατε ἀμύνασθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναλγη- 5

τῶν ξυμμάχων χάριν. — 19. δικαιοῦσε-  
 σθε: not found elsewhere in Thuc.,  
 who uses only δικαιοῦν = δίκαιον ἡγεῖ-  
 σθαι. It is chosen here with reference  
 to τὰ δίκαια ἐς Μυτιληναίους ποιήσετε  
 above, *do justice to, i.e. punish*. It  
 seems to be an Ionic usage. Cf. Hdt.  
 i. 100. 8; iii. 29. 12; v. 92. β 14;  
 Plato *Legg.* 934 b. See Diener, *de*  
*Serm. Thuc.* p. 30 f. For the mid.,  
 cf. κολάζεσθαι, l. 22; σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βε-  
 βαιώσασθαι, i. 33. 23. — εἰ γὰρ οὗτοι  
 ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν . . . ἄρχοιτε: *for if*  
*these had a right to secede, it would*  
*follow that your dominion is unjust,*  
*i.e. a revocation of the former decree*  
*(γινόντες ἄλλως) would be a confession*  
*that the Mytilenean revolt was just,*  
*and consequently the Athenian rule*  
*unjust. For the mixture of the prot.*  
*of the simple (not unreal) cond. with*  
*an apod. of the ideal, to soften the*  
*assertion, see GMT. 503; H. 901 b.*  
*Cf. c. 9. 6; i. 121. 16. — 20. οὐ χρεὼν,*  
*οὐ προσήκον: acc. abs. GMT. 851;*  
*H. 973; Kr. Spr. 56, 9, 5. οὐ προσή-*  
*κον also iv. 95. 4; vi. 82. 10; 84. 1.*  
 — 21. εἰ δὲ δὴ . . . ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι:  
 not meant, as εἰ γὰρ . . . ἄρχοιτε, to  
 substantiate ὑμᾶς . . . δικαιοῦσεσθε, but  
 carrying out some such thought, to  
 be supplied, as “which you will cer-  
 tainly not acknowledge.” See App.  
 — ἀξιούτε: *are resolved.* Cf. ii. 11.

33; 64. 24. — τοῦτο δρᾶν: *sc. ἄρχειν.*  
 For this expression referring to some  
 action just described, see on i. 5. 11.  
 — 22. τοι: occurs isolated only twice  
 more in Thuc. (ii. 41. 11; vii. 77. 5),  
 always introducing an emphatic as-  
 sertion. — ξυμφόρως: τοῦ ξυμφέροντος  
 ἔνεκα τῇ ἀρχῇ, Schol. Cf. τὰ ξύμφορα,  
 l. 18. — κολάζεσθαι: not pass., but  
 as the whole context, esp. παύεσθαι,  
 shows, mid., as δικαιοῦσεσθε above.  
 Cf. vi. 78. 8; Ar. *Vesp.* 406, and  
 Steph. *Thes.* s.v. — ἣ: = εἰ δὲ μή, as  
 in ii. 63. 3, which passage is imitated  
 here both in thought and expression  
 (ἀνδραγαθίζεται). — 23. ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύ-  
 νου: adv. periphrasis, as ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος,  
 i. 34. 10; ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς, i. 39. 2;  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς; i. 35. 17; ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 εὐθέος, c. 43. 5.

24. τῇ τε αὐτῇ ζημίᾳ ἀξιώσατε ἀμύ-  
 νασθαι: the sentence would properly  
 read ἡ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς ἀμύνασθαι  
 κρατήσαντας ὑμῶν, but the natural  
 order having been interrupted by  
 καὶ μὴ . . . φανῆναι, expressing the  
 neg. side of the thought, the force of  
 τῇ αὐτῇ is left to be inferred from  
 what follows. Schol. ἡ ἂν ἐτιμωρή-  
 σαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑμᾶς, περιγενόμενοι ὑμῶν.  
 But Steup would understand, “as  
 on the day before,” objecting that  
 the above interpretation is strained,  
 and that one cannot see how Cleon

25 τότεροι οἱ διαφεύγοντες τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων φανῆναι,  
 ἐνθυμηθέντες ἃ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι κρατήσαντας  
 ὑμῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ προϋπάρξαντας ἀδικίας. μάλιστα δὲ 6  
 οἱ μὴ ξὺν προφάσει τινὰ κακῶς ποιοῦντες ἐπεξέρχονται  
 καὶ διολλύναι, τὸν κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ ὑπολειπο-  
 30 μένου ἐχθροῦ· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τι παθὼν χαλεπώ-

could have represented the course of the victorious Mytileneans toward the Athenians as a *ζημία*. — ἀναλγητότεροι: elsewhere in prose only in late writers. It means here, like *δυσάλγητος*, Soph. *O. R.* 12, *without feeling, not sensitive; unfeeling, cruel*, in Soph. *Aj.* 946; *Trach.* 126; Eur. *Hipp.* 1386. Cf. ἀναλγήτως, *unfeelingly*, Soph. *Aj.* 1333. — 25. οἱ διαφεύγοντες: the pres. partic. here expresses continued action, as in c. 4. 13; ii. 2. 22. It is appos. to ὑμεῖς understood. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 7, 14. — 26. εἰκὸς ἦν: as c. 10. 20. Without ἄν (as ἐξῆν, i. 37. 21; καλὸν ἦν, i. 38. 10) as apod. to κρατήσαντας (i.e. ἐκράτησαν). See on c. 10. 20. GMT. 420, 421; H. 897. — κρατήσαντας ὑμῶν: Cleon uses everywhere in c. 40 the second person in speaking of the Athenians. Cf. c. 39. 2, 44. ἡμῶν, which many editions have, seems to be unsupported by any good Ms. — 27. προϋπάρξαντας: cf. πρώτοι τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, i. 76. 11; τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις, ii. 74. 17. The same force as the simple verb ὑπῆρξαν, ii. 67. 29.

μάλιστα δὲ κτέ.: whoever without cause have wronged another, follow him up to destroy him utterly, apprehending always danger from the surviving (i.e. not yet completely destroyed) enemy. The thought agrees

in the main with the famous words of Tacitus, *Agr.* 42 *proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris*. Cf. Dryden:

Forgiveness to the injured does  
 belong,  
 But they ne'er pardon who have done  
 the wrong;

and Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century*, xxv. p. 151, 'The hatred which nations . . . are apt to feel towards those whom they have injured.' — 28. μὴ ξὺν προφάσει: as is charged against the Mytileneans c. 39. § 1, 2. — ἐπεξέρχονται καὶ διολλύναι: so with St. for the unintelligible διόλλυνται of the Mss. See *Rh. Mus.* xv. p. 475. The inf. of purpose as in i. 50. 3; ii. 65. 44. GMT. 770; H. 951. — 29. τὸν κίνδυνον . . . ἐχθροῦ: the gen. with κίνδυνος, as in ii. 63. 5. — 30. ὁ γὰρ μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ . . . ἐχθροῦ: contains at once the ground for the extreme fear and therefore extreme hostility of the Mytileneans, and the justification of the severest punishment by the Athenians. 'For he who has suffered evil without needful cause is more dangerous, if he shall have escaped, than one who was an enemy on equal terms, i.e. than one who has not suffered more than he has inflicted.' (Arn.) ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης as in i. 15. 11.



τερος διαφυγών τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐχθροῦ. μὴ οὖν προ- 7  
 δόται γένησθε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, γενόμενοι δ' ὅτι ἐγγύτατα  
 τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ πάσχειν καὶ ὡς πρὸ παντὸς ἂν ἐτιμήσασθε  
 αὐτοὺς χειρώσασθαι, νῦν ἀνταπόδοτε μὴ μαλακισθέντες  
 35 πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτίκα μηδὲ τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος ποτὲ  
 δεινοῦ ἀμνημονοῦντες. κολάσατε δὲ ἀξίως τούτους τε καὶ 8  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις παράδειγμα σαφὲς καταστήσατε,  
 ὃς ἂν ἀφιστῇται θανάτῳ ζημιωσόμενον. τότε γὰρ ἦν

31. προδότηι γένησθε : see on c. 2.  
 11. — 32. γενόμενοι ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῇ  
 γνώμῃ : = ὅτι ἐγγύτατα διανοηθέντες  
 (i. 143. 22) ; from which ἐνθυμηθέντες  
 must be supplied with ὡς πρὸ παντὸς  
 . . . χειρώσασθαι. *Recalling as nearly  
 as possible the feelings* (of the mo-  
 ment) *of suffering, and how you would  
 then have prized above everything to  
 crush them.* Schol. εἰς εὐνοίαν ἐλθόντες  
 ὧν ἐμέλλετε πάσχειν ὑπὸ Λεσβίων. Cf.  
 Aesch. iii. 153 γένεσθε δὴ μοι μικρὸν χρό-  
 νον τὴν διάνοιαν μὴ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ.  
 πρὸ παντὸς stronger than πρὸ πολλῶν  
 with the similar expression in i. 33.  
 8 ; vi. 10. 16. — 34. ἀνταπόδοτε : here  
 abs., in the same signification as with  
 τὰ ὁμοῖα, c. 66. 8 ; τὸ ἴσον, i. 43. 5. —  
 — μαλακισθέντες : as in c. 37. 8 ; vi. 29.  
 11. — 35. πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτίκα : the  
 pleonasm is not greater than in ἐν  
 τῷ τότε παρόντι, i. 95. 26 ; τῶν ἔπειτα  
 μελλόντων, i. 123. 2 ; ἐν τῷ νῦν παρ-  
 όντι, Plato *Phaedo* 67 c. See also  
 on c. 39. 43. For the position, cf.  
 πάλιν ἢ ἀποκομιδῇ, i. 137. 26. πρὸς  
 τὸ παρόν, as in ii. 22. 1. Cf. πρὸς τὰ  
 παρόντα, ii. 3. 15 ; 6. 3 ; 59. 10 ; iv.  
 80. 8 ; ἐπὶ τῷ παρόντι, ii. 36. 18 ;  
 vi. 20. 3. — τοῦ ἐπικρεμασθέντος ποτὲ  
 δεινοῦ : the danger once hanging over

you. Cl. and Kr. conjecture τότε,  
 as antithesis to αὐτίκα. See on i.  
 101. 8.

36. τούτους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις : τε  
 καὶ on account of the antithesis of  
 the pronouns. See on ii. 46. 1. Observe  
 the chiasmic order of the sentence. —  
 37. τοῖς ἄλλοις . . . ζημιωσόμενον :  
 give to the rest of the allies plain  
 warning that whoever revolts shall be  
 punished with death. 'The const. of  
 the partic., depending on the phrase  
 σαφὲς παράδειγμα καταστήσατε, seems  
 to be protected by the similar exam-  
 ples, c. 67. 28 ποιήσατε . . . παράδειγμα  
 οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες,  
 ἀλλ' ἔργων, c. 64. 1 δῆλον ἐποιήσατε  
 . . . οὐ μηδίσαντες, Lycurg. 50 φανερόν  
 πᾶσιν ἐποίησαν οὐκ ἰδίᾳ πολεμοῦντες,  
 where the partic. clauses take the  
 place of the objects.' St. Cf. also  
 Hdt. vi. 21. 8 Ἀθηναῖοι δῆλον ἐποίησαν  
 ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἀλώσει.  
 The const. is the same as with the  
 simple verb δηλοῦν. GMT. 904, 907 ;  
 H. 981 ; Kühn. 482, 2. The dat. with  
 ζημιωσόμενον as in ii. 65. 12. Else-  
 where with παράδειγμα, that which is  
 to be proved, or of which an example  
 is to be given, is expressed (if it be  
 not clear from the context, as in c.

γνώσιν, ἦσσον τῶν πολεμίων ἀμελήσαντες τοῖς ὑμετέροις  
40 αὐτῶν μαχεῖσθε ξυμμάχοις.”

41 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέων εἶπε· μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν Διόδωτος 1  
ὁ Εὐκράτους, ὅσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντέ-  
λεγε μάλιστα μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι Μυτιληναίους, παρελθὼν καὶ  
τότε ἔλεγε τοιᾶδε·

42 “Οὔτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὐθις περὶ  
Μυτιληναίων αἰτιῶμαι οὔτε τοὺς μεμφομένους μὴ πολ-  
λάκις περὶ τῶν μεγίστων βουλεύεσθαι ἐπαινῶ, νομίζω

10. 20; 11. 24; 39. 14; ii. 37. 2; iv. 92. 18; v. 90. 7; vi. 77. 4) in the gen., as c. 57. 1; i. 2. 20; v. 95. 3. — 39. ἦσσον . . . ξυμμάχοις: cf. c. 39. 45 καὶ ὃν χρόνον τοῖς νῦν καθεστηκόσι δέῃ ἐχθροῖς ἀνθίστασθαι. — τοῖς ὑμετέροις . . . ξυμμάχοις: the speech concludes with a trimeter, as shown by Meineke, *Hermes* iii. p. 347. Cf. i. 80. 6; iv. 17. 6, and the hexameters ii. 49. 18; vi. 36. 1.

41. *Diodotus replies to Cleon.*

1. Διόδωτος: of Diodotus, to whom Thucydides has raised in the following speech a splendid monument, nothing is known historically, not even whether his father Eucrates was the *στυππειοπώλης* among the successors of Pericles (Ar. *Eq.* 129; cf. CIA. iv. 179 a), or the brother of Nicias. See Roscher, *Leben etc. des Thuk.* p. 411. — 2. ὅσπερ καὶ . . . Μυτιληναίους: cf. c. 36. 25. — ἀντέλεγε . . . μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι Μυτιληναίους: spoke most against putting the Mytileneans to death. Cf. v. 49. 11 ἀντέλεγον μὴ δικαίως σφῶν καταδεδικάσθαι, Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3. 25; *Cyrop.* ii. 2. 20. For the inf. with μὴ after verbs of denial, see GMT. 807; H. 1029; Kr. *Spr.* 67, 12, 3.

SPEECH OF DIODOTUS. c. 42–48.

42. *Reconsideration of the question can be only helpful. The worst enemies of safe conclusions are haste and passion, and whoever disputes the utility of speeches is either a fool, or has a personal interest in the matter. The latter is the case with those who, in order to support a bad cause, resort to slander and intimidation. Orators should renounce such means, and the state should treat with consideration not only those counsellors that usually give good advice, but even those that are not so fortunate.*

1. τὴν διαγνώμην: used by Thuc. alone of Attic writers. Cf. c. 67. 33; i. 87. 17; and διεγνωσμένην, c. 53. 22; διέγνωστο, i. 118. 18. The reference is to c. 38. § 1. — 2. μεμφομένους: referring to the future, not, as usual, to the past, *reproachfully warning*. The reference is to c. 37. § 3. — 3. περὶ τῶν μεγίστων: not from the point of view of the μεμφομένοι, but of the speaker; the former would demand περὶ μηδενὸς πολλάκις βουλεύεσθαι, the latter finds fault that this is not to be done even περὶ τῶν μεγίστων.



τε δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα εὐβουλία εἶναι τάχος τε καὶ ὀρ-  
 5 γήν, ὧν τὸ μὲν μετὰ ἀνοίας φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μετὰ  
 ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ βραχύτητος γνώμης. τοὺς τε λόγους 2  
 ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνε-  
 σθαι, ἢ ἀξύνετός ἐστιν ἢ ἰδία τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει· ἀξύνε-  
 τος μὲν, εἰ ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἡγείται περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος δυνα-  
 10 τὸν εἶναι καὶ μὴ ἐμφανοῦς φράσαι, διαφέρει δ' αὐτῷ, εἰ  
 βουλόμενός τι αἰσχροὺς πείσαι εὖ μὲν εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἡγεί-  
 ται περὶ τοῦ μὴ καλοῦ δύνασθαι, εὖ δὲ διαβαλὼν ἐκπλή-

—4. τε: with the best Mss. instead of δέ. It is not correlative to οὔτε, οὔτε, but introduces the *third* member. Steup follows Bk., with a few Mss., in writing δέ, on the ground that the clause νομίζω . . . ὀργήν is antithetic to the preceding.—δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα: acc. to the analogy of c. 40. 6; 57. 15; 75. 5; i. 74. 3; 122. 22, these words are not to be construed as subj. and pred., but are equiv. to τὰ δύο ἐναντιώτατα, so that the subj. is τάχος τε καὶ ὀργήν, “that the two worst foes of correct conclusions are haste and passion.”—εὐβουλία: cf. 44. 4; and εὖ βουλευέσθαι, c. 48. 7.—τάχος: cf. c. 38. 3 ff.—ὀργήν: cf. c. 36. 5; 44. 15.—5. τὸ μὲν, τὸ δέ: the former refers to τάχος, the latter to ὀργή. “Overhaste generally indicates lack of sense; passion, lack of self-control and shallowness of judgment.”—φιλεῖ: *is wont*, in Thuc. in this sense only; and in Hdt., except in v. 5. 5. See on i. 78. 5.—γίγνεσθαι: *appear*, often used of natural phenomena. See on i. 54. 6.—μετὰ ἀπαιδευσίας: cf. c. 84. 7 ἀπαιδευσία ὀργῆς ἐκφερόμενοι, and the Tragic frag. quoted by Stob. *Flor.* 20.

12 (Nauck, *Trag. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, Adespota 523) πόλλ' ἔστιν ὀργῆς ἐξ ἀπαιδέυτου κακά.—

—6. καὶ βραχύτητος γνώμης: cf. Dio C. frag. p. 64 ταχὺ μὲν ὑπὸ βραχύτητος γνώμης ὀργιζομένην. βραχύτης, *shallowness*, acc. to the usual sense of βραχύς in Thuc. See on i. 14. 11.

τοὺς τε λόγους κτέ.: the order as in c. 39. 5. The clause is directed against c. 38. § 4 ff. Cf. ii. 40. 9 ff.

—7. διαμάχεται: see on c. 40. 5.—

—διδασκάλους . . . γίγνεσθαι: see on c. 2. 11.—8. ἢ ἰδία τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει: *or he has some private interest.* Cf.

τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφόρων, i. 68. 8; τὰ ἰδία διάφορα, ii. 37. 5; ἰδίᾳ τινα διάφορα, v. 115. 8. Cf. also iv. 86. 23.—

10. φράσαι: *to throw light on.* See

on i. 145. 4.—11. εὖ εἰπεῖν: sneered at by Cleon, c. 38. 18; 40. 13; here assigned its true value.—οὐκ ἂν

ἡγείται: ἂν, which belongs to δύνασθαι, separates the closely connected οὐχ ἡγείται. Cf. c. 37. 7 οὐκ ἐπικινδύνως ἡγείσθε κτέ. On the partiality of ἂν for the neg., see GMT. 219;

H. 862. οὐ in prot. because it negatives a single word. GMT. 384; H. 1028; Kr. *Spr.* 67, 4, 1.—12.

εὖ δὲ διαβαλὼν . . . ἀκουσομένους:

ξαι ἂν τοὺς τε ἀντεροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους.  
χαλεπώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ χρήμασι προκατηγοροῦντες ἐπί- 3  
15 δειξίν τινα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθίαν κατηγιῶντο, ὁ μὴ  
πείσας ἀξυνετώτερος ἂν δόξας εἶναι ἢ ἀδικώτερος ἀπεχώ-  
ρει· ἀδικίας δ' ἐπιφερομένης πείσας τε ὑποπτος γίγνε-  
ται καὶ μὴ τυχὼν μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας καὶ ἄδικος. ἢ τε πόλις 4  
οὐκ ὠφελείται ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε· φόβῳ γὰρ ἀποστερεῖται τῶν  
20 ξυμβούλων. καὶ πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο ἀδυνάτους λέγειν  
ἔχουσα τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν· ἐλάχιστα γὰρ ἂν

excellent characterization of Cleon's whole speech, esp. of c. 38. εὖ is bitterly ironical.

14. χαλεπώτατοι . . . τινα : *most dangerous, however, are just those who charge beforehand rhetorical display for the sake of money.* χαλεπώτατοι as in iv. 24. 21; vii. 21. 14. καί, *just (erst)*, as in Hdt. i. 71. 6, and freq.—ἐπὶ χρήμασι : placed for emphasis after οἱ, limits ἐπιδείξιν, the prep. having the same force (*for the sake of*) as in i. 3. 9; 38. 15; 73. 14; ii. 29. 17; 64. 25. v. H. conjectured ἐπιδείξειν τινά, the obj. to be supplied, *that one will display his art for money.* Cf. Ar. Acharn. 765.—προκατηγοροῦντες : this reading of Laur., adopted by St. and v. H. instead of προσκατηγοροῦντες of most Mss., is in place after the fut. partic. τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας (l. 13). The charge of venality (cf. c. 38. 12; 40. 2, 13) might well be treated as the worst form of εὖ διαβάλλειν (l. 12), but not as something *additional* to this.—16. ἀξυνετώτερος ἢ ἀδικώτερος : the double comp., as in Lat., implies that of two qualities in the same obj. one predominates. H.

645; Kühn. 543, 5. See on i. 21. 5.

—ἀπεχώρει : *withdraw.* The verb is used in the same unfavourable sense as the Lat. discedere. Cf. Dem. xxxvii. 21.—17. ἀδικίας ἐπιφερομένης : *when corruption is charged.* The ἀδικία is τὸ ἐπὶ χρήμασι λέγειν. ἐπιφέρειν as in c. 46. 26; 81. 20; v. 75. 9.—18. τυχὼν : see on c. 39. 42. Cf. ἐπιτυχὼν, l. 29.—μετὰ ἀξυνεσίας : μετά, *besides*, as in i. 32. 8; ii. 15. 9.—ἄδικος : sc. γίγνεται, in the judgment of the many.

19. ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε : as in c. 43. 12; ii. 36. 2; v. 88. 1, the art. refers to what is known or just described. The prep. has the same force as in ἐν ᾧ, ἐν τούτῳ. See on i. 39. 11.—τῶν ξυμβούλων : only here in the general sense of “advising statesmen,” as in Dem. xviii. 66. Elsewhere Thuc. uses it of Spartan officials with specific duties. Cf. c. 69. 7; ii. 85. 1; v. 63. 15; viii. 39. 7; 41. 3.—20. πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο : see on c. 30. 15; 37. 26. For the sentiment of the passage, cf. Eur. Bacch. 270; Or. 907.—21. τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν : referring to those described in l. 11 ff., esp. οἱ ἐπὶ χρήμασι προσκατηγοροῦντες, l. 14.



πεισθεῖεν ἀμαρτάνειν. χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην 5  
μὴ ἐκφοβοῦντα τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου  
φαίνεσθαι ἄμεινον λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ σὺφρονα πόλιν τῷ  
25 τε πλεῖστα εὖ βουλευόντι μὴ προστιθέναι τιμὴν (ἀλλὰ  
μηδ' ἐλασσοῦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης), καὶ τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώ-  
μης οὐχ ὅπως ζημιοῦν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀτιμάζειν. οὕτω γὰρ ὁ 6  
τε κατορθῶν ἥκιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτι μειζόνων ἀξιούσθαι  
παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγοι, ὁ τε μὴ ἐπιτυχὼν

ἐλάχιστα: opp. to πλεῖστα above. It is cognate acc. with ἀμαρτάνειν. Cf. c. 40. 12. — 22. πεισθεῖεν: the transition to the plur. is induced by τῶν πολιτῶν in the line above. Kr. Spr. 58, 4, 2. Cf. c. 72. 8; viii. 72. 13. On the shorter form πεισθεῖεν for πεισθεισαν of the Mss., see St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 62, who cites Hieracleides Milesius (Eustath. on Hom. ψ 195), ἡ ἀρχαία Ἀτθὶς τὰ εὐκτικὰ ξυγκόπτει κατ' ἐξαίρεσιν μιᾶς ξυλλαβῆς. — 23. μὴ ἐκφοβοῦντα . . . λέγοντα: the const. is φαίνεσθαι ἄμεινον λέγοντα, μὴ ἐκφοβοῦντα . . . ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου. The good citizen must show himself the better speaker, not by intimidation of his opponents, but by meeting them on equal terms. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου, as in c. 10. 12 = ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης, c. 40. 31. — 24. τὴν δὲ σὺφρονα πόλιν . . . ὑπαρχούσης: the wise city should not indeed confer additional honour on him whose counsels are generally sound, but also not lessen that which he already has. βουλεύειν, give advice, as in vi. 39. 5; viii. 76. 33. προστιθέναι τιμὴν as in Xen. Cyrop. ii. 2. 18. Cf. c. 39. 32. ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐλασσοῦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης seems, as Arn. says, to refer to πείσας τε ὑποπτος γίγνεται

(l. 17). Cf. (concerning Antiphon) viii. 68. 8 ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν δεινότητος διακείμενος. — 26. τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης: the one who is not fortunate in his view, i.e. whose advice is not so good. Cf. γνώμης ἀμαρτάνειν, i. 33. 17; vi. 92. 3; σφάλλεσθαι τῆς δόξης, iv. 85. 5. Or, perhaps, the one whose advice is rejected, as μὴ τυχών, l. 18. This rendering seems to be sustained by l. 28 f. Cf. τῆς ἐκάστου δόξης τυχεῖν, ii. 35. 19. Cf. Dio C. lii. 33. 7 τοὺς μὲν τυχόντας τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπαίνει καὶ τίμα, . . . τοὺς δ' ἀμαρτόντας μήτ' ἀτιμάσης ποτὲ μήτ' αἰτιάσθαι. Also xliv. 36. 3. See on c. 39. 42. — 27. οὐχ ὅπως, ἀλλὰ μηδέ: non modo non, sed ne . . . quidem. When the οὐχ ὅπως clause precedes, it always contains the weaker of the two contrasted notions. See on i. 35. 12. GMT. 707; Kühn. 525, 3 b.

28. ἥκιστα ἂν: belongs to both following clauses. — ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτι μειζόνων ἀξιούσθαι: i.e. if τιμὴν προστιθέναι were the sure reward of every successful speech. — 29. παρὰ γνώμην τι λέγοι: cf. vi. 9. 12, and see on c. 37. 28. — πρὸς χάριν: "to please the people." Cf. ii. 65. 35 πρὸς ἡδονήν

30 ὀρέγοιτο τῷ αὐτῷ, χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτός, προσάγεσθαι  
 43 τὸ πλήθος. ὦν ἡμεῖς τὰναντία δρῶμεν, καὶ προσέτι ἦν 1  
 τις καὶ ὑποπτεύηται κέρδους μὲν ἔνεκα τὰ βέλτιστα δ'  
 ὁμως λέγειν, φθονήσαντες τῆς οὐ βεβαίου δοκῆσεως τῶν  
 κερδῶν τὴν φανεράν ὠφελίαν τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα.  
 5 καθέστηκε δὲ τὰγαθὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος λεγόμενα μηδὲν 2  
 ἀνυποπτότερα εἶναι τῶν κακῶν, ὥστε δεῖν ὁμοίως τὸν τε  
 τὰ δεινότατα βουλόμενον πείσαι ἀπάτη προσάγεσθαι τὸ

τι λέγειν, Dem. iii. 3 πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν, iv. 38 πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν. In l. 30 the expression takes the form χαρίζεσθαι, the clause χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτός, seeking applause also himself, being explanatory of τῷ αὐτῷ. — 30. προσάγεσθαι: win over, as in c. 43. 7; 91. 7, etc.

43. But, unfortunately, this is not the case with us. Besides, your inordinate propensity to reject proposals, through suspicion of self-interest on the part of the orators that urge them, makes it difficult to put through good measures. Still, in such important matters, we orators must look further into the future than you, especially since we alone are held responsible.

1. ὦν: see on c. 39. 1. For gen. after τὰναντία, see G. 1146; H. 754 f; Kr. Spr. 48, 13, 4. The reference is to c. 42. 24 τῷ τε πλείστα . . . ἀτιμάζειν. — ἦν τις καὶ . . . λέγειν: ὑποπτεύηται belongs strictly only to κέρδους ἔνεκα, some such word as δοκῆ being understood with τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν. The reverse would be the natural order of the clauses in English. "Even though one seem to say what is best, if he be suspected of speaking for money." On the correlation, see

Kr. Spr. 69, 16, 1. — 3. τῆς οὐ βεβαίου δοκῆσεως τῶν κερδῶν: because of the unproved suspicion of gain, i.e. begrudging him the gain which we suspect he has got, although the suspicion is unproved. Cf. ii. 35. 9 ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιούται. δόκησις, as in c. 45. 6; ii. 35. 9; 84. 4; iv. 18. 21; 55. 16; 87. 2; 126. 17; vi. 64. 15; vii. 67. 3; Hdt. vii. 185. 3. 'Often in Tragedy and late writers, but avoided in simple Attic prose.' (Kr.) Cf. Soph. Trach. 426, 427; O. T. 681; Ant. 324; Eur. Hel. 36, 121; Heracl. 395. — 4. τὴν φανεράν ὠφελίαν τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα: antithesis to the foregoing. We deprive the city of an undeniable advantage. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τί τινος as in c. 58. 29; vii. 13. 18; viii. 46. 33. G. 1118; H. 748 a.

καθέστηκε: it has come to pass, with dependent inf., as i. 76. 11; iv. 97. 11. — 5. ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος λεγόμενα: said right out. Cf. ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς, l. 10. See on ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, i. 34. 10. — 7. τὰ δεινότατα: the worst measures. Cf. c. 59. 17; 82. 59; 93. 5. — ἀπάτη, (8) ψευδάμενον, (10) μὴ ἔξαπατήσαντα: cf. Cleon's words, c. 38. 12 κέρδει ἐπαιρόμενος τὸ εὐπρεπὲς



πλήθος καὶ τὸν τὰ ἀμείνω λέγοντα ψευσάμενον πιστὸν  
γενέσθαι. μόνην τε πόλιν διὰ τὰς περινοίας εὖ ποιῆσαι 3  
10 ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς μὴ ἐξαπατήσαντα ἀδύνατον· ὁ γὰρ δι-  
δοὺς φανερώς τι ἀγαθὸν ἀνθυποπτεύεται ἀφανῶς πη  
πλέον ἔξειν. χρή δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε 4  
ἀξιοῦν τι ἡμᾶς περαιτέρω προνοοῦντας λέγειν ὑμῶν τῶν

τοῦ λόγου ἐκπονήσας παράγειν πειράσεται.  
—8. ψευσάμενον πιστὸν γενέσθαι: ob-  
tain credence by false representations.

9. μόνην τε πόλιν . . . ἀδύνατον: the conclusion drawn from the foregoing. And ours is the only city which it is impossible, on account of this overshrewdness, to benefit openly without deceiving it. μόνην πόλιν is pred. to ἡμᾶς, or τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν, understood. Kr., Cl., and St. take μόνην alone as pred. to πόλιν, which would make πόλιν, a state, the antithesis to individuals. But, as Jow. says, Diodotus cannot mean to say this of every state, nor is there any reason for, or hint in the context of, any greater liability to such suspicions on the part of the state than on the part of the individual. περινοία, in this sense, is not found elsewhere, but acc. to analogy of περιουσία, περιεργία, περιτέχνησις (c. 82. 22), means an excess of cleverness which will not be content with a simple view of things. Cf. Ar. Ran. 958 ἅπαντα περινοεῖν. The pl. because of its manifestations everywhere apparent. The positive and negative modifiers, ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς and μὴ ἐξαπατήσαντα, without connective, as in c. 59. 4. — 11. ἀνθυποπτεύεται: coined for the occasion, as is freq. the case with Thuc.'s com-

pounds. Cf. c. 12. 12, 13 ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι, ἀντιμελλῆσαι, c. 40. 9 ἀντοι-κτιοῦντας, c. 44. 11 ἀντισχυρίζομενος, c. 61. 16 ἀντιπάσχειν. For forty such ἅπαξ εἰρημένα compounds with ἀντι-, see App. on iv. 80. 4. — ἀφανῶς πη πλέον ἔξειν: that in some underhand manner he will reap some advantage. Arn. compares Arist. Rhet. iii. 16. 9 ἀπιστοῦσι γὰρ ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἐκόντα πλὴν τὸ ξυμφέρον.

12. χρή δὲ . . . σκοποῦντων: "still, with reference to the highest interests and under such circumstances as the present, we must deem it our duty to base our counsels on a somewhat wider forecast than your off-hand deliberations allow." — πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα: cf. πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτίκα, c. 40. 35. — καί: = atque. Steup follows Haase (*Lucubr.* p. 42) in taking it as = etiam. — ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε: as in c. 42. 19; ii. 36. 2; v. 88. 1. Cf. ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, c. 81. 23; iv. 56. 4. — 13. ἀξιοῦν τι: Reiske's conjecture (in Abresch, *Dilucc. Thuc.* p. 319) for ἀξιοῦντι of the Mss. See Haase, *Lucubr.* p. 36 sqq., who rightly remarks that an adj. cannot be joined to such a partic. The emendation has been adopted also by Kr., St., and Bm. The subj. is ἡμᾶς, we orators. Cf. c. 37. 27. But Steup follows Bm., who understands ὑμᾶς as

δι' ὀλίγου σκοπούμετων, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπεύθυνον τὴν  
 15 παραίνεσιν ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀνεύθυνον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀκρό-  
 ασιν. εἰ γὰρ ὃ τε πείσας καὶ ὃ ἐπισπόμενος ὁμοίως ἐβλά- 5  
 πτοντο, σωφρονέστερον ἂν ἐκρίνετε· νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν  
 ἦντινα τύχητε ἔστιν ὅτε σφαλέντες τὴν τοῦ πείσαντος  
 μίαν γνώμην ζημιοῦτε καὶ οὐ τὰς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν, εἰ  
 20 πολλαὶ οὔσαι ξυνεξήμαρτον.

44 “Ἐγὼ δὲ παρήλθον οὔτε ἀντερῶν περὶ Μυτιλη- 1  
 ναίων οὔτε κατηγορήσων. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀδι-  
 κίας ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἡμε-  
 τέρας εὐβουλίας. ἦν τε γὰρ ἀποφῆνω πάνυ ἀδικοῦντας 2

subj. and renders ἀξιοῦν, *grant* (*annehmen*). τι belongs to περαιτέρω. — **προνοοῦντας**: cf. c. 38. 28. — **14. δι' ὀλίγου**: temporal, as in i. 77. 22; ii. 85. 9. — **ὑπεύθυνον τὴν παραίνεσιν**: they were liable to the γραφὴ παρανόμων. For παραίνεσιν, cf. παραινέιν, c. 37. 28. — **15. πρὸς**: as *against*, as in c. 56. 16; ii. 21; ii. 87. 23; 91. 18; 100. 21; v. 80. 15. — **ἀνεύθυνον**: as in Hdt. iii. 80. 11; Arist. *Polit.* ii. 9. Hence v. H.'s conjecture ἀνυπεύθυνον is unnecessary. — **ἀκρόασιν**: not simply *hearing*, but *hearkening to*, as the context shows. Cf. ii. 37. 16.

**17. σωφρονέστερον**: i.e. with greater circumspection and moderation. — **πρὸς ὀργὴν ἦντινα τύχητε**: “according to the passion of the moment.” πρὸς ὀργὴν, as in ii. 65. 36; Soph. *El.* 369. Cf. c. 44. 14. ἦντινα without prep. repeated, as in c. 17. 1; 18. 1; and with subjv. without ἄν, as in iv. 17. 6; 18. 13. GMT. 540; Kr. *Spr.* 54, 15, 3. St. writes ἦντιν' ἄν. As to the elliptical use of τύχητε, cf. viii. 48. 37, and see on i. 142. 25. A

grammatical supplement is doubtless to be assumed as original, but is not present to the mind of the speaker. Kr., Jow., Bm., and others supply ζημιοῦντες with τύχητε, while Arn. construes it with σφαλέντες. — **18. ἔστιν ὅτε**: belongs to σφαλέντες, as well as to ζημιοῦτε. — **19. εἰ . . . ξυνεξήμαρτον**: a fact expressed in hypothetical form. See on c. 32. 6.

**44.** The affair of the Mytileneans must be treated not as a question of right, but solely of our interest, which certainly cannot be subserved by Cleon's proposed death-penalty for all Mytileneans.

**1. οὔτε ἀντερῶν**: sc. τῷ Κλέωνι. Cf. c. 38. 7; 41. 2; 42. 13, 23. — **2. οὔτε κατηγορήσων**: sc. τῶν Μυτιληναίων. — **οὐ γὰρ . . . εὐβουλίας**: “for, if we consider wisely, we shall find that for us it is a question not of their wrong-doing, but of our right counsel.” The same brachylogy in i. 40. § 2; vi. 11. § 7. See Steup, *Thuk. Stud.* ii. p. 18. — **ἀδικίας**: cf. c. 38. 8; 39. 2, 31. — **4. εὐβουλίας**: c. 42. 4.



5 αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι κελεύσω, εἰ μὴ ξυμ-  
 φέρον· ἦν τε καὶ ἔχοντάς τι ξυγγνώμης, εἴαν, εἰ τῇ πό-  
 λει μὴ ἀγαθὸν φαίνοιτο. νομίζω δὲ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος 3  
 ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον βουλευέσθαι ἢ τοῦ παρόντος. καὶ τούτου ὁ  
 μάλιστα Κλέων ἰσχυρίζεται, ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν ξυμφέρον ἔσε-  
 10 σθαι πρὸς τὸ ἦσσον ἀφίστασθαι θάνατον ζημίαν προθεῖσι,

— **πάνυ** : common in cond. sents. with conjs. or parties, vel maxime, ever so. Cf. ii. 13. 35; 51. 6; vi. 17. 32; viii. 50. 22; 71. 5. — **5. ξυμφέρον** : without *ἐστί* also vi. 85. 2, as *ἄξιον*, *δεινόν*, *δίκαιον*, *αἰσχρόν*, and similar neuters. Cf. c. 59. 9, 23. Kr. Spr. 62, 1, 4; 65, 5, 11. — **6. ἦν τε καὶ ἔχοντάς τι ξυγγνώμης** : sc. *ἀποφῆνω*. So Cl., St., and Bm. explain, adopting *ἔχοντας*, the reading of the Clarend. Ms., instead of the vulg. *ἔχοντες*. Against Cleon's brutal demand (c. 40. 1 οὐκ οὖν δεῖ προθεῖναι ἐλπίδα . . . ὥς ξυγγνώμην . . . λήψονται) Diodotus offers his own view as modestly as possible; hence *ἔχοντας τι ξυγγνώμης* (cf. ii. 49. 30; 51. 29). *ξυγγνώμη*, excuse, as in c. 40. 2. — **εἴαν** : Lindau's and Burgess's conjecture for *εἴεν*, adopted by Dind., St., Bm., and Bl. It depends on οὐ διὰ τοῦτο κελεύσω, and means *to let go* unpunished. For the const., cf. Plato *Euthyphr.* 4 b εἰ μὲν ἐν δίκῃ, εἴαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐπεξίεναι. "And if I show that they have some claim to forgiveness, I will not on that account advise you to let them go unpunished, if this should appear disadvantageous to the state." See App.

**8. ἢ τοῦ παρόντος** : without *περὶ* repeated. Kr. Spr. 68, 9; Kühn. 451, 6. See on c. 43. 17; vii. 47. 16.

— **καὶ τούτου ὁ μάλιστα κτέ.** : τούτου, which is Steup's emendation for *τοῦτο* of the Mss., depends on *τάναντία*, l. 12. If *τοῦτο* be retained, there would seem to be, as Bm. says, a slight anacoluthon, *τοῦτο* being repeated, in part of its idea, in *περὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ μέλλον καλῶς ἔχοντος*. Cl., who with Pp. and Kr., connects *τοῦτο* grammatically with *ἀντισχυριζόμενος*, explains that it is not really the obj. of the partic., but is placed first with almost the force of an abs. acc., *as to that which*. See on c. 15. 4; i. 32. 17. So also St. But Steup objects that *τοῦτο ὅ* is nowhere else so used, though *ὅ* alone, in this sense, occurs in other writers (cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 5. 20; vi. 1. 29, and see Kr. 51, 13, 13). — **9. ἰσχυρίζεται** : *maintains*, as in v. 26. 19; vi. 55. 2; vii. 49. 1, 23. — **ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν κτέ.** : cf. c. 39. § 7, 8; 40. § 8. The clause is epexegetical to τούτου ὅ. *ἐς τὸ λοιπόν* also iv. 128. 21; vi. 75. 16. — **10. πρὸς τὸ ἦσσον ἀφίστασθαι** : sc. *τοὺς ξυμμάχους*. Cf. viii. 76. 25 πρὸς τὸ περιγίγνεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἢ πόλις σφίσι χρήσιμος ἦν. — **θάνατον ζημίαν** : also ii. 24. 9. — **προθεῖσι** : cf. c. 82. 61; ii. 46. 5, and πρόκειται, c. 45. 1. The partic. agrees with *ὕμιν* understood after *ξυμφέρον ἔσεσθαι*. Cf. i. 118. 20 εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται, Lys. xxv. 27 οὐκ ἄξιόν

καὶ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ μέλλον καλῶς ἔχοντος ἀντισχυ-  
ριζόμενος τάναντία γινώσκω. καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς τῷ 4  
εὐπρεπεῖ τοῦ ἐκείνου λόγου τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀπώσα-  
σθαι. δικαιότερος γὰρ ὢν αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὴν νῦν  
15 ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐς Μυτιληναίους τάχα ἂν ἐπισπάσαιτο·  
ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δικαζόμεθα πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε τῶν δικαίων  
δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως χρησίμως  
ἔξουσιν.

45 “Ἐν οὖν ταῖς πόλεσι πολλῶν θανάτου ζημία πρό- 1

ἐστι τοῖς τοῖς χρήσθαι πολλάκις συμβούλοις  
οἷς οὐδὲ ἀπαξ ἐλυσιτέλησε πειθομένοις.

— 11. ἀντισχυριζόμενος τάναντία γι-  
γνώσκω: *I emphatically assert the  
contrary.*

12. καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς . . . ἀπώσα-  
σθαι: *and I demand that you reject  
not, etc.* See on i. 102. 17. — τῷ  
εὐπρεπεῖ: *on account of the seeming  
fairness*, as in c. 38. 12. Schol. πιθα-  
λογίᾳ. Cf. εὐπρέπεια, c. 11. 10. — 14.  
δικαιότερος: *i.e.* based more on strict  
justice, as τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρήσθε,  
i. 76. 14. — πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑμετέραν  
ὀργήν: *in your present anger*, belongs  
to ἐπισπάσαιτο. See on c. 43. 17. Cf.  
c. 36. 5; 42. 4. — 15. ἐς Μυτιλη-  
ναίους: for position after ὀργήν, freq.  
in Thuc., see on c. 54. 18; i. 11. 19.  
G. 968; Kühn. 464, 1; Kr. Spr. 50,  
9, 9. — τάχα ἂν ἐπισπάσαιτο: *may  
perhaps attract you.* Cf. v. 111. 15.  
— 16. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δικαζόμεθα πρὸς  
αὐτούς: *but we are not at law with  
them.* δικάζεσθαι, as in i. 77. 7; Xen.  
Cyr. i. 2. 7. Arn. compares, for  
the sentiment, Arist. Rhet. i. 3 τέλος  
τῷ μὲν συμβουλευόντι τὸ συμφέρον καὶ  
βλαβερόν, τοῖς δὲ δικαζομένοις τὸ δίκαιον  
καὶ τὸ ἄδικον. — τῶν δικαίων: *strict*

*justice*, as in c. 54. 1; Dem. xviii. 7. —

17. ὅπως χρησίμως ἔξουσιν: *sc.* ἡμῖν,  
*how they shall be useful to us, i.e.* how  
best to effect this, whether by severe  
punishment, or mild treatment.

45. Mankind are so constituted  
that not even the danger of the death-  
penalty will keep either individuals  
or states from transgressions.

1. ἐν οὖν ταῖς πόλεσι κτέ.: the dis-  
cussion announced above (c. 44. § 3 f.),  
as to whether the interests of Athens  
will be subserved by inflicting the  
death-penalty on the Mytileneans, is  
introduced with a general remark on  
the inadequacy of punishments, even  
of the death-penalty, to suppress  
crime. At the beginning of the next  
chapter the transition to the present  
case, for which Cleon had maintained  
(c. 44. 9 f.), ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν συμφέρον ἔσε-  
σθαι πρὸς τὸ ἡσσον ἀφίστασθαι θάνατον  
ζημίαν προθεῖσι, is made with οὐκ οὖν  
χρή. Kühn. 508, n. 2. This chapter  
represents the earliest attempt to  
combat the theory that men are  
deterred from crime by fear of pun-  
ishment. See M. Büdinger, *Sitzungs-  
berichte d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. Wiener  
Akad.* xcvi. p. 384. — πολλῶν: *be-*



κείται καὶ οὐκ ἴσων τῷδε, ἀλλ' ἐλασσόνων ἀμαρτημά-  
 των· ὅμως δὲ τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρόμενοι κινδυνεύουσι, καὶ  
 οὐδεὶς πω καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μὴ περιέσεσθαι τῷ ἐπιβου-  
 5 λεύματι ἦλθεν ἐς τὸ δεινόν. πόλις τε ἀφισταμένη τίς 2  
 πω ἥσσω τῇ δοκῇσει ἔχουσα τὴν παρασκευήν, ἣ οἰκείαν  
 ἣ ἄλλων ξυμμαχία, τούτῳ ἐπεχείρησε; πεφύκασι δὲ ἅπαν- 3  
 τες καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία ἀμαρτάνειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος  
 ὅστις ἀπείρξει τούτου, ἐπεὶ διεξεληλύθασί γε διὰ πασῶν  
 10 τῶν ζημιῶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι προστιθέντες, εἴ πως ἥσσον ἀδι-

longs with ἀμαρτημάτων, from which it is only locally separated by the almost parenthetical οὐκ ἴσων . . . ἐλασσόνων. — θανάτου ζημία : although, acc. to the analogy of c. 44. 10 and ii. 24. 9, θάνατος might have been expected (as Cobet suggests, *Nov. Lect.* p. 771), still the gen. is sufficiently protected by c. 46. 1 τοῦ θανάτου τῇ ζημίᾳ. Also in Isocr. viii. 50 θανάτου τῆς ζημίας ἐπικειμένης, θανάτου must be considered a limiting genitive. — πρόκειται : pass. of προθεῖναι, c. 44. 10. — 3. τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρόμενοι : as i. 81. 11. See on c. 37. 28; 38. 12. — 4. καταγνοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μὴ περιέσεσθαι : *passing sentence of failure on himself*, lit. *deciding against himself that he will not succeed*. καταγιγνώσκειν of unfavourable judgment, as in vi. 34. 51; vii. 51. 3; Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1. 36 αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατέγνω μὴ ἂν καρτερῆσαι. See on c. 16. 1. Kühn. 476, 2. — 5. ἦλθεν ἐς τὸ δεινόν : as in c. 39. 17.

πόλις τε : *and so a state*. The subj. placed first before the interr. pron. has almost the same character of generality as before the dem., having nearly the effect of the part.

genitive. See on i. 1. 8. — τίς πω : no exception to the general rule that πω is used in neg. sents., since the interr. sent. is here equiv. to a negative. — 6. ἥσσω τῇ δοκῇσει : *in its view insufficient*. See on c. 43. 3. — 7. ἣ ἄλλων ξυμμαχία : co-ordinated with οἰκείαν the phrase has almost the force of an adjective. — τούτῳ : sc. τῷ ἀφίστασθαι.

πεφύκασι δὲ . . . ἀμαρτάνειν : cf. c. 84. 10, and Dio C.'s imitation, lii. 34. 6 πολλὰ γὰρ ἡ φύσις καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον πολλοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν ἐξάγει, Soph. *Ant.* 1023 ἀνθρώποισι γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστι τοῦξάμαρτάνειν, Eur. *Hipp.* 1433 ἀνθρώποισι θεῶν διδόντων εἰκὸς ἀμαρτάνειν. Cl. writes δέ, for τε of the Mss., making the clause epexegetical. Cf. i. 55. 9; v. 10. 21. — 9. διεξεληλύθασι διὰ πασῶν : cf. Dem. ii. 5 πάντα διεξεληλύθαμεν, and Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2. 15 οἱ γεράτεροι διὰ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἐληλυθότες. — 10. προστιθέντες : *always adding to*, aggravating the punishments. Cf. Dem. iv. 20. — εἴ πως : *if haply*. The real apod. is distinctly implied, but not formally expressed. GMT. 489; H. 907; Kr. *Spr.* 65, 1, 10. Cf. i. 58. 2; ii. 67. 5; iv. 11. 12. —

κοῖντο ὑπὸ τῶν κακούργων. καὶ εἰκὸς τὸ πάλαι τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων μαλακωτέρας κείσθαι αὐτάς, παραβαιομένων δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐς τὸν θάνατον αἱ πολλαὶ ἀνήκουσι· καὶ τούτῳ ὅμως παραβαίνεται. ἡ τοίνυν δεινό- 4  
15 τερόν τι τούτου δέος εὐρετέον ἐστὶν ἢ τόδε γε οὐδὲν ἐπίσχει, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πενία ἀνάγκη τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα, ἡ

—11. καὶ εἰκός: not introducing a new consideration, but confirming the foregoing general remark (διεξεληλύθασί γε . . . κακουργῶν). —12. κείσθαι: here and c. 47. 13 (ἐπικείσθαι, c. 70. 17; viii. 15. 6) of punishments, as ii. 46. 6 of rewards, ii. 37. 17 of laws, always as pf. pass. of τιθέναι.

—παραβαιομένων: as transgressions occurred. So with Bm., who compares, for the gen. abs. without expressed subject, i. 7. 2 πλοῖμωτέρων, i. 116. 15 ἐσαγγεληθέντων. GMT. 848; H. 972 a. But St. understands τῶν ζημιῶν as subj., and gives παραβαιομένων the more general sense of *disregarding*, citing Aeschin. iii. 204 οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως καὶ τὸν τόπον, Dem. xxiv. 32 παραβὰς τὸν χρόνον τὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων. Cf. also Din. i. 36 παραβεβηκὼς ἅπαντας τοὺς παρεληλυθότας καιροὺς. —13. τῷ χρόνῳ . . . ἀνήκουσι: cf. Lycurg. in Leocr. 65 (οἱ ἀρχαῖοι νομοθέται) ὁμοίως ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις παρανομήμασι θάνατον ὥρισαν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. The phrase ἀνήκειν ἐς, to express highest intensity, occurs only here in Thuc., and is elsewhere unusual in Attic (Soph. Trach. 1018), but common in Hdt. (ii. 104. 8; v. 49. 16; vii. 9. 74; 13. 6; 134. 13; viii. 111. 12). —14. καὶ τούτῳ ὅμως παραβαίνεται: and under these

circumstances transgressions occur all the same. καὶ τούτῳ is Kr.'s conjecture for καὶ τοῦτο of the Mss. Cf. i. 37. 15; 81. 9; ii. 89. 37. If the reading of the Mss. be retained, St.'s explanation is best, namely τοῦτο = τὸ ἐς τὸν θάνατον τὰς πολλὰς ἀνήκειν, and παραβαίνεται, is *disregarded*, as in l. 12. Jow. explains: 'τοῦτο refers to θάνατος, but παραβαίνεται is said inaccurately, not of death, but of the law which is sanctioned by the penalty of death. So παραβαιομένων really refers to the idea of a law contained in ζημιῶν just above.' See App.

15. δέος: *terror*; fear, for the thing feared, as metus for periculum. —τόδε: used perhaps to avoid repetition of the same pronoun (τούτου). Cf. Soph. Ant. 296 τοῦτο καὶ πόλεις πορθεῖ, τόδ' ἄνδρας ἐξανίστησιν δόμων. —ἐπίσχει: Schol., κωλύει. —16. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν . . . κινδύνους: but poverty, making men bold from necessity, and wealth, making them ambitious from insolence and pride, and the other relations of life, through passion, as each relation is enslaved by some mighty and invincible impulse, lure mankind to destruction. ἀνάγκη and ὕβρις καὶ φρονήματι belong to παρέχουσα, while ὀργὴ belongs to ἐξάγουσιν and answers to the παρέχουσα clauses above. Cl. changes τῶν ἀνθρώπων of



δ' ἐξουσία ὕβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι ὀργῇ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἐκάστη τις κατέχεται ὑπ' ἀνηκέστου τινὸς κρείσσονος, ἐξάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς  
 20 κινδύνους. ἥ τε ἐλπίς καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντί, ὁ μὲν ἡγούμενος, ἡ δ' ἐφεπομένη, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἐκφρον-  
 τίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης ὑποτιθεῖσα πλείστα βλάπτουσι, καὶ ὄντα ἀφανῇ κρείσσω ἐστὶ τῶν ὀρωμένων  
 δεινῶν. καὶ ἡ τύχη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ξυμβάλλε- 6

the Mss. into τὸν ἄνθρωπον. St. rejects these words and writes ὀργήν (libidinem) for ὀργῇ, on the ground that it is demanded by the correspondence to τόλμαν and πλεονεξίαν. See App. With the sentiment, cf. Eur. *El.* 375 πενία ἔχει νόσον, διδάσκει ἄνδρα τῇ χρεῖα κακόν, Arist. *Rhet.* i. 12 ἀδικοῦσι, ὅσοι ἂν ἐνδεεῖς ᾧσι· διχῶς δὲ εἰσιν ἐνδεεῖς· ἥ γὰρ ὡς ἀναγκαίου, ὥσπερ οἱ πένητες· ἥ ὡς ὑπερβολῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ πλούσιοι, Dion. H. i. 25 ἡ ἀνάγκη ἱκανὴ ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις βίου τόλμαν παρασχεῖν.—17. ἐξουσία: opes, Va. Cf. i. 38. 13; 123. 6; vi. 31. 33.—φρονήματι: in Thuc. always *self-confidence, spirit*. See on i. 81. 14.—18. ξυντυχίαι: *conditions of life*, as in c. 82. 14. Cf. c. 112. 26; i. 33. 1; v. 11. 17; vi. 54. 2; vii. 57. 5.—19. ὑπ' ἀνηκέστου τινὸς κρείσσονος: it is possible to supply simply ὀργῆς, but better perhaps to take κρείσσονος as neut., as most of the editt. seem to do, and render, *by some mighty and invincible impulse*. ἀνήκεστος has the meaning *insatiable, unappeasable*, acc. to the const. ἀκεῖσθαι παθήματα. Cf. also Hom. N 115 ἀκεσταὶ τοι φρένες ἐσθλῶν.—ἐξάγουσιν: as in vi. 89. 22 = παράγειν. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1080

ἔρως τις μ' ἐξάγει, *Herc. Fur.* 775 ἃ τ' εὐτυχία φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ἐξάγεται, *ibid.* 1212; *Ion.* 361; *Suppl.* 79; Dio C. lii. 23. 2; 34. 6.

20. τε: introduces a new consideration, *besides*; not correl. to καί.—ὁ ἔρως: *passionate desire*. Schol. *πρώτον τις ἐρά, εἶτα ἐλπίζει, εἶτα ἐγχειρεῖ*.—ἐπὶ παντί: comprehends all the above definite and indefinite cases. Cf. i. 20. 2; iv. 11. 13; v. 100. 4.—21. τὴν ἐπιβουλήν: *the plot*. So Cl. and Steup, with three Mss., for ἐπιβολήν, *undertaking*, which most Mss. have. Hude calls attention to the fact that ἐπιβούλευμα is used in the same sense in l. 4. Cf. i. 93. 23; iv. 77. 1; 86. 22; viii. 24. 38. But see App.—ἐκφροντίζων: *thinking out*, a rare word found also in Ar. *Nub.* 695, 697.—22. ὑποτιθεῖσα: of the delusive suggestions of hope, similarly in i. 138. 8; iv. 65. 18. For the thought, cf. iv. 18. § 3; vii. 61. § 3.—23. καὶ ὄντα . . . δεινῶν: *and being unseen they outweigh the dangers that are seen*. ὄντα neut., with the two nouns of different gender. G. 924 a; H. 617 a. ὀρώμενα opp. to ἀφανῇ, as in ii. 42. 21; v. 113. 4.

24. καὶ ἡ τύχη κτέ.: as hope had

25 ται ἐς τὸ ἐπαίρειν · ἀδοκῆτως γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε παρισταμένη  
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κινδυνεύειν τινὰ προάγει, καὶ  
οὐκ ἦσσον τὰς πόλεις, ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, ἐλευθε-  
ρίας ἢ ἄλλων ἀρχῆς, καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἕκαστος ἀλογί-  
στως ἐπὶ πλέον τι αὐτὸν ἐδόξασεν. ἀπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον, 7  
30 καὶ πολλῆς εὐηθείας ὅστις οἶεται, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύ-

suggested that fortune would lend its support, so the latter too contributes toward leading men astray. *τύχη* is here almost personified, now unexpectedly favouring, but again by that very means luring into danger. — ἐπ' αὐτοῖς : *besides these*. Schol. μετὰ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα. — *ξυμβάλλεται* : see on προσξυνεβάλετο, c. 36. 10. — 26. ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων : *even with inadequate resources*. Schol. ἀπὸ μικροτέρων ἀφορμῶν. Cf. ii. 89. 22. — προάγει : *leads on*, even against their will, as in c. 59. 9. — 27. οὐκ ἦσσον : *i.e. μάλιστα*, as in i. 8. 1, and freq. — ὅσῳ : *in so far as, because*, even without comparative. See on i. 68. 11. Kr. Spr. 51, 10, 5. κινδυνεύουσιν, or, perhaps better, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστι is to be supplied. See on iv. 63. 12. — ἐλευθερίας ἢ ἄλλων ἀρχῆς : Cl. explains that ἦ offers not a choice, but an alternative, and ἄλλων is subj. gen. But it would seem more natural to render, with Goell. and Jow., *freedom or empire*. So Valla. — 28. καὶ μετὰ πάντων . . . ἐδόξασεν : the force of ὅσῳ continues. The causes by which states are drawn into dangerous undertakings are two : 1) for the whole, greater advantages may be won ; 2) the individual, in company with many, easily overestimates his own strength. This overestimate

on the part of individuals, however, has a hurtful influence on the decisions of the many. — μετὰ πάντων : Schol. τοῦ κοινοῦ. — 29. ἐπὶ πλέον τι : the indef. pron. added to the comp. πλέον, as in ii. 11. 32. Cf. ἦσσόν τι, c. 75. 11 ; ἀμελέστερόν τι, ii. 11. 14 ; μάλλον τι, i. 49. 9 ; τι μάλλον, ii. 22. 4 ; iv. 21. 16 ; vii. 57. 4 ; τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον, c. 66. 7. — αὐτὸν : for the unintelligible αὐτῶν of most good Mss. — ἐδόξα-σεν : esp. used of erroneous estimate. Cf. i. 120. 28 ; Dio C. lxxv. 9 ἐπὶ πλείον ἐδοξάσθη. The aor. is gnomic. GMT. 155 ; H. 840 ; Kühn. 386, 7. See on i. 69. 31.

ἀπλῶς : see on c. 38. 31. — ἀδύνατον : const. with ἀποτροπήν τινα ἔχειν . . . δεινῶ. — 30. πολλῆς εὐηθείας : sc. ἐστίν. Cf. i. 83. 4 ; 142. 24. G. 1094, 1 ; H. 732 d. This elliptical gen. is much less freq. than in Lat. — ὅστις : so very hypothetical in force that it is loosely connected, almost like εἴ τις, with the leading clause. On this free connexion of the pers. rel. pron. with a neut. adj. or pred. gen., see Kr. Spr. 51, 13, 11 ; Kühn. 563, 3 d. Cf. the similar const. with ὅς ἄν, ii. 44. 4 ; vi. 14. 7 ; vii. 68. 4. So the const. is usually explained, but Steup thinks, if ὅστις οἶεται were so intended, Thuc. would have written πολλῇ εὐήθεια. He pre-



σεως ὀρμωμένης προθύμως τι πράξαι ἀποτροπὴν τινα ἔχειν ἢ νόμων ἰσχύι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ δεινῷ.

**46** “Οὐκ οὖν χρὴ οὔτε τοῦ θανάτου τῇ ζημίᾳ ὥς ἐχεγ- 1  
γύῳ πιστεύσαντας χεῖρον βουλεύσασθαι, οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον  
καταστήσαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσιν ὥς οὐκ ἔσται μεταγνῶναι  
καὶ ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καταλῦσαι. σκέ- 2

fers to take *δοσῆς* as used by Diodotus c. 42. 7; 48. 7, and to construe πολλῆς εὐθελίας (sc. ἐστὶ with pers. subj.) as γνώμης τινὸς εἶναι (see on i. 113. 10). Cf. Hdt. i. 107. 13 οἰκίης μὲν ἔδοντα ἀγαθῆς, τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου. Kr. Spr. 47, 6, 10. — 31. ἀποτροπὴν τινα ἔχειν: can be deterred. Cf. Dio C.'s imitation of the passage (lv. 16), ἡ φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη πάντως ἀμαρτάνειν τινὰς ἀναπείθει, καὶ ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν αὐτὴν πράξαι τι ὠρμημένην ἐπισχεῖν.

**46.** If therefore we cannot, even by accepting Cleon's proposal, attain certainty for the future, we ought not by pitiless severity to drive those who revolt to desperate resistance, thereby depriving ourselves of the basis of our own power, in that we shall have recovered the cities only after they are ruined.

1. οὐκ οὖν χρὴ οὔτε τοῦ θανάτου . . . βουλεύσασθαι, οὔτε κτέ.: only the first οὔτε clause is strictly a deduction from the argument of c. 45; hence the two οὔτε clauses stand related to each other as the τε . . . καὶ clauses in c. 38. 27; ii. 39. 24, the emphasis being on the first. — ἐχεγγύῳ: Schol., βεβαίῳ, ἰσχυρῷ ὥς ἐγγυῆσαι δυναμένη. The word seems to be found elsewhere only in Tragedy and late Greek. Cf. Soph. O. C. 284; Eur. Med. 386; Andr. 191; Phoen. 759; Dio C. xliv. 25 ἐχεγγύῳ πίστει τὸ βέβαιον προνοή-

σετε. Cf. φερεγγυώτατος, viii. 68. 22.

— 2. χεῖρον βουλεύσασθαι: as in i. 73. 7; here a euphemism for θάνατον ψηφίσασθαι Μυτιληναίων. Cf. εὖ βουλεύεται, c. 48. 7; εὐβουλία, c. 42. 4; 44. 4. — οὔτε ἀνέλπιστον καταστήσαι . . . ὥς οὐκ ἔσται: i.e. οὐκ ἀνέλπιστον ποιῆσαι τὸ μεταγνῶναι. Cf. c. 40. § 8. The const. ἀνέλπιστον καταστήσαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσιν, as in i. 140. 30; ii. 89. 47; vii. 44. 26; viii. 66. 24. — 3. ὥς οὐκ ἔσται: pleonastic neg. after ἀνέλπιστον. Cf. ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ κτέ., i. 77. 13. H. 1029 a; Kr. Spr. 67, 12, 2; Kühn. 516, 3 b. See on c. 32. 13; i. 77. 13. οὐκ ἔσται, it will not be possible, with inf.; in this sense usually with subst. This pregnant force of the verb is freq., esp. after a neg. See on i. 2. 5. — 4. ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτῳ: the prep. regularly stands after ὅτι, ὥς, thus used with a superlative. Kr. Spr. 49, 10, 1; Kühn. 452, n. 3. Cf. ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον, l. 26. See on i. 63. 5; ii. 34. 24; and for similar const. in Lat., Madvig on Cic. de Fin. v. 9. 26. — τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καταλῦσαι: suum peccatum eluere. Cf. μεῖζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι, i. 42. 11; ἐγκλήματα καταλῦσαι, i. 82. 24; διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολήν, i. 131. 12; λῦσαι τὰς πρότερον ἀμαρτίας, Ar. Ran. 691. For the act., where the mid. might have been expected, see Kühn. 375, 2.

5 ψασθε γὰρ ὅτι νῦν μὲν, ἣν τις καὶ ἀποστᾶσα πόλις γυνῶ  
 μὴ περιεσομένη, ἔλθοι ἂν ἐς ξύμβασιν δυνατὴ οὔσα  
 ἔτι τὴν δαπάνην ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποτελεῖν·  
 ἐκείνως δὲ τίνα οἴεσθε ἦντινα οὐκ ἄμεινον μὲν ἢ νῦν  
 παρασκευάσασθαι, πολιορκία τε παρατενεῖσθαι ἐς τοῦ-  
 10 σχατον, εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ δύναται σχολῇ καὶ ταχὺ ξυμβῆναι;  
 ἡμῖν τε πῶς οὐ βλάβη δαπανᾶν καθημένοις διὰ τὸ ἀξύμ- 3

5. νῦν μὲν: of the present situation, analogous to the more common νῦν δέ, and opp. to ἐκείνως δέ below, as in vi. 11. 9. — καί: emphatic with ἀποστᾶσα. Not, as Kr. and Steup, with ἦν. There is a reference to c. 45. § 2, but the emphasis is here on the tense, *even after it has revolted*. — 6. περιεσομένη: as in c. 45. 4. — ἔλθοι ἂν: softened expression for the regular fut. ind. GMT. 505; H. 901 a. Cf. the reverse form of condition, i. 121. 13. — 7. ἔτι: belongs to οὔσα. — ἀποδοῦναι, ὑποτελεῖν: aor. of single act of payment of war costs; pres. of regular tribute. — 8. ἐκείνως δέ: as in i. 77. 13; vi. 11. 10. — τίνα ἦντινα οὐκ: see on c. 39. 38. This const., as well as the form of expression throughout, shows that outward similarity to Cleon's words, though with opposite purpose, is sought. — 9. παρασκευάσασθαι: the aor. is the reading of nearly all the Mss. for the vulg. παρασκευάσασθαι. Steup retains the aor., comparing for similar change of tense, as here from παρασκευάσασθαι to παρατενεῖσθαι, iv. 28. 26, 28; 52. 16, 17; vi. 24. 3, 13; viii. 5. 35. It would seem better, with St., to write the future. See Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 10 sq. But see App. on this passage and on ii.

3. 8. — πολιορκία τε παρατενεῖσθαι ἐς τοῦσχατον: *will suffer themselves to be reduced by siege to the last extremity*. Cf. Ar. Nub. 213 (of Euboea) ὑπὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν παρετάθη καὶ Περικλέους (explained by Schol., ἐξετρυχώθη καὶ κατεπονήθη), Plato Symp. 207 b τῷ λιμῷ παρατείνεσθαι. Also Xen. Cyrop. i. 3. 11; Mem. iii. 13. 6. On fut. mid. used as pass., see Kühn. 376, n. 1; Kr. Spr. 40, s.v. Cf. vii. 48. 37. The meaning *hold out, resist to the last*, seems not to occur except in Dio C. and other late writers. τε, correl. to μὲν joined to an emphatic word, marks a change from an adversative const. to a simple connexion. Kühn. 530, 1. Cf. i. 144. 10; ii. 70. 12. — 10. δύναται: valet, means, ξυμβῆναι being subj., τὸ αὐτό object. Cf. i. 141. 5; vi. 36. 9.

11. ἡμῖν τε κτέ.: answering and almost parodying c. 39. § 8, hence possibly δέ (for τε) should be written as there. — καθημένοις: sc. in tedious siege. Cf. iv. 124. 24; v. 6. 22. — διὰ τὸ ἀξύμβατον: *on account of the impossibility of coming to terms*. The ξύμβασις implied has reference to both sides; neither is inclined to it. The final capitulation is here not regarded as a ξύμβασις. The word ἀξύμβατον,



βατον καί, ἣν ἔλωμεν, πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι; ἰσχύομεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷδε. ὥστε οὐ δικαστὰς ὄν- 4  
 15 τας δεῖ ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον τῶν ἐξαμαρτανόντων ἀκριβεῖς βλάπτεσθαι ἢ ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον μετρίως κολλάζοντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔξομεν ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσαις χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων τῆς δεινότητος ἀξιούν ποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῆς

though rare, is sufficiently explained by l. 6 and 10. It seems to be used elsewhere only in late writers, e.g. Polyb. xv. 9. 1. Cf. ἀσυμβάτως ἔχειν, Plut. Cic. 46; Cam. 17; Dion 21. — 12. καὶ ἣν ἔλωμεν: corresponding to *τυχόντες* in c. 39. 42, and without expressed object. — 13. ἀπ' αὐτῆς: for omission of art. after τῆς προσόδου, see Kr. Spr. 50, 9, 9. Cf. ii. 52. 2. — ἰσχύομεν . . . τῷδε: sc. τῷ τὰς προσόδους εἶ ἔχειν. Cf. c. 39. 43; i. 122. 2. With the sentiment of the passage, cf. also v. 93. 2 ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ διαφθείραντες ὑμᾶς κερδαίνομεν ἄν. Jow. quotes Burke's speech on *Conciliation with America*: 'A further objection to force is, that you *impair the object* by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than *whole America*. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own; because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume.'

14. ὥστε οὐ δικαστὰς ὄντας κτέ.: cf. the concluding sent. of c. 44. With δικαστὰς ὄντας βλάπτεσθαι, cf. i. 71. 6

ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι. βλάπτεσθαι is passive. — 17. ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσαις: *strong in point of money*. The unusual form of expression (for χρήμασιν ἰσχυούσαις) is used to emphasize the restriction of the ἰσχύειν of the allied cities to the matter of money, whereas the Athenians πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχύουσιν. With ἐς χρημάτων λόγον, cf. Dem. xix. 142 εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον καὶ δόξης, Lys. xix. 61 οὐ μόνον πρὸς δόξαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς χρημάτων λόγον λυσιτελεῖ μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἀποψηφίσασθαι, Hdt. iii. 99. 12; vii. 9. β 13 ἐς τούτου λόγον, iii. 125. 14 ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ, vii. 222. 5 ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ, also Plut. Lys. 30; Dion. H. v. 34; xi. 17. — 18. τὴν φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι: = φυλάττεσθαι, with ἀπό to indicate source. — τῶν νόμων τῆς δεινότητος: for the order, see on c. 23. 27; i. 32. 8. The context shows that the reference is merely to the principle of extreme punishment which would be established by the adoption of Cleon's proposal (cf. § 1 ἀνέλπιστον καταστήσαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσιν . . . καταλύσαι). Holzapfel (*Rh. Mus.* xxxvii. p. 455) therefore wrongly assumes a reference to laws already existing. — 19. ἀπὸ

20 ἐπιμελείας. οὗ νῦν τὰναντία δρῶντες, ἣν τινα ἐλεύθε- 5  
ρον καὶ βία ἀρχόμενον εἰκότως πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀπο-  
στάντα χειρωσώμεθα, χαλεπῶς οἰόμεθα χρῆναι τιμωρεῖ-  
σθαι. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐκ ἀφισταμένους σφόδρα 6  
κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἀποστήναι σφόδρα φυλάσσειν καὶ  
25 προκαταλαμβάνειν ὅπως μὴδ' ἐς ἐπίνοιαν τούτου ἴωσι,  
κρατήσαντάς τε ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν.

47 “ Ὑμεῖς δὲ σκέψασθε ὅσον ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἁμαρτά- 1  
νοιτε Κλέωνι πειθόμενοι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν ὁ δῆμος ἐν 2  
πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν εὖνους ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ οὐ ξυναφίσταται  
τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ, ἐὰν βιασθῇ, ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἀποστήσασι πο-

τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἐπιμελείας: *by having care of our own actions*, as explained in l. 23 ff.

20. οὗ: see on c. 39. 1; 43. 1. — ἐλεύθερον καὶ βία ἀρχόμενον: *i.e.* a state which is free acc. to the terms of alliance, and therefore ὑπήκοος against its will. Diodotus openly acknowledges the true relation (*cf.* c. 10. 18 αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι), in order to show that the revolt was not unreasonable. — 21. εἰκότως: because βία ἀρχεται. — ἀποστάντα: with πρὸς elsewhere of the party which revolters join (v. 14. 25; vii. 58. 10), here with πρὸς αὐτονομίαν applied by a sort of word-play to the new political situation.

23. οὐκ ἀφισταμένους: (not ἀποστάντας) to indicate the moment when it is too late, *not when they are revolting*. — 24. σφόδρα φυλάσσειν: the adv. repeated, as εὖ in c. 42. 12. — 25. προκαταλαμβάνειν: see on c. 2. 15. — ὅπως μὴδ' . . . ἴωσι: *that this may not even occur to them*. *Cf.* iv.

92. 1. τούτου, *sc.* τοῦ ἀφίστασθαι. —

26. ὅτι ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον: of extent, to put the blame on as few as possible.

For position of the prep., see on l. 4.

The assertion of this principle introduces the argument against Cleon's demand, c. 39. 32 μὴ τοῖς μὲν ὀλίγοις ἡ αἰτία προστεθῇ, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπολύσῃτε, to which c. 47 is devoted. — τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν: see on c. 42. 17.

47. We shall also, if we punish the whole population without mercy, turn everywhere the democratic party against us and drive them over to the enemy.

1. ὅσον: in indir. question, as in i. 78. 3. *Cf.* i. 136. 11 (ὅς), and see on c. 62. 6. On such const. of the rel. pron., see also Dufour, *Rev. de Philol.* N. S. xiv. p. 57 ff. — τοῦτο: the acc. is cogn., as in c. 37. 5 ὃ τι ἂν ἁμάρτητε.

2. νῦν μὲν γὰρ κτέ.: in answer to c. 39. § 6. — 4. ἐὰν βιασθῇ: *sc.* ξυναφίστασθαι. — ὑπάρχει . . . πολέμιος εὐθύς: *i.e.* as soon as war begins. *Cf.* iv. 78. 14 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἰεὶ ποτε



5 λέμιος εὐθύς, καὶ τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης πόλεως τὸ πλή-  
 θος ξύμμαχον ἔχοντες ἐς πόλεμον ἐπέρχεσθε. εἰ δὲ δια- 3  
 φθερεῖτε τὸν δῆμον τῶν Μυτιληναίων, ὃς οὔτε μετέσχε  
 τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἐπειδὴ τε ὅπλων ἐκράτησεν, ἐκὼν παρ-  
 ἔδωκε τὴν πόλιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀδικήσετε τοὺς εὐεργέτας  
 10 κτείνοντες, ἔπειτα καταστήσετε τοῖς δυνατοῖς τῶν ἀν-  
 θρώπων ὃ βούλονται μάλιστα· ἀφιστάντες γὰρ τὰς πό-  
 λεις τὸν δῆμον εὐθύς ξύμμαχον ἔξουσιν προδειξάντων  
 ὑμῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ζημίαν τοῖς τε ἀδικοῦσιν ὁμοίως κείσθαι  
 καὶ τοῖς μή. δεῖ δέ, καὶ εἰ ἡδίκησαν, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, 4  
 15 ὅπως ὁ μόνον ἡμῖν ἔτι ξύμμαχόν ἐστι μὴ πολέμιον γένη-

τὸ πλήθος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εὖνουν ὑπῆρχεν.  
 The result is expressed in καὶ τῆς ἀντι-  
 καθισταμένης . . . ἐπέρχεσθε. τὸ πλήθος  
 for τὸν δῆμον to emphasize the nu-  
 merical superiority.—5. τῆς ἀντικαθ-  
 ισταμένης πόλεως: of the city opposed  
 to you, as in i. 71. 1.—6. ἐς πόλεμον  
 ἐπέρχεσθε: unusual const., for the  
 more usual ἐς πόλεμον καθιστασθε (see  
 on ii. 75. 1), or πρὸς πόλεμον τρέπεσθε  
 (v. 114. 3). But cf. ἐς τιμωρίαν ἐπέρ-  
 χονται, iv. 25. 35; ἐπεξίεναι ἐς μάχην,  
 iv. 68. 16. Hence there is no need  
 to bracket ἐς πόλεμον, with v. H., or  
 to write ἐς πόλεμον ἔρχεσθε (cf. ἵεναι  
 ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, i. 78. 7; 118. 11),  
 with Badham and Cobet, *Mnem. N.S.*  
 viii. p. 137.

8. ἐπειδὴ τε κτέ.: cf. c. 27. § 3; 28.  
 Diodotus exaggerates somewhat the  
 services of the demos of Mytilene;  
 still the course of the democratic  
 party after arms were received was  
 the cause of the capitulation.—10.  
 καταστήσετε . . . μάλιστα: you will  
 bring to pass what the aristocrats

most wish. Cf. iv. 92. 31 πολλὴν  
 ἄδειαν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ μέχρι τοῦδε κατε-  
 στήσαμεν. In this sense καθιστάναι  
 takes, as a rule, a pred. adjective.  
 See on c. 46. 2. For the part. gen. in  
 pred. position, cf. c. 37. 17; 67. 16;  
 iv. 17. 14; 28. 25; vii. 61. 7. G. 965;  
 H. 730 d.—12. προδειξάντων ὑμῶν:  
 because you will have taught them  
 beforehand. Cf. προυδήλου, i. 130. 9.  
 Or perhaps, as Steup explains, προ-  
 δεικνύναι, proclaim, as προαγορεύειν, i.  
 26. 20; 29. 3; 43. 2; 140. 22, etc.—  
 14. δεῖ δὲ καὶ . . . προσποιεῖσθαι: the  
 orator, wishing to be as consistent as  
 possible, assumes the view of his op-  
 ponent to be true, you must, even if  
 they did wrong, ignore it, lit. pretend  
 that they did not. The fact is ex-  
 pressed in hypothetical form, as in  
 c. 43. 19. μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι, sc. ἀδικῆ-  
 σαι αὐτούς. Kr. Spr. 67, 1, 5. Schol. μὴ  
 τοί γε δεικνύνειν τὸ γνῶναι. Cf. Theophr.  
 Char. i ἀκούσας τι, μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι,  
 Diog. Laert. ix. 29 εἰάν λαιδορούμενος μὴ  
 προσποιῶμαι.

ται. καὶ τοῦτο πολλῶ ξυμφορώτερον ἡγοῦμαι ἐς τὴν κάθ- 5  
 εἶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι ἢ δικαίως οὐς  
 μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ  
 ξύμφορον τῆς τιμωρίας οὐχ εὐρίσκεται ἐν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν  
 20 ὃν ἅμα γίγνεσθαι.

48 “Τμεῖς δὲ γνόντες ἀμείνω τάδε εἶναι καὶ μήτε οἷ- 1  
 κτω πλέον νείμαντες μήτ’ ἐπιεικεία, οἷς οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἐῶ  
 προσάγεσθαι, ἀπ’ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινουμένων πείθε-

16. καὶ τοῦτο: explained by ἐκόντας . . . διαφθεῖραι. Steup explains as cogn. acc. with ἀδικηθῆναι, referring to what precedes. Cf. c. 65. 1; i. 38. 10; 67. 10; v. 30. 14; viii. 99. 8. But its position is against this view. —κάθεξιν: maintenance, found only here in Thuc. It means retentio in Arist. Pol. iv. 15. 6 and Plut. de Sol. Animal. 968 c. See Lobeck, ad Phryn. p. 351. —17. δικαίως: as in c. 44. 14. —οὐς μὴ δεῖ: i.e. οὐς οὐ ξυμφέρει τῇ πόλει.—18. τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον: “Cleon’s claim of a union of right and justice in the punishment.” Cf. c. 40. 17 ff. τὸ αὐτὸ . . . ξύμφορον is not appos., but the whole expression is closely connected. τὸ αὐτό in its pred. sense. Cf. οἱ αὐτοί, as in ii. 40. 12. —19. εὐρίσκεται: used of the results of careful investigation, as in historical inquiry. Cf. i. 21. 7; iv. 62. 2; vi. 2. 8, and see on i. 1. 11. —ἐν αὐτῷ: sc. ἐν τῷ διαφθεῖραι αὐτούς. Not with Dobree ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, or Kr. ἐν ταύτῳ; for right and advantage might often be combined. Since ἐν αὐτῷ makes τῆς τιμωρίας rather pleonastic, and ἅμα is tautological after τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον, Steup

suggests that possibly Thuc. used οὐχ εὐρίσκεται abs. (is not found), and that ἐν αὐτῷ . . . γίγνεσθαι was a marginal remark that crept into the text.

48. Pass judgment calmly on the instigators of the revolt, but let the rest continue to live upon their island. Thus you will best provide for your own interests.

1. γνόντες . . . παραινουμένων: the motive proposed by Diodotus as the only right one, and recapitulated here, is fully expressed in γνόντες ἀμείνω τάδε εἶναι, having concluded that this is better for Athens; but Diodotus deems it necessary to disclaim positively (μήτε . . . προσάγεσθαι) the motives (οἶκτος or ἔλεος and ἐπιεικεία) imputed by Cleon, c. 40. § 2 f., and to rest his case solely on the considerations just urged by him (ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν παραινουμένων). —γνόντες: having decided, followed by the inf., as in i. 43. 5; 69. 15. —τάδε: refers to Μυτιληναίων οὐς . . . οἰκεῖν. The connexion is rendered a little obscure by the intervening clauses, but the repetition of τάδε in l. 6 makes it clear. —2. πλέον νείμαντες: see on c. 3. 5. —3. προσάγεσθαι: not pass.



σθέ μοι Μυτιληναίων οὐς μὲν Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς ἀδι-  
 5 κούντας κρίναι καθ' ἡσυχίαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἔαν οἰκείν.  
 τάδε γὰρ ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις 2  
 ἤδη φοβερά· ὅστις γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεται, πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἐναντίους κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ μετ' ἔργων ἰσχύος ἀνοία  
 ἐπιών."

49 Τοιαῦτα δὲ ὁ Διόδοτος εἶπε. ῥηθειςὼν δὲ τῶν 1

(as Kr. and Bm.), but mid., as in c. 42. 30; 43. 7, with indef. subject. — ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν παραινυμένων: *solely in accordance with the arguments made*. For ἀπό in this sense, see on c. 36. 12; 64. 4; i. 21. 11; 91. 28. τῶν παραινυμένων, the word contemptuously used by Cleon, c. 37. 28, is purposely repeated here. — 4. οὐς μὲν Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν: cf. c. 35. § 1. — 5. καθ' ἡσυχίαν: *calmly, i.e. without haste or passion*, as in i. 85. 5; vi. 25. 6. Cf. c. 42. 4, where Diodotus designates τάχος τε καὶ ὀργήν as the two worst foes of just decisions. — οἰκείν: used in a pregnant sense as antithesis to κρίνεσθαι, as in c. 75. 6. The idea is to let them continue to dwell upon their island without danger to life. Cf. c. 50. § 2.

6. ἤδη: opp. to ἐς τὸ μέλλον, although the emphasizing of τοῖς πολεμίοις has changed the natural order. — 7. ὅστις γὰρ . . . ἐπιών: substantiating the words καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἤδη φοβερά. *He who deliberates wisely is more formidable toward opponents than he who rushes on inconsiderately with brute force* (material strength). Bl. compares Hdt. iii. 127. 13 ἔνθα σοφίης δεῖ, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν. — εὖ βου-

λεύεται: cf. εὐβουλία, c. 42. 4; 44. 4, and χεῖρον βουλεύσασθαι, c. 46. 2. — πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους: with κρείσσων ἐστὶν, as ἰσχύομεν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, c. 46. 14; πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἰσχύος, i. 7. 5; πρὸς Πελοποννησίους ἰσχύος, vi. 83. 5. It repeats τοῖς πολεμίοις of the preceding line, and is similarly placed first for emphasis. Bk., Kr., and Cl. follow Reiske in connecting πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους with εὖ βουλεύεται, but, as Pp. remarks, the deliberation was concerning the Mytileneans who had surrendered, not against the enemy (the Peloponnesians), and the speaker presents in a general truth the idea that good counsel about the former would be profitable against the latter. — 8. κρείσσων ἐστὶ: as in c. 37. 15. — ἐπιών: Kr. and Cobet would write ὁ ἐπιών, but cf. c. 39. 24 κατὰ λόγον εὐτυχοῦντα. ἐπιέναι as ἐπέρχεσθαι, iv. 86. 21. Cf. also ἐς πόλεμον ἐπέρχεσθε, c. 47. 6.

49. *The view of Diodotus having prevailed by a small majority, this decree is immediately despatched to Paches by a trireme, which, making all possible speed, arrives in time to prevent the execution of the first decree.*

1. τοιαῦτα δέ: resumptive after μετὰ δ' αὐτόν in c. 41. 1. Cf. c. 68. 1; i. 44.

γνωμῶν τούτων μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας, οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐγέ-  
 νοντο ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ἀγχώμαλοι, ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ τοῦ  
 5 Διοδότου. καὶ τριήρη εὐθὺς ἄλλην ἀπέστελλον κατὰ 2  
 σπουδὴν, ὅπως μὴ φθασάσης τῆς προτέρας εὗρωσι διε-  
 φθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν· προεῖχε δὲ ἡμέρα καὶ νυκτὶ μά-  
 λιστα. παρασκευασάντων δὲ τῶν Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεων 3  
 τῇ νηὶ οἶνον καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποσχομένων, εἰ  
 10 φθάσειαν, ἐγένετο σπουδὴ τοῦ πλοῦ τοιαύτη ὥστε ἡσθιόν

1; 79. 1; ii. 90. 1; vi. 88. 1. See on vi. 19. 1. — 2. **μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων**: pred. to ῥηθειςῶν, *with about equal weight*. Va., followed by Arn. and some others, renders, *most opposed to*; but ἀντίπαλος in Thuc. means everywhere *opposed with equal strength*. μάλιστα, as in c. 34. 4; i. 13. 11. — 3. ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης: the sense seems to be, as most editt. understand, “in spite of the reaction (μετάνοια, c. 36. 15), there was a struggle between the two opinions.” Cf. vii. 71. 1 ὁ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πεζὸς . . . πολὺν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ξύστασιν τῆς γνώμης εἶχε. Cl.’s explanation, ‘they proceeded to a vote nevertheless (ὅμως, i.e. without waiting for further arguments from either side),’ seems untenable, and the various emendations proposed for ὅμως (ὁμοίως Bredow, ὅλης Badham, ὁμόσε Weidgen) are unnecessary. St. and Bm. render ἐς ἀγῶνα τῆς δόξης, in certamen de decreto (faciendo). — 4. ἀγχώμαλοι: *nearly equal*. This word, which occurs also iv. 134. 7; vii. 71. 21, is found elsewhere only in late writers. It is called τραχύ by Poll. v. 157. The choice of expressions here (ἀντίπαλος,

ἀγὼν τῆς δόξης, ἀγχώματος) indicates how precarious was the situation of the Mytileneans. Everything points to the concluding words of the chapter, παρὰ τοσοῦτον . . . κινδύνου. — ἡ τοῦ Διοδότου: sc. γνώμη.

5. ἄλλην: cf. c. 36. 13. — ἀπέστελλον: the impf. combining the notion of ‘continued action’ with that of ‘outset.’ See on i. 10. 34; 26. 2. — 6. προτέρας: though in only a few Mss. (most having δευτέρας or ἐτέρας), adopted by most editt., and clearly correct, since προεῖχε necessarily presupposes mention of the first ship. Cf. l. 15. Va.’s interpretation, non assecuta haec priorem, also supports this reading. — 7. μάλιστα: *about*. See on l. 2; 34. 4; i. 13. 11.

8. τῶν Μυτιληναίων πρέσβεων: cf. c. 28. 7; 36. 18. — 10. φθάσειαν: as νομίσειαν, v. 111. 6, for -αίεν of most of the Mss., since Thuc. has everywhere except in these two passages only -εἰαν in aor. opt. 3rd pl. See St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 62 sq. — ὥστε ἡσθιόν τε κτέ.: as F. Herbst observes (*Wochenschrift f. Kl. Philol.* 1890, p. 788 f.), this passage is against the view of Breusing (*Lösung d. Trie-*



τε ἄμα ἐλαύνοντες οἶνω καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιστα πεφυραμένα  
καὶ οἱ μὲν ὕπνον ἡροῦντο κατὰ μέρος, οἱ δὲ ἤλαννον.  
κατὰ τύχην δὲ πνεύματος οὐδενὸς ἐναντιωθέντος καὶ τῆς 4  
μὲν προτέρας νεὼς οὐ σπουδῇ πλεούσης ἐπὶ πρᾶγμα ἀλ-  
15 λόκοτον, ταύτης δὲ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπειγομένης, ἥ μὲν  
ἔφθασε τοσοῦτον ὅσον Πάχητα ἀνεγνωκέναι τὸ ψήφισμα  
καὶ μέλλειν δράσειν τὰ δεδογμένα, ἥ δ' ὑστέρα αὐτῆς  
ἐπικατάγεται καὶ διεκώλυσε μὴ διαφθεῖραι. παρὰ το-

*renrüttels*, p. 117 f.), that a trireme was always rowed by only one class of rowers, *i.e.* by the thalamitae or the zygitaie or the thranitae. — 11. οἶνω καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιστα πεφυραμένα: *barley-cakes kneaded with wine and oil*. Usually the barley meal was kneaded with water and oil. Hesych. (s.v. μᾶζα), μᾶζα ἄλφιστα πεφυραμένη ὕδατι καὶ ἐλαίῳ. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 2. 28. — ὕπνον ἡροῦντο: as in ii. 75. 12; σῖτον ἡροῦντο, iv. 26. 9. — 12. κατὰ μέρος: as in iv. 26. 10. Cf. ἐν τῷ μέρει, iv. 11. 11. Schol. κατὰ διαδοχὴν μερικήν. Usually all hands slept on shore at night.

13. τῆς μὲν προτέρας νεὼς . . . πλεούσης, ταύτης δὲ . . . ἐπειγομένης: the gen. abs., though the subjs. are the same with those of the leading verbs. GMT. 850; H. 972 d. See on c. 13. 30; 112. 21. — 14. πρᾶγμα ἀλλόκοτον: an *unnatural*, and therefore *disagreeable business*. ἀλλόκοτος is of uncertain etymology, not found in Xen. and the orators, and seldom in other Attic authors except Plato. Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1191; Ar. *Vesp.* 47, 71; Plato *Prot.* 346 a; Legg. 747 d; *Theaet.* 182 a; *Rep.* 487 d; *Hipp. M.* 292 c. It is common in Plut. and other late

writers. — 16. ἔφθασε τοσοῦτον: cf. Diod. xii. 55. — ὅσον: with inf. with restrictive force, *only so much that*. Cf. i. 2. 8. GMT. 759; Kr. *Spr.* 55, 3, 5. — 17. ἥ δ' ὑστέρα αὐτῆς ἐπικατάγεται: *while the other comes to land after it*. After the adj., if thus taken pred., the prep. is pleonastic; hence Steup suggests αὐτίκ' for αὐτῆς, comparing c. 22. 24; Hom. B 322; Hdt. i. 79. 1; ii. 181. 16. In that case ἥ δ' ὑστέρα would be subject. — 18. ἐπικατάγεται: also viii. 28. 2. Cf. Dio C. xlii. 7; Jos. A. J. xviii. 7. 2. — μὴ διαφθεῖραι: *sc. τὴν πόλιν*. But Steup finds this complement rather harsh after what has gone before, and suggests that μὴ διαφθεῖραι may have crept into the text from a marginal remark. διεκώλυσε would then be used abs., as in vii. 2. 6; 79. 16. — παρὰ τοσοῦτον . . . κινδύνου: *such a narrow escape had Mytilene from danger (i.e. destruction)*. This const., which occurs also vii. 2. 23, is to be explained acc. to the analogy of παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο or ἦλθε with the inf. (iv. 106. 18; viii. 33. 12; 76. 15). παρὰ τοσοῦτον, *within so much, so close*. That to which it had almost come is, when expressed by a clause, in the

50 σοῦτον μὲν ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἦλθε κινδύνου· τοὺς δ' ἄλ- 1  
 λους ἄνδρας οὓς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους  
 ὄντας τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλέωνος γνώμη διέφθειραν οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι· ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους † χιλίων. καὶ Μυτι-  
 5 ληναίων τείχη καθεῖλον καὶ ναῦς παρέλαβον. ὕστερον 2  
 δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους δὲ ποι-  
 ῆσαντες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίους  
 τριακοσίους μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἐξείλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμ-

inf.; when by a subst., in the gen., which is to be construed as the gen. with ἐγγύς, etc. G. 1149; H. 757.

50. *The Mytileneans whom Paches had sent to Athens as the most guilty are put to death, the walls of the city pulled down, the ships seized, and the whole of Lesbos except the territory of Methymna given to Attic cleruchs, to whom the Lesbians as tenants paid a yearly rental.*

2. Πάχης: mentioned here for the last time in Thucydides. He was accused of shameful deeds of violence toward Lesbian men and women (Agath. *Epigr.* 57; see Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, ch. 50), and when brought to trial committed suicide in the presence of his judges. Cf. Plut. *Arist.* 26; Nic. 6 εὐθύνας διδοὺς τῆς στρατηγίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σπασάμενος ξίφος ἀνείλεν ἑαυτόν. — 3. Κλέωνος γνώμη: on Cleon's motion, which he doubtless offered in the assembly held for reconsideration. Cf. i. 90. 14; 93. 16; vi. 50. 2. — 4. χιλίων: Steup thinks this number incompatible with what is stated in c. 28. § 1, 2; 35. § 1, and conjectures τριάκοντα (Λ' for Α). See App. —

5. ναῦς παρέλαβον: i.e. caused to be delivered to them, corresponding to παραδοῦναι on the part of the Lesbians. Cf. i. 19. 5. — 6. κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς κτέ.: see App.

8. τριακοσίους τοῖς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς: i.e. the tenth usually consecrated to the gods. 'The portions of land thus assigned to the gods in ancient Greece and Rome were considered a part of the property of the state, and like other public lands were usually let out to individuals, who were bound to keep up the sacred buildings, to provide victims and all things necessary for the sacrifices, and to maintain the priests and inferior ministers of the temples.' Arn. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* vii. 10. 11; Xen. *de Vect.* 4. 19, and see Boeckh, *P. E.* book iii. ch. 2. — 9. τοὺς λαχόντας: those on whom the lot fell. The lands were distributed among a definite number of citizens by lot, 'doubtless in such a manner that all who wished to participate in the benefit of the distribution voluntarily announced their desire, and then the lot determined who should receive a share.' Boeckh, *P. E.* p. 548. See also Schoemann,



10 ψαν · οἷς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκά-  
 στου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν  
 γῆν. παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον  
 ὕστερον Ἀθηναίων.

51 Τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λέσβον οὕτως ἐγένετο · ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ 1  
 θέρει μετὰ τὴν Λέσβου ἄλωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι Νικίου τοῦ  
 Νικηράτου στρατηγοῦντος ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μινώαν τὴν  
 νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται πρὸ Μεγάρων, ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτῇ πύργον.  
 5 ἐνοικοδομήσαντες οἱ Μεγαρήης φρουρίῳ. ἐβούλετο δὲ 2

*Gr. Ant.* ii. p. 84 f.; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vi. p. 257. Of the 2700 cleruchs thus sent out Boeckh says further (p. 554): 'Undoubtedly many of them returned home. But a part of them must have remained as a garrison, and probably they together with the original inhabitants composed the body politic.' — 10. ταξάμενοι: getting themselves rated, i.e. engaging to pay. See on c. 70. 19; i. 99. 11. — 11. δύο μνᾶς: so that the whole rent paid to the cleruchs amounted to 90 talents ( $2 \times 2700 = 5400$  minas). — φέρειν: as i. 99. 11, with two accusatives, δύο μνᾶς being a sort of part. appos. to ἀργύριον. But it is possible to construe ἀργύριον ταξάμενοι, to which the inf. clause adds a more definite explanation. See Cl.'s note on i. 99. 11.

12. τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίσματα: called in iv. 52. 10 Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις (cf. Kirchhoff, *C. I. A.* i. p. 23), Antandros being mentioned as the most important. — 12. ὑπήκουον: with change of subj. after καί. See on c. 5. 16.

51. The Athenians under Nicias occupy the island of Minoa before Megara.

1. τὰ μὲν . . . ἐγένετο: for this formula, see on c. 6. 12. — 2. Νικίου: already long held in high esteem on account of his wealth and honourable character (Plut. *Nic.* 2), he appears here first in Thuc. as a participant in the war. — 3. ἐπὶ Μινώαν: on the subscript, see Lobeck, *Pathol. Serm. Gr. Elementa*, i. p. 452. The expedition was occasioned by the experience of the autumn of 429 B.C. (ii. 93, 94). — τὴν νῆσον: already in Strabo's time (p. 391) it had become an ἄκρα of the mainland. See Bursian, i. p. 378 ff. On the situation of the island, see Lolling, *Nisaea u. Minoa* (Mitt. d. dtsh. Arch. Inst. i. Athen v. p. 1 ff.). — 4. πρὸ Μεγάρων: properly before the port of Megara (Nisaea), which was eight stades from the city. — ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτῇ: directly connected with the preceding rel. clause. For αὐτῇ in second member of a rel. sent., see on i. 42. 2. G. 1040; H. 1005; Kr. *Spr.* 60, 6, 2. — πύργον: Steup thinks the text corrupt. See App. — 5. φρουρίῳ: in order to protect the port Nisaea.

Νικίας τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτόθεν δι' ἐλάσσονος τοῖς Ἀθη-  
ναίοις καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος  
εἶναι, τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται  
ἐκπλους αὐτόθεν λανθάνοντες τριήρων τε, οἷον καὶ τὸ  
10 πρὶν γενόμενον, καὶ ληστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς, τοῖς τε Μεγα-  
ρεῦσιν ἅμα μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν. ἐλὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας 3

6. αὐτόθεν: *i.e.* from Minoa. — δι' ἐλάσσονος: *at a less distance*, as in vi. 75. 3; vii. 4. 19. — 7. ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος: the part is joined to the whole, as ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Κάριας, i. 116. 15. See on ii. 69. 9. It seems from this passage that, in consequence of the events of the autumn of 429 B.C., Nisaea was guarded no longer only from Budorum (*cf.* ii. 93. 22; 94. 14), but from several points on Salamis. — 8. εἶναι: in pregnant sense, almost = ὑπάρχειν. See on i. 2. 5. — τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους: proleptic for ὅπως μὴ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, almost = *abs. acc., as to the Peloponnesians, that they might not* —. The freedom of const. is perhaps not more striking than τὴν μὲν χαλεπὸν . . . πόλιν ἀντίπαλον παρασκευάσασθαι, i. 142. 6; or τὸν πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ γένηται . . . ἀρκέτω μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα κτέ., ii. 62. 1. τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους seems to have been written as if μὴ ποιεῖσθαι were to follow; but if the sent. had read thus, the inf. clause would have seemed to be co-ord. with φυλακὴν εἶναι, depending on ἐβούλετο (as indeed Kühn. 473, n. 6, following the Schol., construes the ὅπως clause); whereas both ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται and μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν depend on τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν φυλακὴν εἶναι = τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φυ-

λάσσειν. τε correl. to τε in l. 9. With this explanation of the const., St.'s conjecture, σκοπῶν before ὅπως, is unnecessary. See *Rh. Mus.* xxiv. p. 629 f. Steup would read, with Hünnekes, πρὸς τε Πελοποννησίους. See App. — ποιῶνται λανθάνοντες: the usual const. is reversed. GMT. 893. *Cf.* λαθόντες διεκομίσθησαν, c. 74. 16; λαθὼν ὑβλίσατο, vii. 29. 10. See on c. 25. 5. — 9. αὐτόθεν: ἀπὸ τῆς Μινώας, Schol. Rather from Nisaea, the only Megarian harbour on the Saronic gulf. The fact that αὐτόθεν is used here in a slightly different sense from l. 6 is not sufficient cause for assuming, with C. F. Müller (*N. Jahrb.* cxli. p. 362), that the text is corrupt. — οἷον καὶ τὸ πρὶν γενόμενον: *sc. ἦν*, referring to the attempt of Brasidas described in ii. 93, 94. — 10. ληστῶν: taken by Cl. in its literal sense, *plunderers*. But it seems better, with Bl. and Jow., to render it as *privateers*. *Cf.* iv. 9. 7 ἐκ ληστρικῆς Μεσσηνίων τριακοντόρου καὶ κέλητος. *Cf.* also iv. 67. 11 ἀκάτιον ἀμφηρικὸν ὡς λησταί. — ἐκπομπαῖς: found only here in Thuc. *Cf.* Plato *Legg.* 740 e. — τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν . . . ἐσπλεῖν: *cf.* ii. 93. 23 νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι μηδ' ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν.

11. ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας: *away from Nisaea, i.e.* on the side turned from



πρώτον δύο πύργω προέχοντε μηχαναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης  
καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερώσας  
ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἥ κατὰ γέφυραν διὰ  
15 τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἦν τῇ νήσῳ οὐ πολὺ διεχούσῃ τῆς  
ἡπείρου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐξειργάσαντο ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, 4  
ὕστερον δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ φρου-  
ρὰν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ.

52 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ 1  
οἱ Πλαταιῆς οὐκέτι ἔχοντες σῖτον οὐδὲ δυνάμενοι πολιορ-  
κεῖσθαι ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τοιῷδε τρόπῳ.

Nisaea. Cf. i. 7. 6; 46. 10; 99. 10;  
vi. 64. 20. See App. — 12. μηχαναῖς:  
with reference to this enterprise, cf.  
Ar. Av. 363

ὦ σοφώτατ', εὖ γ' ἀνεῦρες αὐτὸ καὶ  
στρατηγικῶς  
ὑπερακοντίζεις σύ γ' ἤδη Νικίαν ταῖς  
μηχαναῖς.

—ἐκ θαλάσσης: the attack upon the  
towers was made from the ships. —  
13. καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν . . . ἐλευθερώσας:  
by the capture of the two projecting  
towers Nicias freed the entrance to  
(i.e. opened to ships) the part of the  
island lying between these towers.  
ἐλευθεροῦν in this sense seems not to  
occur elsewhere in Attic, but cf. Dio  
C. xlii. 12. 2 τὸν ἔσπλουν ἡλευθέρωσε,  
Procop. *de Aedif.* v. 2 ἐλευθέρας ποιεῖσθαι  
τῷ ποταμῷ τὰς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολάς.  
—τὸ μεταξὺ: as in vii. 34. 11. —14.  
ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου: opp.  
to ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρώτον. After the  
Athenians had secured a safe landing-  
place, they walled off (ἀπετείχιζε) the  
exit from the bridge, which crossed  
the lagoon at the point nearest the  
mainland, so that no enemy could

cross over from that quarter. The  
bridge itself they left for use in fur-  
ther operations. —διὰ τενάγους: see  
on l. 3. —15. ἐπιβοήθεια ἦν: the noun  
seems to occur in Attic only here and  
Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 4. 47, though the verb  
ἐπιβοηθεῖν is common. ἦν (= παρῇν).  
Cf. εἶναι in l. 7.

16. ἐξειργάσαντο: transition to the  
pl. from ἀπετείχιζε. Some Mss. have  
the sing., but for similar transitions  
from the general to the army, cf.  
c. 112. 17; ii. 75. 3; iv. 127. 7. —17.  
ὕστερον δὴ . . . στρατῷ: the text is  
prob. corrupt. See App. —φρουράν:  
with ἐγκαταλιπὼν, as in i. 115. 14.  
Cf. φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες, iv. 96. 34.

52. The Plataeans who had re-  
mained in the city surrender to the  
Peloponnesian besieging army, and  
agree to submit their cause to the  
Lacedaemonians as judges.

1. καὶ οἱ Πλαταιῆς: cf. c. 24. *fin.*  
καὶ refers to the similar fate of the  
Mytileneans, esp. cc. 27, 28. —2. πο-  
λιορκεῖσθαι: as in c. 109. 3, = ὑπο-  
μένειν τὴν πολιορκίαν, or, as expressed  
in ii. 70. 2, πολιορκούμενοι ἀντέχειν.

προσέβαλον αὐτῶν τῷ τείχει, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀμύνεσθαι. 2  
 5 γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν  
 βία μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἐλεῖν (εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ  
 Λακεδαίμονος, ὅπως, εἰ σπονδαὶ γίγνοιντό ποτε πρὸς  
 Ἀθηναίους καὶ ξυγχωροῖεν ὅσα πολέμῳ χωρία ἔχουσιν  
 10 ἐκάτεροι ἀποδίδοσθαι, μὴ ἀνάδοτος εἶη ἡ Πλάταια ὡς  
 αὐτῶν ἐκόντων προσχωρησάντων), προσπέμπει δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 κήρυκα λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἐκόν-  
 τες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ δικασταῖς ἐκείνοις χρήσασθαι,  
 τοὺς τε ἀδίκους κολάσειν, παρὰ δίκην δὲ οὐδένα. το- 3  
 σαῦτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ εἶπεν · οἱ δὲ (ἦσαν γὰρ ἤδη ἐν τῷ

4. προσέβαλον . . . οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο : paratactic connexion, with change of subj. — 5. ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἄρχων : the name not given here, nor in c. 20 ff., nor in ii. 78. — 6. εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν : on the reading, see App. βία μὴ ἐλεῖν is to be supplied. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 5. 14 οἱ φύλακες, ὥσπερ εἰρημένον ἦν [sc. μὴ εἰσαφεῖναι] ὑπὸ Κύρου, οὐκ εἰσαφῆκαν αὐτούς. — 8. ξυγχωροῖεν : sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, since precisely these wish by their present course to secure themselves in advance against a forced *concession*, such as really was made v. 17. § 2. ἐκάτεροι belongs only to ἔχουσι. So Cl. explains; but it seems equally natural to supply οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι from ἐκάτεροι as subj. of ξυγχωροῖεν. — 9. ἀνάδοτος : found only here. For the accent and ending, cf. ἀνάγραπτος, i. 129. 14. Kühn. 147 c β. Cf. Poll. vii. 2. 13 τὸ μετὰ τὴν πρᾶσιν ἀποδοθὲν ἀνάδοτον ἂν τις εἰπεῖν δύναίτο, εἰπόντος Θουκυδίδου, “μὴ ἀνάδοτος εἶη Πλάταια.” — 10. αὐτῶν : intensive, which does not, however, make ἐκόντων super-

fluous. — 11. λέγοντα : pres. partic., as in vi. 88. 62; vii. 3. 4; 25. 40. On this depends τοὺς τε ἀδίκους κολάσειν . . . οὐδένα, which is apod. to εἰ βούλονται . . . χρήσασθαι. The const. is exactly the same as in vii. 3. 4 προπέμπει αὐτοῖς λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας πέντε ἡμερῶν λαβόντες τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἐτοῖμος εἶναι σπένδεσθαι. — 13. τοὺς τε ἀδίκους : τε correl. to the following δέ, as i. 11. 2; 25. 11; v. 9. 35; vii. 81. 12; viii. 16. 12. Hence C. F. Müller's conjecture (*N. Jahrb.* cxli. p. 363 f.), τοὺς γε ἀδίκους, is unnecessary. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 16, 6; Kühn. 520, n. 3. — κολάσειν : the subj. is τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους or τοὺς δικαστὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. The fut. has been correctly restored by Kr. for κολάζειν of the Mss., since it depends on λέγοντα. See Kr.'s note and St. *Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 13.

14. ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ : in the last stage of weakness. Cf. Dio C. lxxiv. 12. 52 ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ ἐγένοντο, Paus. ix. 7. 4 ἐς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον προήχθησαν.



15 ἀσθενεστάτῳ) παρέδωσαν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς  
 ἔτρεφον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἡμέρας τινάς, ἐν ὧσιν οἱ ἐκ  
 τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος δικασταί, πέντε ἄνδρες, ἀφίκοντο.  
 ἐλθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατηγορία μὲν οὐδεμία προετέθη, 4  
 ἡρώτων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τοσοῦτον μόνον, εἴ τι  
 20 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ  
 καθεστῶτι ἀγαθὸν [τι] εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον 5  
 αἰτησάμενοι μακρότερα εἰπεῖν καὶ προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐ-  
 τῶν Ἀστύμαχόν τε τὸν Ἀσωπολάου καὶ Λάκωνα τὸν Αἰει-  
 μνήστου, πρόξενον ὄντα Λακεδαιμονίων · καὶ ἐπελθόντες  
 25 ἔλεγον τοιάδε ·

—15. Πλαταιᾶς : (not Πλαταιέας) acc. to analogy of Ἀλιᾶς, i. 105. 1 ; Δωριᾶς, i. 107. 4 ; Ἑστιαῖας, i. 114. 16. Cf. v. 51. 3. —16. ἐν ὧσιν : *until*. See on c. 28. 8. —17. πέντε ἄνδρες : one of whom is named by Paus. iii. 9. 1.

18. προετέθη : cf. γνώμας προτιθέναι, c. 36. 21 ; i. 139. 18 ; vi. 14. 3 ; δια-γνώμην προθεῖναι, c. 42. 1. —19. ἐπικαλεσάμενοι : *calling forth*. In this sense found only here in Thuc. Cf. Hdt. v. 39. 7. —τοσοῦτον μόνον : cf. τοσοῦτοι μόνον, iv. 110. 12. —21. ἀγαθὸν [τι] εἰργασμένοι : cf. the question of the Romans on the capture of Capua, Liv. xxvi. 33 *ecquis Campanorum bene meritus de republica nostra esset*. As in the three other passages where this formula is repeated (c. 54. 7 ; 68. 3 and 11) a second *τι* is not found, it has been rightly rejected here by Bm., Cl., and St.

οἱ δ' ἔλεγον : the subj. is all the Plataeans, while in l. 25 the subj. is Astymachus and Laco. —22. αἰτησάμενοι : cf. c. 53. 10. —μακρότερα εἰπεῖν : instead of simply answering

'no,' as they did when asked a second time (c. 68. 12). —προτάξαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν : *having appointed as their advocates*. —23. Αἰειμνήστου : leader of the Plataeans at Marathon and Plataea. See Valck. on Hdt. ix. 64. 7, and Siebel on Plut. *Aristid.* 19. —ἐπελθόντες : as in i. 72. 15 ; 90. 29 ; 91. 16 ; 119. 9, of appearing before an assembly or magistrate, particularly of foreigners. παρίεναι, of coming forward to speak. See on i. 72. 15. —25. ἔλεγον : on the tense, see GMT. 57 ; H. 831. 'The impf. has only to do with the vision of the narrator.' Gildersleeve (*Am. J. of Ph.* iv. p. 160). See on i. 72. 15. Thuc. introduces extended speeches twenty-two times with impf. (i. 72. 15 ; 119. 10 ; 139. 25 ; ii. 10. 11 ; 34. 25 ; 71. 6 ; iii. 36. 28 ; 41. 4 ; 52. 25 ; 60. 6 ; iv. 84. 9 ; 91. 13 ; 94. 12 ; v. 8. 19 ; vi. 8. 23 ; 15. 21 ; 19. 8 ; 32. 21 ; 35. 10 ; 67. 19 ; 75. 23 ; vii. 76. 3), eighteen times with aor. (i. 31. 16 ; 36. 22 ; 67. 18 ; 79. 8 ; 85. 14 ; ii. 59. 14 ; 86. 26 ; 88. 14 ; iii. 8. 6 ; 29. 11 ; iv. 9. 23 ; 16. 24 ; 58. 9 ; 125. 22 ; vi. 81. 2 ; 88. 65 ; vii. 60. 30 ; 65. 10).

**53** “Τὴν μὲν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως, ὧς Λακεδαιμό- 1  
νιοι, πιστεύσαντες ὑμῖν ἐποιησάμεθα οὐ τοιάνδε δίκην  
οἰόμενοι ὑφέξειν, νομιμωτέραν δέ τινα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν  
δικασταῖς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν, γε-

## DEFENCE OF THE PLATAEANS.

c. 53-59.

**53.** *The form of procedure begun and the composition of the court cause us anxiety, lest we may have deceived ourselves in the expectations with which we surrendered; but we dare not even under unfavourable circumstances and hostile influences refrain from trying to defend ourselves.*

On this famous and beautiful oration, cf. Dion. H. *de Thuc. hist. iudic.* 42 ὑπὲρ ἀπάσας τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐπτά βίβλοις φερομένας (δημηγορίας) τὴν Πλαταιέων ἀπολογίαν τεθαύμακα, παρ’ οὐδὲν οὕτως ἕτερον, ὥς τὸ μὴ βεβασανίσθαι μηδὲ κατεπιτετηδεύσθαι, ἀληθεῖ δέ τινι καὶ φυσικῶς κεκοσμηθῆσθαι χρώματι. τὰ τε γὰρ ἐνθυμήματα πάθους ἐστὶ μεστά, καὶ ἡ λέξις οὐκ ἀποστρέφουσα τὰς ἀκοάς· ἢ τε γὰρ σύνθεσις εὐεπής, καὶ τὰ σχήματα τῶν πραγμάτων ἴδια.

1. τὴν μὲν παράδοσιν . . . ἐποιησάμεθα . . . οἰόμενοι: the emphasis of the sent. is on the parties, οἰόμενοι and ἡγούμενοι, opp. to which is νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα, l. 6, although μέν is joined with the decisive fact (τὴν παράδοσιν ἐποιησάμεθα) placed first in the sent. for emphasis. — 2. πιστεύσαντες ὑμῖν: as in c. 59. 22. Cf. also c. 59. 27 ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως. The aor. as in c. 38. 11; 46. 2. Steup takes πιστεύσαντες as dependent on οἰόμενοι, but enticing as is the parallelism which he suggests between πιστεύ-

σαντες οἰόμενοι and δεξάμενοι ἡγούμενοι, its position shows that the partic. is to be closely connected with ἐποιησάμεθα. οἰόμενοι and ἡγούμενοι contain the twofold grounds of πιστεύσαντες ὑμῖν τὴν παράδοσιν ἐποιησάμεθα, i.e. expecting due process of law and impartial judges. — τοιάνδε: sc. οἶαν ὑπέχομεν, i.e. by the question, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγαθὸν εἰργάσμεθα. — δίκην ὑφέξειν: iudicium subituros, as in c. 81. 12. Cf. τὴν τιμωρίαν ὑφέξετε, vi. 80. 24. — 3. ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις: on the repetition of the prep., see Herbst, *Gegen Cobet*, p. 31. Kühn. 451, 2. Cf. vi. 82. 18. For the const. (ἐν δικασταῖς γενέσθαι), St. compares Plato *Legg.* 916 b; Soph. *Ant.* 459. Cf. also i. 73. 5 παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν . . . οἱ λόγοι ἂν γίνωντο. — 4. δεξάμενοι: i.e. εἰ δεξαίμεθα, prot. to μάλιστα ἂν φέρεσθαι, both dependent on ἡγούμενοι. “Since we believed that, if we agreed to appear before a court of Lacedaemonians, we should receive an impartial decision.” Steup explains δεξάμενοι as causal to ἡγούμενοι, which is admissible; for an actual stipulation may have been ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις γενέσθαι ἢ ὑμῖν. δέχεσθαι with inf. (γενέσθαι), as i. 143. 8; v. 94. 3; Plato *Rep.* 606 b. — ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν: as we now are. εἶναι is the result of γενέσθαι. By emphasizing the outward fulfillment of their expectation, or perhaps of the condition of the sur-



5 νέσθαι ἢ ὑμῖν ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἴσον μάλιστ' ἂν φέρεσθαι.  
 νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν· τόν 3  
 τε γὰρ ἀγῶνα περὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων εἶναι εἰκότως ὑπο-  
 πτεύομεν καὶ ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ ἀποβῆτε, τεκμαιρόμενοι  
 προκατηγορίας τε ἡμῶν οὐ προγεγενημένης ἢ χρὴ ἀντει-  
 10 πείν (ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ λόγον ᾗτησάμεθα) τό τε ἐπερώτημα  
 βραχὺ ὄν, ᾧ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῇ ἀποκρίνασθαι ἐναντία γίγνε-  
 ται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῇ ἔλεγχον ἔχει. πανταχόθεν δὲ ἄποροι 3  
 καθεστῶτες ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον δοκεῖ εἶναι

render, they indicate their anxiety lest they may be deceived in the result. — 5. τὸ ἴσον: *aequum ius*, as i. 34. 7; ii. 37. 5. Cf. c. 67. 21. — φέρεσθαι: with τὸ ἴσον, as τὴν ἀξίωσιν φέρεσθαι, i. 69. 7; δόξαν φέρεσθαι, ii. 11. 36; αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι, ii. 60. 25.

6. φοβούμεθα μὴ ἡμαρτήκαμεν: for μὴ with pf. ind. after verb of fearing, see GMT. 369, 2; H. 888; Kr. *Spr.* 54, 8, 12; Kühn. 589, 6. — ἀμφοτέρων ἡμαρτήκαμεν: cf. *δυοῖν ἀμάρτωσιν*, i. 33. 23. *ἀμφότερα*, i.e. a *δίκη νομιμωτέρα* and impartial judges. Their disappointment in the first respect is expressed by περὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων (Schol. περὶ τοῦ θανάτου), for there could be no thought of this in a *δίκη νομιμωτέρα*. — 8. ὑμᾶς: proleptic const., as ii. 21. 3; 67. 23. — κοινοί: *impartial*. Cf. c. 68. 7; iv. 83. 16. — ἀποβῆτε: *evadatis*, as Xen. *Mem.* iv. 8. 8; Plato *Legg.* 878 c. — 9. προκατηγορίας . . . οὐ προγεγενημένης: for similar pleonasms, cf. i. 23. 21; ii. 36. 1; vi. 57. 10; viii. 66. 6. — ἢ χρὴ ἀντειπεῖν: see on c. 11. 18. — 10. λόγον ᾗτησάμεθα: sc. a *μακρότερος λόγος*. Cf. c. 52. 22; 60. 5; 61. 1. Cf. *λόγον διδόναι*, Dem. ii. 29, 31. —

τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὄν: the acc. after the parenthesis in loose connexion with the preceding gen., as if not τεκμαιρόμενοι, but λογιζόμενοι or σκοποῦντες had preceded; or perhaps better, with Pp., to explain as acc. abs., τὸ ἐπερώτημα with βραχὺ ὄν being construed as ἄλλο τι δόξαν, v. 65. 10; κυρωθὲν οὐδέν, iv. 125. 5. Kühn. 487, n. — 11. ᾧ τὰ μὲν . . . γίγνεται: to answer which truly is adverse to our interests. τὰ ἀληθῇ, as well as τὰ ψευδῇ, is obj. of ἀποκρίνασθαι, which is subj. of ἐναντία γίγνεται and of ἔλεγχον ἔχει. ἐναντία is used instead of ἐναντίον, perhaps by assimilation to ἀληθῇ, or the neut. pl. may be compared with ἀδύνατα, c. 88. 4; i. 59. 4; 125. 5; vii. 43. 13. Kr. and Cl. take τὰ ἀληθῇ and τὰ ψευδῇ as subj., and ἀποκρίνασθαι as epexegetic of τὰ ἀληθῇ (see on i. 50. 25). St. and v. H. write ἐναντίον. — 12. ἔλεγχον ἔχει: *refutes itself*. ἔχει = παρέχει, as i. 97. 13; ii. 41. 9; 61. 9; 87. 3; iv. 95. 3.

πανταχόθεν ἄποροι καθεστῶτες: cf. ii. 59. 8 πανταχόθεν τῇ γνώμῃ ἄποροι καθεστῶτες. — 13. καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον δοκεῖ εἶναι: this second reason, though almost parenthetically inserted, de-

εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν · καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος τοῖς  
 15 ᾧδ' ἔχουσιν αἰτίαν ἂν παράσχοι ὥς, εἰ ἐλέχθη, σωτήριος  
 ἂν ᾖν. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχει ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ 4  
 πειθῶ. ἀγνώτες μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ἀλλήλων ἐπεσενεγκάμενοι  
 μαρτύρια ὦν ἄπειροι ᾗτε ὠφελούμεθ' ἄν · νῦν δὲ πρὸς  
 εἰδότας πάντα λελέξεται, καὶ δέδιμεν οὐχὶ μὴ προκατα-  
 20 γνόντες ἡμῶν τὰς ἀρετὰς ἥσσους εἶναι τῶν ὑμετέρων

termines the const. of the following inf.—14. εἰπόντας τι κινδυνεύειν: *i.e.* not to risk our lives without having said something. Cf. i. 20. 12 δρᾶσαντές τι κινδυνεύσαι. The emphasis is on the participle. Cf. c. 105. 1; i. 23. 25; 82. 10; 144. 6; ii. 61. 3; vii. 14. 1. —ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος: = τὸ τὸν λόγον μὴ ῥηθῆναι. Cf. c. 36. 11; 66. 15; Xen. *Cyrop.* iii. 3. 51. —τοῖς ᾧδ' ἔχουσιν: as in c. 59. 18; Plato *Crito*, 46 d. —15. αἰτίαν: *reproach*, or, more exactly, *ground for reproach*, as i. 140. 26.

16. ἡ πειθῶ: "the possibility of persuading you." Only here in Thuc. —17. ἀγνώτες . . ὠφελούμεθ' ἄν: the subj. of ἀγνώτες is ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς, but with ἐπεσενεγκάμενοι and ὠφελούμεθ' ἄν it is ἡμεῖς. See on c. 10. 17; i. 18. 21.—ἐπεσενεγκάμενοι: 'dynamic middle,' implying that the powers of the subject are exerted, as παρέχεται, c. 54. 1; i. 32. 9. Kr. *Spr.* 52, 8, 2.—18. ᾗτε: impf. through the influence of the cond. partic. (ἐπεσενεγκάμενοι = εἰ ἐπεσηνεγκάμεθα. —πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα: *to men who know all*, and hence without hope of effect. πρὸς εἰδότας, as ii. 43. 5; Aesch. *Agam.* 1402; or ἐν εἰδόσι, ii. 36. 14; iv. 59. 5; vi. 77. 2. —19. λελέξεται: the fut. pf.

is required by the context, and not λέξεται (the reading of Laur., preferred by Hude), which the Tragic writers use for the fut. passive (Soph. *O. C.* 1186; Eur. *Alc.* 322; *Hec.* 906). St. See Kr. *Spr.* 53, 9, 3. —οὐχί: used by Thuc. six times (c. 67. 22; i. 120. 6; ii. 87. 4; vi. 40. 16; vii. 56. 17), always as emphatic neg., generally to intensify the adversative idea. Here the Plataeans reject emphatically the thought that the Lacedaemonians might consider the merits of the Plataeans in the Persian wars less than their own. —προκαταγνόντες: cum praedamnaveritis nos statuentes. St. The same brachylogy as in καταφρονούντες, c. 83. 13. Or the meaning may be, *having already formed the unfavourable judgment against.* Cf. c. 16. 1; 45. 4. With the former view, ἡμῶν would be taken with τὰς ἀρετὰς alone; with the latter, it would belong also to προκαταγνόντες. —20. ἥσσους εἶναι τῶν ὑμετέρων: *are inferior to yours.* Steup suggests that as the Plataeans acknowledge in c. 57. 6 the superiority of the Lacedaemonians (ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρι αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους ὄντας), τῶν ὑμετέρων may be an interpolation, in which case ἥσσους would mean *in-*



ἔγκλημα αὐτὸ ποιῆτε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες ἐπὶ  
 54 διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν καθιστώμεθα. παρεχόμενοι δὲ ὁμῶς 1  
 ἃ ἔχομεν δίκαια πρὸς τε τὰ Θηβαίων διάφορα καὶ ἐς  
 ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, τῶν εὖ δεδρασμένων ὑπό-  
 μνησιν ποιησόμεθα καὶ πείθειν πειρασόμεθα.

5 “Φαμέν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τὸ βραχύ, εἴ τι Λακε- 2  
 δαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε  
 ἀγαθὸν πεποιήκαμεν, εἰ μὲν ὥς πολεμίους ἐρωτᾶτε,  
 οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ εὖ παθόντας, φίλους δὲ νομί-  
 ζοντας αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν μᾶλλον τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύ-

sufficient, as in c. 45. 6. — 21. αὐτό : referring to the whole preceding clause. Cf. i. 2. 11; 68. 3. — ἀλλὰ . . . καθιστώμεθα : but lest we to gratify others appear before a court that has already decided against us. With bitter irony, in view of the foregone conclusion of the trial, the Plataeans ascribe to themselves the evident purpose of the Lacedaemonians. καθίστασθαι ἐπὶ κρίσιν, with the κριταί in mind, as καταστὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος, iv. 84. 8; ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίους, iv. 97. 9. καθίστασθαι is not passive (cf. c. 92. 14; 93. 3; v. 51. 6), but middle. For διεγνωσμένην, see on c. 42. 1.

54. 1. παρεχόμενοι : bringing forward. Cf. ἐπεσενεγκάμενοι, c. 53. 17. Bl. compares Dion. H. Ant. vii. 32 δίκαια . . . παρεχόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μέγала. — 2. δίκαια : just claims, as c. 44. 16. — πρὸς, ἐς : change of prep., as in c. 37. 4, 5; i. 32. 10, 11; 38. 1; Dem. iii. 1. — τὰ Θηβαίων διάφορα : the quarrels with the Thebans. Cf. iv. 79. 10 τὰ παλαιὰ διάφορα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ii. 27. 9 τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον. — 3. δεδρασμένων : this unusual pf. form, found in most Mss., for δεδραμένων, is after

the analogy of δρασθέν, c. 38. 19; vi. 53. 8. St., Bm., and v. H. write, with two inferior Mss., the usual form δεδραμένων, after the analogy of δράμα. — ὑπόμνησιν ποιησόμεθα : as in i. 72. 9; ii. 88. 12.

54. § 2–5. To your unfair question as to our services rendered to you during the war, we reply that we did not break the peace, and not only in the Persian war supported the Hellenes, but also in the uprising of the Helots vigorously aided you.

5. τὸ βραχύ : the emphatic position betrays indignation at the wicked intention. — 7. εἰ μὲν ὥς πολεμίους κτέ. : by referring to the possible conditions affecting the question a direct reply is evaded, it is true, but its unwarrantableness in either case is shown. — 8. μὴ εὖ παθόντας : these words, notwithstanding their hypothetical character, contain an indirect confession that οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν πεποιήκασιν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, but in the apod., οὐκ ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς, any guilt from such conduct is denied. — φίλους δὲ νομίζοντας : i.e. εἰ δὲ φίλους (ἡμᾶς) νομίζετε. — 9. αὐτούς : sc. ὑμᾶς. —

10 σαντας. τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ἀγαθοὶ 3  
 γεγενήμεθα, τὴν μὲν οὐ λύσαντες νῦν πρότεροι, τῷ δὲ  
 ξυνεπιθέμενοι τότε ἐς ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μόνοι  
 Βοιωτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἡπειρώται τε ὄντες ἐναυμαχήσαμεν 4  
 ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, μάχῃ τε τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρα γῇ γενομένη  
 15 παρεγενόμεθα ὑμῖν τε καὶ Πανσανία, εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο κατ'  
 ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐπικίνδυνον τοῖς Ἕλλησι,  
 πάντων παρὰ δύναμιν μετέσχομεν, καὶ ὑμῖν, ᾧ Λακεδαι- 5  
 μόνιοι, ἰδία, ὅτεπερ δὴ μέγιστος φόβος περιέστη τὴν  
 Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην Εἰλώτων ἀπο-

ἀμαρτάνειν : for the approach to the pf. sense, see GMT. 27 ; Kr. *Spr.* 53, 1, 3. Cf. c. 67. 30. — τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιστρατεύσαντας : appos. to αὐτούς. Kr. *Spr.* 50, 7, 12.

10. τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον : the pl. τὰ indicates the particular events in a considerable period. Cf. τὰ πρὸ Ἑλληνος, i. 3. 4. The order of time is reversed, as in i. 97. 4 ; ii. 8. 6. — 11. νῦν : as opp. to the following τότε, refers to the beginning of the πόλεμος ὅδε (ii. 2). — 12. μόνοι Βοιωτῶν : rhetorical inaccuracy, for the Thespians did the same (Hdt. vii. 132. 4 ; viii. 50. 8), and acc. to Pausanias (ix. 32. 4) the Haliartians also. Cf. c. 62. 2 ; 64. 2.

13. καὶ γάρ : nam et. καὶ correl. to καὶ in l. 17. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 32, 21. — ἡπειρώται τε κτέ. : τε which is joined to the emphatic ἡπειρώται rather than to ἐναυμαχήσαμεν, where it strictly belongs, is correl. to τε in l. 14, while τε in εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο introduces the third member. See App. Since καὶ ὑμῖν . . . ἐπικουρίαν cannot be an explanation of τὴν μὲν . . . πρότεροι, as καὶ

γὰρ . . . μετέσχομεν is of τῷ δὲ . . . Βοιωτῶν, the former clause (καὶ ὑμῖν κτέ.) must be considered as rather loosely connected with the main sent., τὰ δὲ . . . γεγενήμεθα. — 14. μάχῃ τε γενομένη : for the dat. without prep. denoting time *when*, see G. 1192 ; H. 782 ; Kr. *Spr.* 48, 2, 9. Cf. i. 44. 3 ; ii. 17. 17 ; ii. 20. 3. For the order, see on c. 9. 3. — 15. παρεγενόμεθα . . . Πανσανία : cf. Hdt. ix. 28. 26 ; Plut. *Aristid.* 20 ; Diod. xi. 32. — 17. πάντων : connected κατὰ ξύνεσιν with εἴ τι ἄλλο. — παρὰ δύναμιν : *beyond our strength*, as c. 57. 18 ; i. 70. 9 ; viii. 2. 12.

18. ὅτεπερ δὴ : *just when*. — περιέστη : with acc., also iv. 10. 3 ; 55. 10 ; v. 73. 6 ; viii. 2. 22 ; 15. 3 ; without expressed obj., iv. 34. 24 ; viii. 1. 9. Cf. Dem. xviii. 195 τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, Tac. *Hist.* iv. 79 circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus. — 19. τῶν ἐς Ἰθώμην Εἰλώτων ἀποστάντων : obj. gen. after φόβος. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 7, 2. The attrib. partic. is placed after its noun when attended by other modi-



20 *στάντων, τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξεπέμψαμεν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν· ὧν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀμνημονεῖν.*

55 “Καὶ τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ μέγιστα τοιοῦτοι ἡξιώ- 1  
σαμεν εἶναι, πολέμιοι δὲ ἐγενόμεθα ὕστερον. ὑμεῖς δὲ 2  
αἴτιοι· δεομένων γὰρ ξυμμαχίας ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιά-  
σαντο, ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκελεύετε 3  
5 *τραπέσθαι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντας, ὑμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούν-  
των. ἐν μέντοι τῷ πολέμῳ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ὑπὸ 2  
ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐπάθετε οὔτε ἐμελλήσατε. εἰ δ’ ἀποστήναι 3  
Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἡθελήσαμεν ὑμῶν κελευσάντων, οὐκ ἡδι-  
κοῦμεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἐβοήθουν ἡμῖν ἐναντία Θηβαίοις,  
10 ὅτε ὑμεῖς ἀπωκνεῖτε, καὶ προδοῦναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι ἦν*

fiers, as often in Thuc. G. 969; Kühn. 464, 8. See on i. 11. 19. For the facts, cf. i. 101. § 2. — 20. *ἡμῶν αὐτῶν*: i.e. of our citizens. Cf. ii. 39. 16. — 21. *ὧν*: the rel. serves as an emphatic connective. Cf. i. 9. 19; 33. 13, etc.

55. *The alliance with the Athenians we sought only when you had rejected our appeal for aid against Thebes and referred us to them; to abandon it would have been shameful. The responsibility, furthermore, for what happens in war belongs to the leaders.*

1. *ἡξιώσαμεν*: we regarded it our duty, as in i. 22. 9. — 3. *δεομένων*: sc. *ἡμῶν*. For subj. of gen. abs. thus freq. omitted, see on c. 34. 17. — *ἐβιάσαντο*: did violence to, with acc. as in i. 38. 12; viii. 53. 9. This account of the occurrence, which acc. to c. 68. 31, happened in 520 or 519 B.C., is corroborated by Hdt. vi. 108. 6 *πιεζεύμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιέες*

*ἐδίδοσαν . . . σφέας αὐτούς.* — 5. *ὑμῶν . . . ἀποικούντων*: gen. abs., co-ord. with *ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντας*, though *ὑμεῖς* precedes. See on c. 13. 30; 112. 21. — *μακρὰν ἀποικούντων*: cf. *μακρὰν ἀπεῖναι*, c. 13. 23; *ἡμεῖς ἐκαστέρῳ οἰκούμεν*, Hdt. vi. 108. 9.

6. *οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον*: nothing very unusual. Cf. *ἐκπρεπῶς*, i. 38. 9. — 7. *ἐμελλήσατε*: sc. *παθεῖν*. Cf. c. 11. 4; 20. 16.

*εἰ δὲ . . . οὐκ ἡθελήσαμεν*: the fact in hypothetical form. See on c. 32. 6. *οὐ* belongs to the verb only. GMT. 384; Kr. Spr. 67, 4, 1; Kühn. 513, 4. — 8. *ὑμῶν κελευσάντων*: referring to the demand of Archidamus, ii. 72. Cf. c. 64. 13; 68. 6. — 9. *ἐναντία*: acc. of inner obj. as adv., as in i. 29. 6. Cf. *ὁμοῖα*, i. 25. 18; *ἀγχώματα*, vii. 71. 21; *βοηθῆσαι μοι τὰ δίκαια*, Dem. xxxviii. 2. Kühn. 410, n. 5. — 10. *ἀπωκνεῖτε*: you held back, abs., as iv. 11. 16; vi. 18. 1; vii. 21. 23; with acc. c. 20. 10; 30. 12; vi. 92. 23;

καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὓς εὖ παθών τις καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμε-  
 νος προσηγάγετο ξυμμάχους καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν, ἵε-  
 ναι δὲ ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα εἰκὸς ἦν προθύμως. ἃ δὲ 4  
 ἑκάτεροι ἐξηγείσθε τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, οὐχ οἱ ἐπόμενοι αἵ-  
 15 τιοι εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐδράτο, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ  
 ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα.

56 “Θηβαῖοι δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἠδίκησαν, 1  
 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, δι’ ὅπερ καὶ τάδε πάσχο-  
 μεν. πόλιν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλαμβάνοντας 2  
 ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ προσέτι ἱερομηνία ὀρθῶς ἐτιμωρησάμεθα

viii. 12. 2. — 11. **τις**: here for *ἡμεῖς*. Cf. *on* in French Comedy. Kr. *Spr.* 51, 16, 8. — 12. **καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν**: *sc. αὐτῶν*. In Greek, when the rel. would appear in successive clauses in different cases, it is usually omitted in the second, often being represented by a dem. or pers. pronoun. Cf. i. 10. 20; 42. 2; ii. 4. 25; 84. 9. G. 1040; H. 1005; Kr. *Spr.* 60, 6, 2; Kühn. 561, 1. The reference is to the relation of *ισοπολιτεία*, acc. to which a citizen of the one city on removing to the other immediately became a citizen of the latter. See Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 58 ff. — **ἵεναι ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα**: as in i. 121. 5. *τὰ παραγγελλόμενα* is used esp. of military orders. Cf. ii. 11. 39; 84. 18; 89. 40; iv. 34. 23. — 13. **προθύμως**: placed last for emphasis. Cf. i. 77. 19.

ἃ δὲ ἑκάτεροι ἐξηγείσθε: *whatsoever each of you directed as ‘Hegemonēs.’* ἃ is cogn. acc. Cf. c. 93. 15; v. 66. 10. — 15. **ἐδράτο**: Riske’s conjecture from Bk.’s *Anecd.* p. 143; preferable to *ἐδράτε* of the Mss., since here in

the prot. an impersonal reference to acts in general suits the context better and is more forcible. For the thought, cf. c. 65. 10.

56. *The Thebans have wronged us in many other respects, and now finally by the wanton surprise of our city, for which we have justly punished them. It would not be right that we should now suffer on their account. If you regard justice and your own true interests, you cannot permit this.*

2. **ξύνιστε**: *i.e.* of your own knowledge. Cf. i. 73. 13; ii. 35. 10; iv. 68. 24. — **δι’ ὅπερ**: Pp.’s conjecture, for *δι’ ἅπερ* of the Mss., is necessary, since it refers to *τὸ τελευταῖον*, which, as opp. to *πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα*, is clearly not adv., but the obj. of *ξύνιστε*.

3. **πόλιν γὰρ αὐτοὺς κτέ.**: cf. ii. 2–6; iii. 65, 66. For the order (*πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν*), see on c. 9. 3; 54. 14. — **καταλαμβάνοντας**: pres. partic., of the unsuccessful attempt. Cf. ii. 3. 3; 5. 21. — 4. **ἐν σπονδαῖς**: temporal, as c. 65. 2; i. 55. 14; ii. 5. 20; vii. 18. 13. Cf. *ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ*, c. 52. 20; 54. 6; 68. 11. — **ἱερομηνία**: *on a holi-*



5 κατὰ τὸν πᾶσι νόμον καθεστῶτα, τὸν ἐπιόντα πολέ-  
μιον ὅσιον εἶναι ἀμύνεσθαι. καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δι'  
αὐτοὺς βλαπτοίμεθα. εἰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ ὑμῶν 3  
τε καὶ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ τὸ δίκαιον λήψεσθε, τοῦ μὲν ὀρ-  
θοῦ φανείσθε οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κριταὶ ὄντες, τὸ δὲ ξυμφέρον  
10 μᾶλλον θεραπεύοντες. καίτοι εἰ νῦν ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμοι δο- 4  
κοῦσιν εἶναι, πολὺ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες μᾶλ-  
λον τότε ὅτε ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ ἦτε. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐτέ-  
ροις ὑμεῖς ἐπέρχεσθε δεινοί· ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ, ὅτε  
πᾶσι δουλείαν ἐπέφερεν ὁ βάρβαρος, οἶδε μετ' αὐτοῦ

day, as in c. 65. 2. This circum-  
stance is not mentioned in the de-  
tailed account of the event, ii. 2. ff.—  
ὀρθῶς ἐτιμωρησάμεθα: the Plataeans  
pass lightly over the especial charge  
concerning their conduct, while the  
Thebans emphasize just this point  
most strongly, c. 66. § 2. — 5. τὸν . . .  
καθεστῶτα: for the order, see on c.  
54. 19. For the thought, cf. vii. 68.  
3 ff. — πολέμιον: emphatic pred., as  
an enemy. Cf. c. 65. 6; 66. 1. —  
6. οὐκ εἰκότως: cf. c. 58. 9 εἰκότως  
τιμωρήσεσθε, and c. 57. 2 εἰ δὲ περὶ  
ἡμῶν γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα. — δι'  
αὐτούς: cf. c. 57. 12 διὰ Θηβαίους.

7. εἰ γὰρ . . . τὸ δίκαιον λήψεσθε:  
τὸ δίκαιον (see on c. 10. 1; v. 86. 6)  
λαμβάνειν, *measure justice*, with which  
the dat. is connected, as with μετρεῖν,  
τεκμαίρεσθαι τί τι. The unworthy  
motive for such a decision is indi-  
cated by the closely connected τῷ  
αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων  
πολεμίῳ, in which one art. covers  
both subst. phrases (see on c. 2. 6;  
i. 6. 1; 120. 10). Cf. Dem. xviii. 31  
τὸ . . . ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα

μὲν Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων  
τούτων ἀνθρώπων. The chiasitic ar-  
rangement (χρησίμῳ ὑμῶν . . . ἐκείνων  
πολεμίῳ), by which the close con-  
nexion of the prons. with the adjs.  
is shown, accounts for the unusual  
position of τε καί. "If you, influenced  
by your present advantage and their  
hostility, shall decide the question of  
right." — 9. τὸ ξυμφέρον: in the sense  
of immediate advantage, expediency  
(cf. ii. 40. 23), as opp. to ὀρθόν, which  
here and c. 66. 20 (τὰ ὀρθά) is the  
result at once of right judgment and  
honest intention. In v. 90. 2 τὸ ξυμ-  
φέρον is similarly opp. to τὸ δίκαιον.  
In l. 25 it means *true advantage*. For  
the const. with θεραπεύειν, cf. vi. 79. 1  
τὸ δίκαιον . . . θεραπεύετε, Soph. Phil.  
149 τὸ παρὸν θεραπεύειν, Polyb. xi. 4. 2  
καιρὸν πάντα θεραπεύειν.

10. νῦν: sharply contrasted with  
τότε in l. 12, both occupying emphatic  
positions at the beginning and end of  
their respective clauses. Cf. c. 54.  
11, 12. — 11. μᾶλλον τότε: sc. ὠφέ-  
λιμοι ἡμεν. Cf. c. 40. 5; i. 86. 7; vi.  
60. 13.

15 ἦσαν. καὶ δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς νῦν ἀμαρτίας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρ- 5  
 τηται, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν, καὶ μείζω τε πρὸς  
 ἐλάσσω εὐρήσετε καὶ ἐν καιροῖς οἷς σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλ-  
 λήνων τινὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι,  
 ἐπηνοῦντό τε μᾶλλον οἱ μὴ τὰ ξύμφορα πρὸς τὴν ἔφο-  
 20 δον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείᾳ πράσσοντες, ἐθέλοντες δὲ τολμᾶν  
 μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ βέλτιστα. ὦν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ τι- 6  
 μηθέντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέδιμεν μὴ  
 διαφθαρῶμεν, Ἀθηναίους ἐλόμενοι δικαίως μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμᾶς  
 κερδαλέως. καίτοι χρὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁμοίως 7

15. ἡμῶν : belongs to both τῆς νῦν ἀμαρτίας and τὴν τότε προθυμίαν, and by its position acquires almost the force of a dat. of interest. See on i. 30. 14. — ἀμαρτίας . . . ἀντιθεῖναι : the gen. as in ii. 85. 9. Kr. Spr. 47, 23, 2. — ἄρα : intimating doubt, a force retained from its interr. use, it is here, as c. 67. 4, rather negatively inclined (*if indeed*); but generally after εἰ and ἦν it is positive in force (*if perhaps*, c. 30. 10; i. 27. 9; 70. 23; 84. 9; 93. 30; 123. 5; 136. 12; 140. 7, etc.). — ἡμάρτηται : impers. pass., as παραβαίνεται, c. 45. 14. — 16. ἀντιθεῖναι : as in ii. 85. 8. — μείζω πρὸς ἐλάσσω : Schol. μείζω προθυμίαν πρὸς ἐλάσσω ἀμαρτίαν. πρὸς, as *against*; see on c. 43. 15. — 18. ἀντιτάξασθαι : to *array against*. Here lit., in ii. 87. 22 it is fig. — 19. ἐπηνοῦντό τε . . . πράσσοντες : and they were more commended who did not with respect to the attack seek their own advantage in security. πράσσοντες has reference to negotiations with the enemy. ἀσφαλείᾳ, as opp. to μετὰ κινδύνων, equiv. to δι' ἀσφαλείας, i. 17. 3. It is used adv.

also Soph. O. R. 51. Some editt. take it with αὐτοῖς, for *their own security*. — 20. ἐθέλοντες δὲ . . . τὰ βέλτιστα : the order is chiasmic with regard to the preceding clause. The open ἐθέλοντες τολμᾶν is opposed to the secret πράσσοντες, μετὰ κινδύνων to ἀσφαλείᾳ, τὰ βέλτιστα ("what was wholesomest for all") to τὰ ξύμφορα αὐτοῖς.

21. ὦν : partitive genitive with γενόμενοι. G. 1094, 7; H. 732 a; Kr. Spr. 47, 9, 2. — τιμηθέντες ἐς τὰ πρῶτα : as in c. 39. 9. On the matter, cf. ii. 71. § 2 f., and Plut. Aristid. 20, who says that the ἀριστεῖα were adjudged to the Plataeans. — 22. ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς : for the same conduct, to be taken with διαφθαρῶμεν. Cf. ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ, i. 138. 31; ἐπὶ βραχείᾳ προφάσει, i. 141. 4. — 23. ἐλόμενοι : with acc. (τινα or τὰ τινος) of party attitude, as c. 63. 11; 64. 6; ii. 7. 9. — 24. κερδαλέως : for mere advantage, as κερδαλέον, ii. 53. 11. It is contrasted with δικαίως, as τὸ ξυμφέρον above (9) with τὸ δίκαιον.

καίτοι . . . καθιστῆται : these words are directed (see Stahl, N. Jahrb. xcvi. p. 117 f.) against a change of



25 φαίνεσθαι γιγνώσκοντας καὶ τὸ ξυμφέρον μὴ ἄλλο τι νομίσαι, ἣ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὅταν αἰεὶ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχουσι καὶ τὸ παραντῖκα πού ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καθιστῆται.

57 “Προσκέψασθέ τε ὅτι νῦν μὲν παράδειγμα τοῖς πολ- 1

judgment on the part of the Lacedaemonians with regard to the consistent conduct of the Plataeans, which would have the saddest results for them (ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέδμεν μὴ διαφθαρῶμεν, as quite similarly in the transition from c. 57 to c. 58, καίτοι ἀξιούμεν γε κτέ. is opp. to δέδμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ἦτε). They are, therefore, not a justification of the Plataeans, but an admonition to the Lacedaemonians. This view necessitates Heilmann's conjecture ἔχουσι (agreeing with ὑμῖν) for ἔχωσι. “You must, however, show yourselves consistent in your judgments concerning the same course of conduct, and consider your true advantage to be only this—to have an ever-enduring sense of gratitude toward good allies for their virtue, while your own immediate interest is secured,” i.e. your true interest is subserved only where the advantage of the moment comports with lasting gratitude to deserving allies. From the first general claim (χρὴ . . . ὁμοίως φαίνεσθαι γιγνώσκοντας) there is a transition with the aor. νομίσαι to the present case, and with ὑμῖν definitely to the Lacedaemonians. While τῶν ξυμμάχων οἱ ἀγαθοί is a general term for all deserving allies, the Plataeans have esp. in mind the ἀρετὴ displayed by themselves in the Persian wars (as just described in § 5),

for which they claim αἰεὶ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν. The matter of present advantage (καὶ τὸ παραντῖκα ὠφέλιμον) is placed in the background by the emphatic position of αἰεὶ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν, by the particle καί (also), and by πού. — 25. μὴ ἄλλο τι νομίσαι: see on c. 30. 12. — 27. ἔχουσι: for the position, cf. i. 39. 9 διαφόρους ὄντας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς. — τὸ παραντῖκα πού ὠφέλιμον: that these words belong together seems clear from τῷ αὐτῖκα χρησίμῳ (7), and from the consideration that, from l. 7 on, above all the narrow regard for immediate advantage is to be proved inadmissible. παραντῖκα, as in ii. 64. 27; vii. 57. 46. For the emphatic position of ὑμῖν, cf. i. 68. 1; 70. 5; v. 82. 23; vii. 78. 26. — 28. καθιστῆται: cf. i. 73. 19; 96. 6; 102. 22; 109. 2; iv. 86. 16.

57. And if Sparta should for the sake of Thebes inflict upon Plataea a cruel punishment, it would be universally regarded as an unnatural deed, and your present reputation among the Hellenes for justice would be gone.

1. προσκέψασθε: praeterea considerate, which Meineke (*Herm.* iii. p. 364) and v. H. (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 44) conjecture and St. adopts, is preferable here, where the orators pass to a new consideration, to προσκέψασθε of the Mss. Nor is

λοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀνδραγαθίας νομίζεσθε· εἰ δὲ περὶ  
 ἡμῶν γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα, (οὐ γὰρ ἀφανῇ κρινεῖτε  
 τὴν δίκην τήνδε, ἐπαινούμενοι δὲ περὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν μεμ-  
 5 πτῶν) ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 πέρι αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους ὄντας ἀπρεπές τι ἐπιγνῶναι, οὐδὲ  
 πρὸς ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς σκῦλα ἀπὸ ἡμῶν τῶν εὐεργετῶν  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνατεθῆναι. δεινὸν δὲ δόξει εἶναι Πλάταιαν 2

the *look into the future*, which Cl. considers the main thought here, expressed in (5) ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται and (8) δεινὸν δὲ δόξει, any more than in c. 56. 8 τοῦ μὲν ὀρθοῦ φανεῖσθε οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κριταὶ ὄντες. — **παράδειγμα** : an example, as ii. 37. 2. See on c. 40. 37. — **2. ἀνδραγαθίας** : here in the general sense of *uprightness* (not *bravery*, as c. 64. 16 ; ii. 42. 11 ; v. 101. 2), and ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν and ἀμείνους follow in the same general signification. — **3. μὴ τὰ εἰκότα** : cf. c. 56. 6. The neg. here, as well as in οὐδ' ἡμῶν μεμπτῶν below, is out of its regular place, since μὴ belongs to εἰκότα, οὐδ' to μεμπτῶν. Cf. c. 67. 7 ; i. 5. 5 ; 78. 1 ; ii. 67. 34 ; 102. 22. — **οὐ γὰρ . . . μεμπτῶν** : the causal clause, thus placed in parataxis before the main one, is not rare in Thuc. See on i. 31. 7. For the sentiment, cf. Sall. Cat. 51. 12. — **ἀφανῇ** : pred. adj. with adv. force, as c. 30. 4. — **4. ἐπαινούμενοι . . . μεμπτῶν** : sc. κρινεῖτε τὴν δίκην τήνδε. The antithesis, if strictly carried out, would have been perhaps ἐπιφανεστάτην δὲ ἐπαινούμενοι οὐδὲ ἡμᾶς μεμπτοὺς κρινοῦντες. Against the assumption of an ἀφανῆς δίκη two grounds are advanced, the nature of the judges and that of those to be judged. —

περὶ οὐδ' ἡμῶν μεμπτῶν : this order, since in independent const. the sent. would have been οὐδ' ἡμεῖς μεμπτοί ἐσμεν. As to resemblances here and elsewhere in this and the following chapter to expressions in the *Palamedes* (§ 35 f.) attributed to Gorgias, see Maass, *Herm.* xxii. p. 580 f. ; also Scheel, *de Gorg. discipl. vestigiis*, 1890, p. 55 ff. — **5. οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται** : 'litotes,' for μέμφονται, as vii. 48. 18. With dependent inf., as δέχεσθαι, c. 53. 4. — **6. αὐτούς** : for ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. Cf. c. 54. 9. — **ἀπρεπές τι** : cf. c. 67. 16. — **ἐπιγνῶναι** : seems to have reference to the preliminary decision made at the surrender of the city, *decide further or afterwards*. Cf. i. 70. 8 ; ii. 65. 48. But as it is used of judicial decision in Dion. H. *Ant.* xi. 52 ἣν αὐτοὶ μεθ' ὅρκου δικάσαντες ἐτέρων ἐπέγνωσαν εἶναι (cf. also *C. I. G.* ii. 1845, l. 71 f. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου βουλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιγιγνωσκέτω), this may be the meaning here. — **οὐδέ** : sc. ἀποδέξωνται. — **7. ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς** : order, as in c. 54. 14 ; 56. 3. As in v. 18. 3, the temples at Olympia and Delphi are esp. meant.

**8. Πλάταιαν Λακεδαιμονίους πορθῆσαι** : that Lacedaemonians lay waste Plataea. The use of the proper name



Λακεδαιμονίους πορθῆσαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πατέρας ἀνα-  
 10 γράψαι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν τὴν  
 πόλιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πανοικε-  
 σία διὰ Θηβαίους ἐξαλεῖψαι. ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ξυμ- 3  
 φορᾶς προκεχωρήκαμεν, οἵτινες Μήδων τε κρατησάντων

instead of ὑμᾶς emphasizes the unnaturalness (δεινόν) of the deed, since the mind recurs at once to the Spartan claim to be the liberators of Greece (see on c. 13. 35), as well as to the honour they had once paid to Plataea. So in l. 12 the mere word Θηβαίους recalls their betrayal of the Greek cause in the Persian wars (cf. Hdt. vii. 132. 4). — 9. καὶ κτέ.: in the double clause introduced by καὶ as a further element of the δεινόν, the former (τοὺς μὲν . . . τὴν πόλιν), though in parataxis, is subord. to the latter (ὑμᾶς δὲ . . . ἐξαλεῖψαι). Cf. i. 28. 15.

— 10. τὸν τρίποδα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς: cf. i. 132. 10 τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, Hdt. ix. 81. 3 ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρῆνου ὄφις τοῦ χαλκίου ἐπεστεῶς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ. The gold tripod was carried off by the Phocians in the sacred war (Paus. x. 13. 5). The bronze column of three intertwined snakes, which was removed by Constantine to Byzantium and placed in the hippodrome, the modern Atmeidan (Gibbon, chap. 17, note 48), was brought to light in 1856. It bears the names of all the Greek states which took part in the Persian war.

— 11. παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ: sc. ἔθνους, as in c. 82. 3. Cf. i. 1. 6; 6. 23. — πανοικεσία: cf. ii. 16. 4; Dio C. xli. 7. For the form, see St. Qu.

Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 46. The word is generally considered to mean here, *house and all*, 'root and branch'; but Steup, who renders 'with all its houses,' maintains that both this expression and Πλάταιαν Λακεδαιμονίους πορθῆσαι refer to the fate of the city (cf. 68. 19), not of its inhabitants, since the women, children, old people, and other non-combatants, besides nearly half of the original defenders, were in Athens (cf. 24. § 2; ii. 6. 18; 72. 17; 78. § 3). — 12. διὰ Θηβαίους: cf. δι' αὐτούς, c. 56. 6. — ἐξαλεῖψαι: to blot out, forms with ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ a striking antithesis to ἀναγράφαι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα. There is the same antithesis in the examples compared by Bl., Ar. Pax 1181 τοὺς μὲν ἐγγράφοντας ἡμῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐξαλείφοντας, Eur. Pel. (frg. 4) ὃν γ' ἐξαλείφει ῥᾶον, ἢ γράφει, θεός. The same literal and fig. use obtains in ἐξαλείφειν as in delere. In the fig. sense as here used, it seems to be mainly Tragic and Ionic. Cf. Aesch. Choeph. 503; Sept. 15; Eur. Hec. 590; Hel. 262; Hipp. 1241; I. T. 698; Hdt. vii. 220. 10; Plato Theaet. 187 b, Plut. de Fort. 4, and Aristides's imitation (ii. 857), ἐξαλεῖψαι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

ἐς τοῦτο ξυμφορᾶς: cf. ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης, i. 49. 31; Plato Theaet. 170 d; ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας, vii. 86. 25; ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς, ii. 18. 1; εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως, Dem. iv. 34; xxii. 16. G.

ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πρὶν φιλτάτοις Θηβαίων  
 15 ἡσσώμεθα καὶ δύο ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ὑπέστημεν,  
 τότε μέν, τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν, λιμῷ διαφθαρῆ-  
 ναι, νῦν δὲ θανάτου κρίνεσθαι. καὶ περιώσμεθα ἐκ 4  
 πάντων Πλαταιῆς οἱ παρὰ δύναμιν πρόθυμοι ἐς τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας ἐρήμοι καὶ ἀτιμώρητοι · καὶ οὔτε τῶν τότε ξυμ-  
 20 μάχων ὠφελεῖ οὐδεῖς, ὑμεῖς τε, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡ μόνη  
 ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ᾗτε.

1088; H. 730 c. — 14. ἀπωλλύμεθα : Steup renders *were ruined*, since the reference is to the burning of their city by Xerxes (Hdt. viii. 50). Even with this reference, however, the rendering *were all but ruined* is admissible. GMT. 38. — καὶ νῦν κτέ.: Steup explains that καί co-ordinates ἀπωλλύμεθα with both the following clauses, and that νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν does not refer to the present trial, but is more general. But surely the evident reference in c. 67. 27 to this very passage shows that the present case is meant. — ἐν ὑμῖν : *before you* (as judges). For the prep., see on c. 53. 3. — Θηβαίων : the mere name here implies τῶν ἐχθίστων πάντων. See on l. 8. — 15. ἡσσώμεθα : used in a forensic sense. — δύο ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους : for the order, see on c. 42. 4. — 16. τότε μέν : *i.e.* before we decided to surrender. Cf. c. 52. § 1, 3; 59. 20. τότε is often thus used of a time assumed as well known. Cf. c. 69. 2; i. 101. 8; vii. 31. 12. — εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν : nisi tradidissemus, the apod. being ἀγῶνας ὑπέστημεν (= ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν) διαφθαρῆναι. GMT. 427 a. Cf. c. 74. 11. — 17. θανάτου κρίνεσθαι : to be tried on a capital charge. For the gen., see G. 1133; H. 745 b; Kr.

Spr. 47, 22, 1; Kühn. 419, n. 11. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2. 14 θανάτου οὔτοι κρίνουσιν, Hdt. vi. 136. 4 θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἵνεκεν. Steup thinks that δίκη, which is found in all the best Mss. except Vat., should be inserted after θανάτου. Cf. δίκη κρίνεσθαι, i. 39. 1; iv. 122. 16, and θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος, viii. 68. 16.

περιώσμεθα ἐκ πάντων : *we have been spurned by all*, lit. *thrust out from all*. Cf. c. 67. 27; Arist. *Pol.* 1304 a, 1306 a. Note the wonderful pathos of the sent., brought out esp. by the antithesis Πλαταιεῖς . . . Ἕλληνας (cf. c. 59. 25). See on l. 8 and 14. — 18. παρὰ δύναμιν : cf. c. 54. 17. — 19. ἐρήμοι καὶ ἀτιμωρητοί : *deserted and unaided* (cf. τιμωρία, c. 20. 4), pred. of effect after περιώσμεθα. Cf. i. 90. 20; ii. 75. 22; vii. 4. 11; 29. 17. — τῶν τότε . . . οὐδεῖς : *i.e.* none of the other members of the alliance formed at the time of the Persian war. — 20. οὐδεῖς, ὑμεῖς τε κτέ.: the chiasmic order produces a fine effect, as also the antithesis ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν. — ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς : cf. ἡ μεγίστη ἐλπίς, Luc. *Piscat.* 3; unica spes, Liv. xxi. 11; Curt. iii. 8. 1. — 21. οὐ βέβαιοι : *not to be*



58 “Καίτοι ἀξιοῦμέν γε καὶ θεῶν ἔνεκα τῶν ξυμμαχι- 1  
 κῶν ποτε γενομένων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλ-  
 ληνας καμφθῆναι ὑμᾶς καὶ μεταγνῶναι εἴ τι ὑπὸ Θη-  
 βαίων ἐπείσθητε, τήν τε δωρεὰν ἀνταπαιτῆσαι αὐτοὺς  
 5 μὴ κτείνειν οὐς μὴ ὑμῖν πρέπει, σῶφρονά τε ἀντὶ αἰσχροῦς  
 κομίσασθαι χάριν, καὶ μὴ ἡδονὴν δόντας ἄλλοις κακίαν

*depended on, i.e. not faithful to the old alliance and its consequences, μὴ οὐ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχῃτε. Cf. c. 56. 26.*

58. *Instead of Theban hate, let rather the thought of our former close association with you, the recollection of our merits, and the simple instincts of humanity influence you.*

1. **καίτοι ἀξιοῦμέν γε κτέ.**: the chief emphasis is on **καὶ θεῶν ἔνεκα . . . Ἑλλήνας**. Over against the anxiety just expressed are now placed those weighty considerations, which should induce the Lacedaemonians not to pass sentence against the Plataeans.—**θεῶν ἔνεκα . . . γενομένων**: *for the sake of the gods that once protected our alliance*. The order as in c. 57. 7 **ἱεροῖς τοῖς κοινοῖς**. — 2. **τῆς ἀρετῆς**: Schol. *sc. τῆς ἡμετέρας*. Cf. c. 54. § 4; 56. 16; 57. 10, 18. — 3. **καμφθῆναι**: found only here in Thuc. (*cf. Aesch. Prom. 237, 306; Plato Prot. 320 b; Rep. 494 e; Plut. Per. 36*), = **ἐπι-κλασθῆναι**, c. 59. 5; 67. 5; iv. 37. 5. — 4. **τήν τε δωρεὰν . . . πρέπει**: **ὑμᾶς** is the subj. of **κτείνειν**, as shown by **οὐς μὴ ὑμῖν πρέπει**, as well as of **ἀνταπαιτῆσαι, κομίσασθαι, and ἀντιλαβεῖν**, *that you in turn ask of them the boon that you should not kill those whom you ought not, i.e. as the Thebans have asked the favour of our death*

(as hinted in **εἴ τι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπείσθητε**—*cf. also c. 53. 21 ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες*), do you demand as a *counter-favour, etc.* Cl. explains, “that you request of them (in return for much favour shown them) the counter-favour, etc.” But in that case there should be some explanation of the favours that had been shown by the Lacedaemonians to the Thebans. St. and Kr. explain **ἀντι-**, “in return for our former merits.” Kr. makes **αὐτοὺς**, *sc. ὑμᾶς*, subj. of **κτείνειν**. But to this is opposed the fact that all the rest of the inf. have **ὑμᾶς** as subject. For the inf. limiting **τὴν δωρεάν**, *cf. c. 66. 16 τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν μὴ κτείνειν ψευσθεῖσαν ὑπόσχεσιν*. — **αὐτοὺς**: *i.e. τοὺς Θηβαίους*, pers. obj. of **ἀνταπαιτῆσαι**. — 5. **σῶφρονά τε . . . χάριν**: *that you receive an honest gratitude (from us) instead of a disgraceful gratitude (from them)*. While the Plataeans designate the gratitude that would be acquired from the Thebans by the Lacedaemonians for their destruction as an **αἰσχροῦ χάρις**, the Thebans, c. 67. 26, demand the death of the Plataeans as a **χάρις δίκαια** for their merits. **κομίζεσθαι** is used commonly of good things, as i. 43. 3; iv. 98. 25. Cf. Dem. xxi. 171 **κεκόμισται χάριν παρ’ ὑμῶν**. — 6. **κακίαν**: as in c. 61. 7, the result

αὐτοὺς ἀντιλαβεῖν· βραχὺ γὰρ τὸ τὰ ἡμέτερα σώματα 2  
 διαφθεῖραι, ἐπίπονον δὲ τὴν δύσκλειαν αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι·  
 οὐκ ἐχθροὺς γὰρ ἡμᾶς εἰκότως τιμωρήσεσθε, ἀλλ' εὖ-  
 10 νους, κατ' ἀνάγκην πολεμήσαντας. ὥστε καὶ τῶν σωμά- 3  
 των ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες ὅσια ἂν δικάζετε καὶ προνοοῦντες  
 ὅτι ἐκόντας τε ἐλάβετε καὶ χεῖρας προῖσχομένους (ὁ δὲ  
 νόμος τοῖς Ἑλλησι μὴ κτείνειν τούτους), ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐερ-  
 γέτας γεγεννημένους διὰ παντός. ἀποβλέψατε γὰρ ἐς πα- 4  
 15 τέρων τῶν ὑμετέρων θήκας, οὓς ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ Μή-  
 δων καὶ ταφέντας ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐτιμῶμεν κατὰ ἔτος  
 ἕκαστον δημοσίᾳ ἐσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις,

of unworthy conduct, shame, more plainly expressed in δύσκλειαν below. Cf. φέρειν ἀρετήν, i. 33. 11.

7. βραχὺ: a small matter, as i. 140. 23, 27; viii. 76. 25. — 8. αὐτοῦ: i.e. τοῦ διαφθεῖραι. αὐτό thus emphatically used c. 59. 20; i. 68. 9; 74. 3; 122. 20; 138. 11. — 9. εἰκότως: see on c. 56. 6. — 10. κατ' ἀνάγκην: as shown c. 55. For the asyndeton, which Cl. was inclined to remove by inserting καί, cf. c. 43. 10.

ὥστε καὶ τῶν σωμάτων κτέ.: see App. — 11. ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες: (sc. ἡμῶν) as in viii. 76. 34. Cf. vi. 60. 15 ἄδειαν ποιησάμενον, obtaining security for one's self. — ὅσια ἂν δικάζετε: you would render a righteous judgment, i.e. in accordance with divine law. — προνοοῦντες: rendered by Cl., St., Jow., and others, if you consider beforehand, i.e. before you decide. But Steup follows Pp. and Kr. in supplying ἡμῶν with προνοοῦντες (as ἡμῶν with ποιοῦντες). Cf. Xen. Cyrop. viii. i. 1; 7. 15; and προνοεῖσθαι with gen., Thuc. vi. 9. 10. — 12. ἐκόντας τε ἐλά-

βετε κτέ.: the Plataeans would have their voluntary surrender regarded as a ἱκετεία. — χεῖρας προῖσχομένους: Schol., ἱκετεύσαντας. Cf. c. 66. 12; 67. 22. — ὁ νόμος: i.e. the international custom based on religion. Cf. c. 59. 2 τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα, 67. 24 ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμος, iv. 97. 10 τὰ νόμιμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. See Hermann, Staats-Alt.<sup>6</sup> p. 70, n. 3. — 13. εὐεργέτας γεγεννημένους: see on c. 2. 11. — 14. διὰ παντός: constantly, of time as usual. See on i. 38. 2.

15. θήκας: see on c. 104. 5; ii. 52. 14. The place of the art. is supplied by the preceding gen., as often. Cf. c. 59. 6; i. 1. 11; 3. 1; 11. 2. As to these sepulchres, cf. Hdt. ix. 85; Paus. ix. 2. 5. In the sense of tomb, the word seems to occur, outside of Thuc., mainly in Hdt. (ii. 67. 4; ix. 85. 4) and Tragedy (Aesch. Agam. 453; Pers. 405; Soph. O. C. 1763; El. 896). Cf. Xen. Cyrop. vii. 3. 5. — 17. ἐσθήμασί τε . . . ὅσα τε: over against the honours usually paid to the dead is placed as something espe-



ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὡραῖα, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπι-  
 φέροντες, εὖνοι μὲν ἐκ φιλίας χώρας, ξύμμαχοι δὲ ὁμαίχ-  
 20 μοις ποτὲ γενομένοις. ὦν ὑμεῖς τοῦναντίον ἂν δράσαιτε  
 μὴ ὀρθῶς γνόντες. σκέψασθε δέ· Πausanίας μὲν γὰρ 5  
 ἔθαπτεν αὐτοὺς νομίζων ἐν γῇ τε φιλία τιθέναι καὶ παρ'  
 ἀνδράσι τοιούτοις· ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰ κτενεῖτε ἡμᾶς καὶ χώραν  
 τὴν Πλαταιίδα Θηβαῖδα ποιήσετε, τί ἄλλο ἢ ἐν πολεμίᾳ  
 25 τε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθένταις πατέρας τοὺς ὑμετέρους καὶ

cial the offering of the first fruits of the land, and instead of continuing with the dat. there is a change of const. to the participle. — ἔσθημασι : this much, but unjustly, suspected word seems, as Duker explained, to refer to the garments that were offered to the dead. Cf. Soph. *El.* 452; Eur. *Or.* 123, 1436. See Pasanisi, *Rivista di Filol. Class.* xv. p. 518 ff. As to the view of Cl. and St., that ἔσθημασι refers to the mourning clothes of the participants in the festival, no reason can be conceived why among the honours publicly paid every year to the dead especial mention should be made of the mourning garments. Nor is the difficulty removed by the circumstance emphasized by St., that, acc. to Plut. *Aristid.* 21, the archon of Plataea only at this annual festival put on χιτῶνα φοινικούν. Plut.'s omission, in his description of the festival, of any mention of the offering of garments may be explained on the assumption that the custom was obsolete in his time. ἔσθημα is a poetic word, acc. to the Schol. on Soph. *El.* 270. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 562; *Pers.* 536; Soph. *El.* 270; Eur. *Troad.* 991. Elsewhere

only in late prose. — τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις : Plut. *l.c.* mentions the slaughter of a bull, a drink-offering, etc. — 18. ἀνεδίδου : just as in Xen. *Mem.* iv. 3. 5. — ὡραῖα : products of the land, as in i. 120. 10. — ἐπιφέροντες : of offerings to the dead, as in ii. 34. 5. — 19. ἐκ φιλίας χώρας : sc. τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιφέροντες. — ὁμαίχοις : found only here in Thucydides. Cf. ὁμαιχμία, i. 18. 25; Hdt. vii. 145. 12; viii. 140 a 21.

21. σκέψασθε δέ : as in i. 143. 21, introduces an explanatory addition. Cf. c. 46. 4 σκέψασθε γάρ, i. 33. 7 καὶ σκέψασθε. — 22. ἔθαπτεν : for the force of the impf., see GMT. 35, and compare 56. Cf. ἀπεδίδου οἰκύν, ii. 71. 14. — 23. τοιούτοις : sc. φιλοῖς, as τοιοῦτος often represents a preceding adjective; cf. Plato *Phaedo* 108 b τὴν ἀκάθαρτον (ψυχὴν) καὶ τι πεποιηκυῖαν τοιοῦτον. Esp. is this the case with ἕτερος and ἄλλος. Cf. Plato *Phaedo* 58 d. — 24. Θηβαῖδα ποιήσετε : acc. to c. 68. § 3, the territory of the Plataeans was after a year rented to the Thebans. — τί ἄλλο ἢ : see on c. 39. 10. — 25. τοῖς αὐθένταις : τοῖς φονεῦσι· αὐθένται κυρίως οἱ αὐτόχειρες καὶ πολέμιοι, Schol. See Lobeck *ad*

ξυγγενεῖς ἀτίμους γερῶν ὧν νῦν ἴσχουσι καταλείψετε;  
 πρὸς δὲ καὶ γῆν ἐν ᾗ ἡλευθερώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες δου-  
 λώσετε, ἱερά τε θεῶν οἷς εὐξάμενοι Μήδων ἐκράτησαν  
 ἐρημοῦτε, καὶ θυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν ἐσσαμένων καὶ  
 30 κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε.

59 “Οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 1  
 τάδε, οὔτε ἐς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα καὶ ἐς τοὺς

*Phryn.* p. 120. The Thebans are called αἰθένται, because they had sided with the Persians. — 26. ἀτίμους γερῶν: as *ii.* 65. 32 χρημάτων ἀδωρότατος. *G.* 1141; *H.* 753 c; *Kr. Spr.* 47, 26, 10. γέρα, as in *i.* 13. 5; 25. 15, of honours based on ancient precedent and sacred usage. — ἴσχουσι: possess, enjoy, as in *ii.* 68. 17; *Hdt.* *i.* 62. 3. — 27. πρὸς δέ: moreover, adv. only here in *Thuc.*, but found also in *Xen.*, *Plato*, and *Demosthenes*. *Kühn.* 443, 2; *Kr. Spr.* 68, 2, 2. — 28. ἱερά τε . . . ἀφαιρήσεσθε: and you desolate the temples of the gods to whom they prayed when they conquered the Medes, and you will take away the hereditary sacrifices from those who founded and built (the temples). As to the last clause, where ἱερά is supplied, with *St.* and *Bm.*, as obj. of the partics., *Cl.* explains, ‘you will take away the hereditary sacrifices from those who founded and established them, where one would expect, “you will take from the sacrifices their founders,” i.e. the citizens of Plataea, who also in later generations were regarded as founders of those sacrifices.’ *Steup* suggests that as *Thuc.* in *i.* 40. 7 uses ἀποστερεῖν (τινά τινος) in the sense

‘withdraw,’ not as usual ‘deprive’ (*c.* 42. 19; *i.* 69. 3; 136. 19), so here, on the contrary, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι (τινά τινος) may mean not ‘withdraw,’ but ‘deprive.’ *Cf.* *Dem.* xx. 82 τῆς δωρεᾶς ἀφηρέθη. Also *Xen. Cyneg.* 6. 4; *Lys.* xxiv. 6; *Plut. Aem. Paul.* 31; *Anton.* 60. But see *App.* — 29. ἐρημοῦτε: the pres. between two fut. is rather remarkable. For the pres. thus co-ord. with a single fut., *cf.* *ii.* 44. 2; *iv.* 10. 11. *Cl.* considers this a contracted future form. See *App.* — ἐσσαμένων: with the best *Mss.*; a few, εἰσαμένων or ἐσαμένων. See *Cur-tius, Verbum*, I.<sup>2</sup> p. 129. The archaic form is due possibly to some old formulaary usage. — 30. ἀφαιρήσεσθε: with acc. and gen. also *c.* 43. 4; *viii.* 46. 33.

59. *By all that is sacred to gods and men, we beg you to spare us. But if you will not do this, then place us again in the position in which we were when we surrendered.*

1. πρὸς τῆς . . . δόξης: for your glory. See on *c.* 38. 3. — 2. τάδε, οὔτε . . . ἀμαρτάνειν οὔτε . . . διαφθεῖραι: τάδε sums up the various features of an unfavourable decision as developed in the foregoing, and the special points of view to be con-



προγόνους ἀμαρτάνειν οὔτε ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἄλλο-  
 τρίας ἔνεκα ἔχθρας μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀδικηθέντας διαφθεῖραι;  
 5 φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπικλᾶσθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ οἴκτῳ σώφρονι  
 λαβόντας, μὴ ὦν πεισόμεθα μόνον δεινότητα κατανο-  
 οῦντας, ἀλλ' οἰοί τε ἂν ὄντες πάθοιμεν καὶ ὡς ἀστάθμη-  
 τον τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ᾧ τινί ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίῳ ξυμπέσοι.  
 ἡμεῖς τε, ὡς πρέπον ἡμῖν καὶ ὡς ἡ χρεία προάγει, αἰτού- 2  
 10 μεθα ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινούς τῶν Ἑλ-

sidered are epexegetically added in the οὔτε, οὔτε clauses. — ἐς τὰ κοινὰ . . . νόμιμα . . . ἀμαρτάνειν : see on c. 58. 12. ἀμαρτάνειν ἐς with neut. acc., as Plato *Legg.* 759 c τὰ εἰς τὰ θεῖα ἀμαρτανόμενα. — ἐς τοὺς προγόνους : acc. to c. 58. § 4 f., the graves of the Spartans who fell at Plataea, and the gods who then aided the victors, would be neglected. — 3. τοὺς εὐεργέτας : cf. c. 58. 13. — 4. μὴ αὐτοὺς ἀδικηθέντας : in cond. form, though referring to the present case. For the asyndeton, see on c. 43. 10. — 5. φείσασθαι δέ : sc. πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης ἐστί. — ἐπικλᾶσθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ : as iv. 37. 5 ; without τῇ γνώμῃ, c. 67. 5. — 6. λαβόντας : with reference to the wretched condition of the Plataeans, *taking* (i.e. regarding) our case, *judging*. The use of λαβεῖν similar to that in c. 56. 8 ; iv. 17. 8 ; vi. 27. 9 ; 53. 18. In vi. 61. 3 likewise without obj. expressed, περὶ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου . . . χαλεπῶς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλάμβανον. To the adv. χαλεπῶς there corresponds in the present passage οἴκτῳ σώφρονι, *with reasonable compassion*, 'reasonable, a) because we are innocent, b) because all men are liable to the same.' (Jow.) — μὴ

μόνον . . . ἀλλά : without καί, as in iv. 60. 1. — κατανοοῦντας : explanatory of οἴκτῳ σώφρονι λαβόντας. St. construes μὴ ὦν δεινότητα with λαβόντας, and considers κατανοοῦντας a gloss. — 7. ὡς ἀστάθμητον . . . ξυμπέσοι : *how uncertain it is on whom misfortune may fall, however* (καί) *undeserving he may be*. (Jow.) Bl. compares Herodian v. 1. 11 τὰ τῆς τύχης δῶρα καὶ ἀναξίοις περιπίπτει. τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς as τὸ τῆς τύχης, iv. 18. 9 ; vii. 61. 12 ; τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, vii. 62. 8. H. 730 c ; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 5, 10. The phrase is placed proleptically before ὥτινι (Kr. and others, with one Ms., ὃ τινι).

9. ἡμεῖς τε : opp. to τῆς ὑμετέρας δόξης above. "As your reputation is at stake, so there remains for us only the prayer —." — πρέπον : without ἐστί, as δίκαιον (23), ξυμφέρον (c. 44. 5), χρεών (i. 77. 13), εἰκός, αἰσχρόν, δεινόν, etc. — προάγει : *draws us on*, as in c. 45. 26. — 10. ὁμοβωμίους : i.e. having altars both among you and among us, as the context seems to require. Cf. ii. 71. 21 θεοὺς τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρώους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγχωρίους. Most edit. explain, those deities who were worshipped together at the same altar, called ὁμωχέται, iv. 97. 17 ; σύμβωμοι,

λήνων ἐπιβοώμενοι πείσαι τάδε, προφερόμενοί (θ') ὄρκους  
οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὥμοσαν μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν ἰκέται γι-  
γνόμεθα ὑμῶν τῶν πατρώων τάφων καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα

Strabo, p. 512. Arn. supposes these to be the magni dii (οἱ δώδεκα). Goell. explains, those gods at whose altars all Greece might jointly sacrifice, e.g. Olympian Jupiter and Pythian Apollo. — 11. ἐπιβοώμενοι : signifies, as Bl. says, like ἐπικαλούμενοι, magna voce invocantes ad auxilium. Cf. c. 67. 9; vii. (69. 20); 75. 15; viii. 92. 50. The word seems to be Ionic and poetic. Cf. Hdt. i. 87. 4; ix. 23. 3; Hom. K 463; α 378; β 143; Eur. Med. 168. Elsewhere only in late writers. — πείσαι τάδε : which Kr. and v. H. bracket, is to be construed with ἐπιβοώμενοι. Just so in l. 14 the purpose of ἐπικαλούμεθα τοὺς κεκμηῶτας is expressed by μὴ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις κτέ. The subj. of both inf. is the Plataeans. If πείσαι τάδε be taken with αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς, as Cl., St., and Jow. explain, πείσαι is not only superfluous, but out of place. On the other hand, αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς can dispense with the neuter object (cf. iv. 18. 4). τάδε refers to the course which the speakers beg the Lacedaemonians to take (l. 5, φείσασθαι καὶ ἐπικλασθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ). To refer τάδε to what follows, as Cl. does, and make the request proper begin with προφερόμενοι is impossible, because the invocation of the gods could not thus be separated from that of the oaths. — προφερόμενοι (θ') ὄρκους : θ' is added, against the Mss., with St.,

who rightly judges that Thuc. could not have let the second part of the invocation follow the first without a connective. — προφερόμενοι : the mid. emphasizes personal interest. “Bringing forward the oaths for our protection.” Cf. Plato *Phil.* 57 a. Elsewhere in Thuc., either act. (c. 64. 7; vi. 7. 11; 31. 21), or passive (v. 26. 22; vii. 69. 19). Most of the Mss. have προσφερόμενοι, but the examples just cited seem sufficiently to establish the vulgate. — 12. μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν : explanatory of ὥμοσαν, unless the words be considered, with Steup (following Cobet and v. H.), a marginal explanation of ὥμοσαν. Cf. ii. 73. 14, where the purport of the oath is not given. To connect μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν with προφερόμενοι, as Cl., or with ἰκέται γιγνόμεθα, as St., is inadmissible, since the Plataeans cannot be the subj. of this inf., as of πείσαι and μὴ γενέσθαι. — ἰκέται γιγνόμεθα : see on c. 2. 11. — 13. ὑμῶν τῶν πατρώων τάφων : joined with pathetic effect to ἰκέται γιγνόμεθα, ὑμῶν receiving special emphasis from its position. “We put ourselves under the protection of the graves in which your fathers rest.” Cf. i. 136. 9 τῆς γυναικὸς ἰκέτης γενόμενος, Hdt. i. 73. 28 Ἀλυάττεω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο, Isocr. vi. 23 ἰκέται κατέστησαν ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, Cic. *Tusc.* i. 29 iudicibus supplex fuit. Cobet, *N. L.* p. 346, conjectures ὑμῶν πρὸς τῶν πατρώων τάφων, which would



τοὺς κεκμηῶτας μὴ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις μηδὲ τοῖς  
 15 ἐχθίστοις φίλτατοι ὄντες παραδοθῆναι, ἡμέρας τε ἀνα-  
 μιμνήσκομεν ἐκείνης ἥ τὰ λαμπρότατα μετ' αὐτῶν πρά-  
 ξαντες νῦν ἐν τῇδε τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν παθεῖν.  
 ὅπερ δὲ ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον τοῖς ᾧδε ἔχουσι, 3  
 λόγου τελευτᾶν, διότι καὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ κίνδυνος ἐγγὺς μετ'  
 20 αὐτοῦ, πανόμενοι λέγομεν ἤδη ὅτι οὐ Θηβαίοις παρεδο-  
 μεν τὴν πόλιν (εἰλόμεθα γὰρ ἂν πρό γε τούτου τῷ αἰ-

weaken the effect. — 14. τοὺς κεκμη-  
 ῶτας: euphemism for τοὺς τεθνεῶτας,  
 as in Plato *Legg.* 718 a; 927 b; and  
 often in Tragedy, e.g. Aesch. *Suppl.*  
 158; Eur. *Suppl.* 756; *Troad.* 96.  
 The archaic poetic form, which is  
 retained with most of the Mss., like  
 ἐσσαμένων in c. 58. 29, is more appro-  
 priate to the solemn invocation. —  
 ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις: with γενέσθαι as ὑπὸ  
 Συρακοσίοις, vi. 86. 3; vii. 64. 7. Cf.  
 ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιῆσθαι, c. 62. 19. For  
 the const., see G. 1219, 2; H. 808, 2;  
 Kr. *Spr.* 68, 44. — τοῖς ἐχθίστοις φίλ-  
 τατοι ὄντες: sc. τοῖς κεκμηῶσι. Cf. c.  
 58. 25 παρὰ τοῖς αὐθένταις. — 15. ἡμέρας  
 τε . . . ἐκείνης: for the art. omitted,  
 cf. γῆν τήνδε, ii. 74. 11; στρατιᾷ τῇδε,  
 iv. 85. 25. Kühn. 465, n. 6 a. — ἀνα-  
 μιμνήσκομεν: sc. τοὺς κεκμηῶτας. —  
 16. ἥ τὰ λαμπρότατα . . . παθεῖν:  
 two clauses are united in one; the  
 full form would be ἥ . . . ἐπράξαμεν,  
 ὅμως δὲ νῦν κτέ. In πράξαντες the  
 Plataeans identify themselves with  
 their ancestors. — μετ' αὐτῶν: sc. τῶν  
 κεκμηῶτων. The best Mss. have αὐτῶν  
 or ἐαυτῶν, which is impossible. —  
 17. ἐν τῇδε: the prep. is added to  
 emphasize the important point.

18. ὅπερ δέ: for the rel. sent.,  
 where πανόμενοι δέ, ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον κτέ.  
 would seem more natural, see Kr.  
*Spr.* 51, 13, 13; Kühn. 562, 2. — τοῖς  
 ᾧδε ἔχουσι: see on c. 53. 14. — 19. λό-  
 γου τελευτᾶν: epexegetis of ὅπερ, as  
 iv. 125. 8 ἀσαφῶς ἐκπλήγνυσθαι. The  
 gen. as in c. 104. 28; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii.  
 7. 17 τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω.  
 Kr. *Spr.* 47, 13; 7; Kühn. 421, 3. —  
 μετ' αὐτοῦ: i.e. τοῦ τελευτᾶν. See on  
 c. 58. 8. — 20. πανόμενοι λέγομεν ἤδη:  
 repeating the idea of the rel. clause,  
 and more forcible than τοῦτο νῦν ποιούν-  
 τες. — 21. τῷ αἰσχίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ λιμῷ:  
 connected as θάνατον ζημίαν, c. 44. 10.  
 See note there. Cf. Hom. μ 342 λιμῷ  
 δ' οἴκτιστον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν,  
 Dion. H. *Ant.* vi. 86 τῷ κακίστῳ τῶν  
 μόρων λιμῷ, Sall. *Ep. Pomp.* i fame,  
 miserrima omnium morte, Liv.  
 xxi. 41 ultimo supplicio huma-  
 norum, fame, xxvii. 44 fame et  
 frigore, quae miserrima mor-  
 tis genera sunt, Amm. Marcell.  
 xvii. 9 fame ignavissimo mortis  
 genere tabescentes. αἰσχιστον,  
 most shameful, because manly resist-  
 ance is impossible. Cf. App. *Hisp.*  
 97 τῷ λιμῷ σφᾶς κατεργαζομένους, ἀμάχῳ

σχίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ λιμῷ τελευτῆσαι), ὑμῖν δὲ πιστεύσαντες  
 προσήλθομεν, καὶ δίκαιον, εἰ μὴ πείθομεν, ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ  
 καταστήσαντας τὸν ξυντυχόντα κίνδυνον ἐᾶσαι ἡμᾶς αὐ-  
 25 τοὺς ἐλέσθαι. ἐπισκῆπτομέν τε ἅμα μὴ Πλαταιῆς ὄντες 4  
 οἱ προθυμότατοι περὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας γενόμενοι Θηβαίοις  
 τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθίστοις ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμε-  
 τέρας πίστεως ἰκέται ὄντες, ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, παραδο-  
 θῆναι, γενέσθαι δὲ σωτήρας ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 30 Ἑλλήνας ἐλευθεροῦντας ἡμᾶς διολέσαι.”

**60** Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Πλαταιῆς εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι 1  
 δείσαντες πρὸς τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοί τι

κακῷ. — 22. ὑμῖν πιστεύσαντες : cf. 53. 2. — 23. προσήλθομεν : cf. c. 52. 10 ὡς αὐτῶν ἐκόντων προσχωρησάντων, v. 17. 15 ὁμολογίᾳ αὐτῶν προσχωρησάντων. — ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ καταστήσαντας : cf. c. 34. 14. — 24. τὸν ξυντυχόντα κίνδυνον : the first danger that presents itself (ὅς ἂν ξυντύχη, fut. ex., Kr.). Cf. τοῖς ἐντυχούσιν ἐπιτρέπειν, iv. 132. 18; ἐκ τοῦ παρὰτυχόντος πυνθανόμενος, i. 22. 8. — ἐᾶσαι : sc. as subj. ὑμᾶς.

25. ἐπισκῆπτομέν τε ἅμα κτέ. : even after the last despairing request they cannot refrain from summing up once more in a solemn adjuration (ἐπισκῆπτομεν, as in ii. 73. 13) all the grounds for mercy already advanced, and, with the appeal ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, bringing these motives home to the consciences of the Lacedaemonians. ‘The conclusion of the speech is confused with the accumulation of most passionate admonitions, ἐπι-σκήπτομέν τε ἅμα μή, 1) Πλαταιῆς ὄντες οἱ προθυμότατοι περὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας γενόμενοι, 2) Θηβαίοις, 3) τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθίστοις, 4) ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ

τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως, 5) ἰκέται ὄντες, ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, παραδοθῆναι . . . διο-λέσαι, where the anxiety and perplexity of the speaker are well depicted, and the minds of the readers greatly moved by the unusual position of the voc. (ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι), by the omission of the acc. ὑμᾶς with γενέσθαι, although ὑμᾶς would naturally be expressed since a different subj. immediately precedes, and by the two phrases ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως.’ Heilmann. — 26. οἱ προθυμότατοι : as in c. 57. 18, of a disposition ready for any sacrifice. Cf. c. 56. 16; ii. 71. 18. — Θηβαίοις τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθίστοις : cf. ii. 71. 20. — 27. τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως : cf. πιστεύσαντες ὑμῖν, l. 22 and c. 53. 2; διὰ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων πίστιν, vi. 53. 10. — 29. γενέσθαι δέ : sc. ὑμᾶς, the abrupt change of subj. is induced by the address, ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Cf. i. 43. 4. — τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἐλευθεροῦντας : see on c. 13. 35; 32. 5.

**60.** The Thebans ask permission to reply to the speech of the Plataeans.

2. πρὸς τὸν λόγον : in view of the



ἐνδῶσι, παρελθόντες ἔφασαν καὶ αὐτοὶ βούλεσθαι εἰ-  
πεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνοις παρὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν μα-  
5 κρότερος λόγος ἐδόθη τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα ἀποκρίσεως.  
ὥς δ' ἐκέλευσαν, ἔλεγον τοιάδε .

61 “Τοὺς μὲν λόγους οὐκ ἂν ἡγησάμεθα εἰπεῖν, εἰ 1  
καὶ αὐτοὶ βραχέως τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ  
ἡμᾶς τραπόμενοι κατηγορίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν

*speech.* Cf. πρὸς τὸ παρόν, c. 40. 35; ii. 22. 1; v. 9. 14. It belongs to δέισαντες. To connect it also with ἐνδῶσι, as Cl. does, is unnecessary, since ἐνδῶσι depends on δέισαντες. — 3. παρελθόντες : regularly used of orators coming forward to speak. Cf. i. 67. 16; 72. 15, etc. Ullrich's suggestion, προσελθόντες (*Beitr.* iii. 7), approved by Cl., is inappropriate, since the Thebans had attended the trial from the beginning. — εἰπεῖν : i.e. to make a set speech. Cf. 53. 10 λόγον ἡγησάμεθα, 61. 1 τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἂν ἡγησάμεθα εἰπεῖν. — 4. γνώμην τὴν αὐτῶν : order as in c. 56. 3; 58. 14. — 6. ὥς ἐκέλευσαν : sc. the five Lacedaemonian judges. Cf. c. 52. 17.

#### REPLY OF THE THEBANS.

c. 61-67.

61. Since the Plataeans, instead of simply answering the question propounded, have in a lengthy speech attacked us and glorified themselves, we too must make a fuller statement.

The Plataeans early renounced the Boeotian alliance and our hegemony, and placed themselves with hostile intent under the protection of Athens.

1. τοὺς λόγους : const. with εἰπεῖν. “These (lengthy) speeches,” implying

the reluctance with which they have recourse to them. The effect of the art. seems to be similar to that of the appos. τοὺς πολλοὺς in i. 86. 1 τοὺς λόγους τοὺς πολλοὺς. Cf. c. 53. 10 λόγον ἡγησάμεθα, and c. 60. 3 ἔφασαν καὶ αὐτοὶ βούλεσθαι εἰπεῖν. — 2. καὶ αὐτοί : i.e. οὗτοι καὶ αὐτοί, et isti. Cf. i. 50. 18; 51. 6. Hude (*Comm. Crit.* p. 106) suggests καὶ οὗτοι. But to refer καὶ αὐτοί . . . ἀπεκρίναντο to the Plataeans is not harder than in c. 60. 6 ὥς δ' ἐκέλευσαν, to understand the Lacedaemonians. — τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀπεκρίναντο : ‘such an acc. with ἀποκρίνεσθαι is not found elsewhere in Thuc., though freq. in Plato. This const. seems, however, to be confined to neut. prons. (τόδε, τοῦτο, etc.) and τὸ (τὰ) ἐρωτώμενον (α).’ Bm. See Kr. *Spr.* 46, 6, 3; Matth. 409, 6. — 3. καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν . . . ἀπολογίαν : and had not made concerning themselves a long defence aside from the question, and especially of points which were never charged. As to the matter, cf. c. 52. 18 κατηγορία οὐδεμία προετέθη, and c. 53. 9 προκατηγορίας ἡμῶν οὐ προγεγενημένης. περὶ αὐτῶν opp. to ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς. With ἔξω τῶν προκειμένων (i.e. τὸ ἐρώτημα τὸ βραχύ, c. 54. 5) cf. ii. 65. 26 ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου, Dem. xviii. 9 τοῖς

ἔξω τῶν προκειμένων καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ἡττιαμένων πολλὴν  
 5 τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ ἔπαινον ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο. νῦν δὲ  
 πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἀντειπεῖν δεῖ, τῶν δὲ ἔλεγχον ποιήσασθαι,  
 ἵνα μήτε ἡ ἡμετέρα αὐτοὺς κακία ὠφελῇ μήτε ἡ τούτων  
 δόξα, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσαντες κρίνητε.

“Ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον ὅτι 2  
 10 ἡμῶν κτισάντων Πλάταιαν ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας  
 καὶ ἄλλα χωρία μετ' αὐτῆς, ἃ ξυμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους ἐξελά-  
 σαντες ἔσχομεν, οὐκ ἡξίουں οὔτοι, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶ-

ἔξωθεν λόγοις. — 4. καὶ ἅμα : not a simple copula, but, like ἄλλως τε καί, introducing an esp. important circumstance. See on i. 2. 8. — ἡττιαμένων : pass. of dep. verb. H. 819 d; Kr. Spr. 39, 14, 3; Kühn. 377, 4 a. Cf. αἰτιαθεῖς, vi. 53. 14; viii. 68. 15. It depends on ἀπολογία, as ὧν upon ἔπαινον. Steup follows Cl. in connecting ἡττιαμένων with αὐτῶν, though he suggests that ἡττιαμένων may have been a slip of the copyist for ἡττιαμένοι, due to the influence of the preceding genitives. πολλὴν τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ ἔπαινον he takes together (both limited by ὧν), about as οἱ αὐτοὶ ὄρκοι καὶ ξυμμαχία, i. 102. 21, comparing further vi. 49. 21 οὔτε πλοῦν πολὺν οὔτε ὀδόν, 92. 17 ἐς κίνδυνον καὶ ἐς τάλαιπω-  
 ρίαν πᾶσαν, 97. 8 οὔτε πλοῦν οὔτε ὀδόν πολλήν. — 6. πρὸς μὲν τὰ : order as in c. 82. 52; vi. 45. 5; 66. 6; vii. 12. 4. Cf. Soph. Ant. 557 καλῶς σὺ μὲν τοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ὀδῶν φρονεῖν. Kr. Spr. 50, 1, 13; Matth. 288, κ. 3. τὰ μὲν refers to κατηγορίαν (cf. c. 53. 9), τὰ δέ to τὴν ἀπολογίαν καὶ ἔπαινον. — ἀντειπεῖν, ἔλεγχον ποιήσασθαι : cf. c. 53. 9, 12. The former is done in c. 62, the latter in c. 63, 64. — 7. ἡ ἡμε-

τέρα κακία : refers ironically (cf. c. 58. 6) to the effect of the κατηγορία, and ἡ τούτων (cf. l. 12 οὔτοι) δόξα to that of the ἀπολογία and of the ἔπαινος. — αὐτούς : for the position, cf. v. 82. 23; vii. 78. 26, and see on c. 63. 8.

9. ἡμεῖς δέ : the δέ marks the transition from the general introduction to the matter in hand, and should not be altered, with Kr., to δὴ either here or in i. 37. 7. See on c. 10. 7, and vi. 89. 3. — διάφοροι ἐγενόμεθα πρῶτον : (Mss. AC τὸ πρῶτον) as c. 10. 7 ξυμμαχία ἐγένετο πρῶτον. — 10. ἡμῶν κτισάντων : the Thebans substitute themselves for the Boeotians, who were driven out of Thessaly and occupied the country of the Cadmeans (afterwards called Boeotia), about sixty years after the Trojan war, acc. to Thuc. i. 12. § 3. Cf. Strabo ix. 2. 3 ff. See Muenscher, *de Reb. Plataeens.* p. 27 sqq. — 11. ἄλλα χωρία : i.e. 'the region below Cithaeron toward the Euripus,' Muensch. *ibid.* p. 27. — ἃ : includes Plataea also. See Muensch. *ibid.* p. 29. — ξυμμίκτους ἀνθρώπους : Strabo *l.c.* mentions Pelasgians, Thracians, Hyantians. — 12. οὐκ ἡξίουں : were indignant at.



τον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιω-  
τῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο,  
15 προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ  
ἡμᾶς ἔβλαπτον, ἀνθ' ὧν καὶ ἀντέπασχον.

62 “Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, 1  
φασὶ μόνοι Βοιωτῶν οὐ μηδίσαι, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα αὐ-  
τοί τε ἀγάλλονται καὶ ἡμᾶς λοιδοροῦσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ μηδίσαι 2  
μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐ φαμέν διότι οὐδ' Ἀθηναίους, τῇ μέντοι  
5 αὐτῇ ιδέα ὕστερον ἰόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας  
μόνους αὖ Βοιωτῶν ἀπτικίσαι. καίτοι σκέψασθε ἐν οἷῳ 3

Cf. i. 102. 17; iv. 86. 7. — ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον: prob. taken for granted, rather than based on historical tradition. — 13. ἡγεμονεύεσθαι: found only here in pass., a sort of milder ἄρχεσθαι (c. 36. 9; 37. 10; ii. 41. 11). G. 1236; H. 819 a; Kr. Spr. 52, 4, 1; Kühn. 378, 7. — ἔξω: apart from. See on l. 4. — 14. παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια: i.e. renouncing the Boeotian alliance. Cf. c. 65. 8; 66. 3; ii. 2. 27. — προσηναγκάζοντο: were forced to it, i.e. πρὸς τὸ μὴ παραβαίνειν τὰ πάτρια. Cf. iv. 87. 8; v. 42. 19; viii. 76. 32. For the strengthening force of πρὸς, see on i. 106. 2; vii. 18. 31. — 15. προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους: cf. c. 55. § 1. The simple dat. is more common, as in i. 74. 24; 103. 11; ii. 2. 29; v. 32. 14. — μετ' αὐτῶν . . . ἔβλαπτον: cf. Hdt. vi. 108. 5 πόνοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν (i.e. τῶν Πλαταιέων) οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναιρέοντο.

62. Only on account of their alliance with Athens did they oppose the Persians. We Thebans, however, were then under the rule of oligarchs,

who expected advantage from the Persians. Afterwards at Coronea we won Boeotia's independence from Athens.

1. καί: introduces the second point of consideration. — ἦλθεν ἐπὶ: as in l. 5; freq. of going to war. See on i. 78. 7. — 2. μόνοι: see on c. 54. 12. — 3. λοιδοροῦσιν: Schol. μηδισαντας δηλονότι, which is implied in τούτῳ.

ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . οὐ φαμέν: but we say that they did not medize. For the position of οὐ, which Cl. accents (οῦ) to show that it belongs to μηδίσαι αὐτοὺς, see Kr. Spr. 67, 1, 2. Cf. c. 64. 2. — 4. Ἀθηναίους: assimilated to the case of αὐτοὺς, as after ὥσπερ, i. 69. 23; v. 99. 4; vi. 68. 9, and, after a rel. pron., vii. 21. 14. — τῇ αὐτῇ ιδέα: on the same principle. Cf. vi. 76. 12. It belongs with μόνους ἀπτικίσαι.

6. ἐν οἷῳ εἶδει: i.e. τρόπῳ πολιτείας, in quo statu. Cf. viii. 90. 2. ιδέα and εἶδος are here contrasted as representing internal and external conditions, but the meaning common to both words, form, appearance, causes sometimes an interchange of use.

εἶδει ἐκάτεροι ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἔπραξαν. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡ πό-  
 λις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολι-  
 τεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν. ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις  
 10 μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον, ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ  
 τυράννου, δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα.  
 καὶ οὗτοι ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἐλπίσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον σχήσειν, 4  
 εἰ τὰ τοῦ Μήδου κρατήσῃ, κατέχοντες ἰσχύι τὸ πλῆθος  
 ἐπηγάγοντο αὐτόν. καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις οὔτ' αὐτοκράτῳ

Cf. i. 109. 2, where *ιδέα* means *outward appearance*; vi. 77. 15; viii. 56. 7, where *εἶδος* means *mode of action*. *οἶος* in indir. ques., as i. 69. 12; vii. 64. 8. See on c. 47. 1. — 7. *ἐκάτεροι ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἔπραξαν*: i.e. we sided with the Persians, they with the Athenians. Cf. i. 15. — *ἡμῖν μὲν κτέ.*: the remainder of the chapter contains the first part of the explanation announced in *καίτοι σκέψασθε κτέ.*, c. 63, 64 the second. — 8. *κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα*: the const. *πολιτεῦειν κατά*, as in c. 66. 3; i. 19. 2. An oligarchy is meant, in which all the nobles were *ὁμότιμοι* or *ὅμοιοι*. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* iv. (vi.) 5, who likewise contrasts it with the *δυναστεία*. — 10. *τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ*: not (= *τοῖς σώφροσιν ἀνδράσιν*, Schol.), but the ideal of a well-ordered constitution (*respublica optime constituta et temperata*), to which is opposed, as the extreme of arbitrariness, the *τύραννος*. — *ἐγγυτάτῳ δὲ τυράννου κτέ.*: cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 42 *paucorum dominatio regiae libidini propior est*. Note the bold use of the concrete (*τύραννος*) for the abstract. — 11. *δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν*: cf. Arist. *Pol.* iv.

(vi.) 5 *ὅταν . . . ἀρχὴ μὴ ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄρχοντες . . . , καλοῦσι δὴ τὴν τοιαύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν δυναστείαν*. Hdt. (ix. 86. 4) names ἐν πρώτοισι τῶν μηδισάντων Timagenides and Attaginus. — *εἶχε τὰ πράγματα*: as c. 72. 3. Cf. *ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν*, viii. 66. 2; *τὴν πολιτείαν*, viii. 74. 14; *τὴν ἀρχήν*, viii. 46. 6; *τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*, v. 47. 41. See on c. 11. 11; 28. 1.

12. *ἰδίας δυνάμεις . . . σχήσειν*: expecting that they will win power of their own in still greater measure. See Lupus, *N. Jahrb.* cxi. p. 167. — 13. *εἰ . . . κρατήσῃ*: cf. Hdt. iv. 137. — *κατέχοντες ἰσχύι τὸ πλῆθος*: cf. the reverse in ii. 65. 33 *κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλευθέρως*. *ἰσχύς* of brute force, as in c. 39. 20; i. 76. 15. On the matter, cf. Plut. *Aristid.* 18. — 14. *ἐπηγάγοντο*: the verb is regularly used of inviting strangers into one's country. Cf. i. 3. 8; 104. 5; 114. 6; ii. 2. 12; Plato *Menex.* 243 b. — *καὶ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις οὔτ' αὐτοκράτῳ . . . ἔπραξεν, οὔτ' ἄξιον κτέ.*: the vulg. is *οὐκ αὐτοκράτῳ* and *οὐδ' ἄξιον*. But the second clause must be a formal antithesis to the first, unless the speakers, in turning from the authorities to the state of Thebes, take into





25 “Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὸν μηδισμόν τοσαῦτα ἀπολογού- 6  
 63 μεθα. ὥς δὲ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον τε ἡδίκηκατε τοὺς Ἕλληνας 1  
 καὶ ἀξιώτεροί ἐστε πάσης ζημίας, πειρασόμεθα ἀπο-  
 φαίνειν. ἐγένεσθε ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, ὥς φατέ, 2  
 Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται. οὐκοῦν χρῆν τὰ πρὸς  
 5 ἡμᾶς μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπάγεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ξυνεπιέναι  
 μετ’ αὐτῶν ἄλλοις, ὑπάρχον γε ὑμῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ἄκοντες  
 προσήγεσθε ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων, τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 τῶνδε ἥδη ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίας γεγενημένης, ἣν αὐ-

mid. παρέχεσθαι τι, or the act. παρέχειν τι, according as stress is to be laid on the part of the performer or upon the value and extent of the performance, — the mid. twenty-nine times, the act. ninety-one times. See on ii. 9. 9. For the cavalry of the Boeotians, cf. ii. 9. 11; 12. 18; 22. 11. The matter is mentioned here with a view to its effect on the Lacedaemonian judges. — 25. καὶ τὰ μὲν . . . ἀπολογούμεθα : cf. c. 64. 20.

63. *You Plataeans have misused your alliance with the Athenians by sharing in all their deeds of violence against other Hellenes, thereby voluntarily incurring a heavy burden of guilt.*

1. ὥς δὲ ὑμεῖς κτέ.: beginning of the second part of the explanation announced c. 62. 6. From here to the end of c. 66 the Plataeans are directly addressed. — μᾶλλον ἡδίκηκατε τοὺς Ἕλληνας : cf. c. 56. 1. — 2. ἀξιώτεροι : i.e. μᾶλλον ἀξιοί. “You rather than we are worthy of every penalty.” Cf. i. 122. 11.

3. ἐγένεσθε : the asyndeton shows the earnestness of the speaker. —

ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ : *for our punishment, i.e. for your protection against us.* Cf. ii. 42. 17; vi. 76. 15. ἡμετέρᾳ stands for the obj. gen. — ὥς φατέ : c. 55. § 1. — 4. πολῖται : see on c. 55. 12. — οὐκοῦν κτέ.: Cl. writes οὐκ οὖν, and makes the sent. (ending with προβάλλεσθε) a question. — τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον : *only in that which pertains to us, i.e. only against us.* — 5. αὐτούς : i.e. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. — 6. ὑπάρχον γε ὑμῖν : *when it was certainly open to you, sc. μὴ ξυνεπιέναι.* ὑπάρχειν in this sense also c. 109. 20; i. 82. 26; vii. 63. 6. See on i. 124. 1. For the acc. abs., see GMT. 851; H. 973. — ἄκοντες προσήγεσθε : = ἡναγκάζεσθε, as ii. 89. 14. Cf. vi. 54. 13 βία προσαγάγεται. — 7. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶνδε : the art. preceding the dem. τῶνδε is unusual, but prob. the pron. was added with esp. reference to the judges. Kr. Spr. 50, 11, 19. — 8. ἥδη ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ : placed before ξυμμαχίας, as αὐτοῖς before κακία in c. 61. 7. ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ, as in c. 13. 18; i. 102. 19, in hostile sense, for the more usual acc. Kühn. 438, ii. d. This const. with the dat. is the rule in epic, and is freq. also in Attic



τοὶ μάλιστα προβάλλεσθε· ἱκανή γε ἦν ἡμᾶς τε ὑμῶν  
 10 ἀποτρέπειν καί, τὸ μέγιστον, ἀδεῶς παρέχειν βουλευ-  
 εσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐκόντες καὶ οὐ βιαζόμενοι ἔτι εἴλεσθε μάλ-  
 λον τὰ Ἀθηναίων. καὶ λέγετε ὡς αἰσχροὺς ἦν προδοῦναι 3  
 τοὺς εὐεργέτας· πολὺ δέ γε αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀδικώτερον τοὺς  
 πάντας Ἑλληνας καταπροδοῦναι, οἷς ξυνωμόσατε, ἢ  
 15 Ἀθηναίους μόνους, τοὺς μὲν καταδουλουμένους τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντας. καὶ οὐκ ἴσῃν αὐτοῖς 4  
 τὴν χάριν ἀνταπέδοτε οὐδὲ αἰσχύνης ἀπηλλαγμένην.  
 ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀδικούμενοι αὐτούς, ὡς φατέ, ἐπηγάγεσθε,  
 τοῖς δὲ ἀδικοῦσιν ἄλλους ξυνεργοὶ κατέστητε· καίτοι τὰς

poets.—9. προβάλλεσθε: *put forward as a cloak*. Cf. i. 37. 16; ii. 87. 14. On the matter, cf. esp. c. 58. § 1; iv. 59. § 2.—ἱκανή γε: the asyndeton is justified by the order of the words. See on c. 37. 10. St. explains, 'Particula γε sententias iungit hic et i. 40. 15; 70. 6; vi. 86. 8.' Kr. proposes, after Reiske and Va., ἢ ἱκανή γε, or ἱκανήν γε ἡμᾶς.—10. ἀποτρέπειν: as c. 39. 1, doubtless only in the mild sense of *restrain*, not *ward off*.—τὸ μέγιστον: *what is most important*. Appos. to the inf. clause. H. 626 b; Kr. Spr. 57, 10, 12. See on i. 142. 1.—παρέχειν: sc. ὑμῖν.—11. οὐ βιαζόμενοι κτέ.: in answer to c. 55. 3 ὅτε Θηβαῖοι ἡμᾶς ἐβιάσαντο.—εἴλεσθε . . . τὰ Ἀθηναίων: cf. c. 56. 23. The formula is similar to φρονεῖν τά τινος, c. 68. 17; βούλεσθαι τά τινος, vi. 50. 12.

12. καὶ λέγετε: cf. c. 55. § 3.—αἰσχροὺς, αἰσχρὸν: as in ii. 40. 4.—14. καταπροδοῦναι: κατα- with intensive force, as in c. 109. 18; i. 86. 19; iv. 10. 10; vii. 48. 26; and κατα-

δουλουμένους below.—οἷς ξυνωμόσατε: i.e. πρὸς οὓς συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσασθε. Cf. c. 64. 7, 10; i. 71. 23; ii. 72. 5; 74. 11.—15. τοὺς μὲν καταδουλουμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντας: joined chiasmatically to the preceding.—16. τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντας: as in i. 124. 19 Corinthian speakers address to the representatives of the Peloponnesian alliance the words, τοὺς νῦν δεδουλωμένους Ἑλληνας ἐλευθερώσωμεν, so here the whole Peloponnesian alliance, not merely the ἡγεμόνες, are represented as the liberators of Greece.

οὐκ ἴσῃν τὴν χάριν: the order and effect as in c. 30. 4 πολὺ τὸ ἀφύλακτον, i. 34. 10 ἐλαχίστας τὰς μεταμελείας, the pred. adj. supplying the place of an adverb.—19. τοῖς δέ: sc. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀδικοῦσιν ἄλλους being pred. Jow. takes τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν together in a general sense, *wrong-doers*, on the ground that τοῖς δέ as dem. would introduce an opposition between it and αὐτούς, while both really refer to the same persons.—καίτοι τὰς ὁμοίας κτέ.: "and indeed it

20 ὁμοίας χάριτας μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι αἰσχροὺν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μὲν ὀφειληθείσας, εἰς ἀδικίαν δὲ ἀποδιδόμενας.

64 “Δηλὸν τε ἐποιήσατε οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων 1 ἔνεκα μόνοι οὐ μὴδίσαντες, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οὐδ’ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἡμεῖς δέ, τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τὰ ναντία. καὶ νῦν ἀξιοῦτε, ἀφ’ ὧν δι’ ἐτέρους ἐγένεσθε 2

is a shame to refuse to repay favours with like favours, not however to omit the repayment of favours which, though justly due, cannot be returned without injustice.” Cf. Cic. *de Off.* i. 15. 48 non reddere bono non licet, modo id facere possit sine iniuria. — καίτοι: as in c. 39. 13; ii. 39. 19. — 20. μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι: cf. i. 41. 4. The words are to be supplied in the second clause. — μᾶλλον ἢ: as in c. 37. 12; 64. 9, completely subordinates the second member, so that αἰσχροὺν applies only to the first. — 21. ὀφειληθείσας, ἀποδιδόμενας: the change of time corresponds to the service already rendered and the still doubtful requital. The whole sentence serves to substantiate the words οὐδὲ αἰσχύνῃς ἀπηλλαγμένην (l. 17), the charge τὰς ὁμοίας χάριτας μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι being, according to the Theban speakers, applicable to the Plataeans. — εἰς ἀδικίαν: cf. c. 37. 7; ii. 40. 22.

64. You have, therefore, no right on your earlier alliance with the Hellenes to base claims which you have forfeited by later conduct, that reveals your real sentiments.

1. δηλὸν τε ἐποιήσατε κτέ.: and so you showed that not even then was it for the sake of the Hellenes that you

did not medize, but because the Athenians did not and we did, since you preferred to act with them and to oppose us. So St. and Cl., who adopt ἡμεῖς (sc. ἐμὴδίσαμεν), the reading of several of the best Mss., for ὑμεῖς, and put a comma after ἡμεῖς δέ. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 422 d οὐδ’ ἡμῖν θέμις, ὑμῖν δέ. The other editt. all retain the vulg. ὑμεῖς, which must be explained as a repetition on account of the intervening Ἀθηναῖοι. If ὑμεῖς be read, supply οὐκ ἐμὴδίσατε (Arn., Kr.), or οὐ μὴδίσαντες (Bm.). The general sense is clear, “only attachment for Athens and hatred of us are the motives of your boasted patriotism.” Cf. c. 62. § 2. — 2. μὴδίσαντες: const. with δηλὸν ἐποιήσατε. Cf. c. 84. 12; i. 21. 12; ii. 50. 4; Hdt. vi. 21. 8, and see on c. 40. 37. GMT. 904; H. 981; Kühn. 482, 2. — ὅτι οὐδ’ Ἀθηναῖοι: sc. ἐμὴδίσαν. Cf. App. *Bell. Civ.* i. 121 τὸν στρατὸν οὐ μεθλει, διότι μὴδὲ Πομπήιος. — 3. τοῖς μὲν: i.e. the Athenians. — τοῖς δέ: i.e. the Thebans.

4. ἀφ’ ὧν: this alone (= ἀπὸ τούτων ᾧ) would have been grammatically sufficient. For the epanaleptic dem., notwithstanding the assimilation, see Kr. *Spr.* 51, 11, 2; Kühn. 555, n. 1. Cf. Dem. viii. 23 καὶ περὶ ὧν φασι μέλλειν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ



5 ἀγαθοί, ἀπὸ τούτων ὠφελείσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκός· ὥσπερ  
 δὲ Ἀθηναίους εἴλεσθε, τούτοις ξυναγωνίζεσθε. καὶ μὴ  
 προφέρετε τὴν τότε γενομένην ξυνωμοσίαν ὡς χρὴ ἀπ'  
 αὐτῆς νῦν σώζεσθαι. ἀπελίπετε γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ παρα- 3  
 βάντες ξυγκατεδουλοῦσθε μᾶλλον Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους  
 10 τινὰς τῶν ξυνομοσάντων ἢ διεκωλύετε, καὶ ταῦτα οὔτε  
 ἄκοντες ἔχοντές τε τοὺς νόμους οὔσπερ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο  
 καὶ οὐδενὸς ὑμᾶς βιασαμένου, ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς. τὴν τελευ-  
 ταίαν τε πρὶν περιτειχίζεσθαι πρόκλησιν ἐς ἡσυχίαν  
 ὑμῶν, ὥστε μηδ' ἑτέροις ἀμύνειν, οὐκ ἐδέχεσθε. τίνες 4  
 15 ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι μισοῖντο,  
 οἵτινες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων κακῷ ἀνδραγαθίαν προύθεσθε;

τούτων προκατηγορούντων ἀκροᾶσθε, *ibid.*  
 26 ἀφ' ὧν... δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων διά-  
 γει. — δι' ἑτέρους: *i.e.* τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,  
 whereby the merit of ἐγένεσθε ἀγαθοί  
 is annulled. — 5. ἀπὸ τούτων: *from*  
*that source*, mockingly added to in-  
 dicate the groundlessness of the  
 claim. *Cf.* l. 7, and see on c. 36. 12;  
 48. 3. — 6. εἴλεσθε: *cf.* c. 56. 23; 63.  
 11. — τούτοις ξυναγωνίζεσθε: *continue*  
*as allies with them.* — 7. προφέρετε:  
 as the mid., c. 59. 11. As to the  
 matter, *cf.* c. 57. § 4; 58. § 1; 59. § 2.  
 — τότε: often used of a time as-  
 sumed to be well known. See on i.  
 101. 8. — ξυνωμοσίαν: of an alliance  
 also v. 83. 16. *Cf.* l. 10 and c. 63. 14.

8. ἀπελίπετε: *cf.* c. 9. 3. — 9. μάλ-  
 λον: see on c. 37. 12; 63. 20. —  
 Αἰγινήτας: *cf.* i. 105; 108; ii. 27. —  
 ἄλλους τινὰς: it cannot be certainly  
 determined who are meant. Pp.  
 thinks the Euboeans, and possibly the  
 Naxians (i. 98). — 10. ξυνομοσάντων:  
 see on c. 63. 14. — διεκωλύετε: *sc.* τὸ  
 ἑτέροις καταδουλοῦσθαι αὐτούς. — 11.

τοὺς νόμους: as in 62. 17. From this  
 it may perhaps be inferred that the  
 Plataeans even at the time of the  
 Aeginetan war had a popular form  
 of government. See Muenscher, p.  
 78 ff. — μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο: elsewhere  
 μέχρι δεῦρο. See *Kr. Spr.* 66, 1, 4. —  
 12. ὥσπερ ἡμᾶς: *cf.* c. 62. § 3, 4. —  
 τὴν τελευταίαν τε... ἀμύνειν: exactly  
 the demand made by Archidamus,  
 ii. 72. 10 (*cf.* c. 68. 6); hence ὑμῶν  
 (obj. gen.) is to be preferred to ἡμῶν  
 (of most Mss.), since the Thebans did  
 not make the proclamation.

15. οὖν: wanting in most of the  
 best Mss., but the asyndeton would  
 be harsh, and οὖν has not infreq.  
 dropped out after ἂν. — τοῖς Ἑλλησι:  
 dat. of agent with the pass., as in  
 c. 70. 4; 82. 45; 85. 10; i. 44. 7;  
 51. 3; ii. 35. 17; 41. 12; 77. 7; 101.  
 17; 102. 33; iv. 109. 10; vi. 2. 5;  
 and see Steup, *Thuk. Stud.* ii. p. 55 f.  
 G. 1186, 1187; H. 769. — 16. οἵτινες:  
 refers to ὑμῶν. *ὅστις*, esp. used in  
 reproach or praise. *Cf.* Soph. *Aj.*

καὶ ἃ μὲν ποτε χρηστοὶ ἐγένεσθε, ὡς φατέ, οὐ προσήκοντα  
νῦν ἐπεδείξατε, ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις αἰεὶ ἐβούλετο, ἐξηλέγχθη  
ἐς τὸ ἀληθές· μετὰ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἄδικον ὁδὸν ἰόντων  
20 ἐχωρήσατε.

“Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν ἡμέτερόν τε ἀκούσιον μηδισμόν 5  
καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐκούσιον ἀττικισμόν τοιαῦτα ἀποφαί-  
65 νομεν. ἃ δὲ τελευταῖά φατε ἀδικηθῆναι (παρανόμως 1  
γὰρ ἐλθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν σπονδαῖς καὶ ἱερομηνία ἐπὶ τὴν  
ὑμετέραν πόλιν), οὐ νομίζομεν οὐδ’ ἐν τούτοις ὑμῶν  
μᾶλλον ἀμαρτεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ πρὸς τε τὴν 2

1055; *El.* 587; *Ant.* 696. — ἀνδρα-  
γαθίαν: cf. c. 53. § 4; 55. § 3; 56. § 6;  
57. § 1. — προύθεσθε: *displayed*. Cf.  
viii. 85. 20. — 17. ἃ χρηστοὶ ἐγένεσθε:  
cf. c. 67. 26 ὧν πρόθυμοι γεγενήμεθα. —  
ὡς φατέ: cf. c. 54. § 3, 4. — οὐ προσ-  
ήκοντα νῦν ἐπεδείξατε: *you have now*  
*shown not to belong to you*. προσ-  
ήκων, as in c. 67. 7; ii. 61. 20; 89. 7;  
iv. 92. 35. In support of ἐπεδείξατε,  
meaning *show, prove*, St. cites Dem.  
xxi. 7 ἐὰν ἐπιδείξω Μειδίαν τουτονὶ . . .  
ὑβρικότα, Plato *Rep.* 391 e ἐπεδείξαμεν  
γὰρ πού, ὅτι ἐκ θεῶν κακὰ γίγνεσθαι  
ἀδύνατον. But Steup maintains that,  
acc. to Thuc.’s usage, this idea would  
have to be expressed either by the  
simple verb ἐδείξατε (cf. iv. 73. 8;  
v. 9. 40; 72. 10, and with ὅτι, i. 143.  
32; iv. 92. 39; vi. 77. 8; vii. 63. 21),  
or by ἀπεδείξατε, as Cl. wrote (cf. i.  
6. 23; 25. 8; ii. 62. 3). He renders  
ἐπεδείξατε, *showed afterwards*, com-  
paring ἐπικατάγεται, c. 49. 18; ἐπι-  
γνώναι, c. 57. 6; ἐπιμαθών, i. 138. 13.  
In Thuc. ἐπιδεικνύναι occurs (outside  
of the documentary v. 77. 19, where  
it means *lay before, communicate*)  
certainly only twice, vi. 46. 13; 47. 8,

meaning *exhibit, display*. In i. 26. 13  
it is a doubtful reading, meaning  
*point to*. — 19. ἐς τὸ ἀληθές: this  
adv. phrase seems to occur only here,  
though Bl. compares Isa. xlii. 3 εἰς  
ἀληθῆ. Cf. ἐς τὸ φανερόν, i. 6. 17;  
23. 26; ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές, vi. 82. 15. —  
ἄδικον ὁδὸν ἰόντων: for the acc.,  
see G. 1057. Cf. Soph. *O. R.* 67  
πολλὰς δ’ ὁδοὺς ἐλθόντα φροντίδος πλά-  
νοις. — 22. τὰ μὲν οὖν . . . ἀποφαίνο-  
μεν: cf. c. 62. 25.

65. We undertook to surprise your  
city at the call of prominent men  
among you, who wished to bring you  
back into the Boeotian alliance, where  
you naturally and rightly belonged.

1. ἃ δὲ τελευταῖά φατε κτέ.: cf. c.  
56. § 1, 2. — 2. ἱερομηνία: the sing.  
as in c. 56. 4, adopted by Cl., St.,  
Bm., following Meineke (*Hermes* iii.  
p. 364) and v. H. (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 46),  
for the pl. of all the Mss. The pl. is  
due to a slip of the pen after σπονδαῖς,  
as in v. 27. 2 αἱ ξυμμαχίαι after αἱ  
σπονδαί. Arn. thinks the pl. indicates  
that the festival lasted several days.

4. εἰ μὲν . . . ἐμαχόμεθα . . . ἐδηοῦ-  
μεν: represented as a possible case,



5 πόλιν ἐλθόντες ἐμαχόμεθα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐδηοῦμεν ὡς  
πολέμιοι, ἀδικοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ἄνδρες ὑμῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ  
χρήμασι καὶ γένει, βουλόμενοι τῆς μὲν ἔξω ξυμμαχίας  
ὑμᾶς παῦσαι, ἐς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πά-  
τρια καταστήσαι, ἐπεκαλέσαντο ἐκόντες, τί ἀδικοῦμεν;  
10 οἱ γὰρ ἄγοντες παρανομοῦσι μᾶλλον τῶν ἐπομένων.  
ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκεῖνοι, ὡς ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν, οὐθ' ἡμεῖς· πολὶ- 3  
ται δὲ ὄντες ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς καὶ πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι, τὸ  
ἐαυτῶν τεῖχος ἀνοίξαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν φιλίους,  
οὐ πολεμίους κομίσαντες, ἐβούλοντο τοὺς τε ὑμῶν χείρους

as opp. to εἰ δὲ . . . ἐπεκαλέσαντο, which introduces the real case in hypothetical form. αὐτοί, nostra sponte. Cf. iv. 60. 11. — 6. ἀδικοῦμεν: for the pf. force, see GMT. 27; Kr. Spr. 53, 1, 3. — εἰ δὲ ἄνδρες κτέ.: cf. ii. 2. § 2. — 7. τῆς ἔξω ξυμμαχίας: of the alliance with a foreign, non-Boeotian state. — 8. ἐς τὰ κοινὰ . . . καταστήσαι: cf. c. 34. 14; 59. 23; also iv. 74. 16 ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν τὰ μάλιστα κατέστησαν τὴν πόλιν, v. 81. 6 τὰ ἐν Σικυῶνι ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον κατέστησαν. — τὰ κοινὰ . . . πάτρια: τὰ πάτρια, as in c. 61. 14; 66. 3; ii. 2. 27. κοινὰ strengthens τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν. Cf. iv. 78. 19 ἀνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ. — 10. οἱ γὰρ ἄγοντες κτέ.: parody on c. 55. § 4.

11. ὡς ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν: cf. ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, iv. 60. 3. — 12. πλείω παραβαλλόμενοι: because they were the richest and most prominent. As to παραβάλλεσθαι, see on c. 14. 5, and cf. Xen. Cyrop. ii. 3. 11 οὐκ ἴσα παραβάλλεσθαι. — τὸ ἐαυτῶν τεῖχος . . . τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν: the repetition emphasizes the idea that the city belonged

to the oligarchs as much as to the demos. — 13. φιλίους, οὐ πολεμίους: so Steup (see *Qu. Thuc.* p. 34) emends the reading of the Mss. φιλίως, οὐ πολεμίως ("with friendly, not with hostile intent"). His grounds are, viz.: not only does κομίσαντες require an obj., but it was necessary to be said here of those admitted into the city, that they were not enemies of Plataea; for it was an important point in this attempt to justify the action of the boeotizing Plataeans that at the time under consideration a state of hostilities did not exist between Thebes and Plataea. Besides, the terms used cannot be applied to the relations of citizens to their own state. Since the reference is to persons, φίλους, it is true, not φιλίους, was to be expected, acc. to Thuc.'s usage; but in c. 58. 22 ἐν γῇ τε φίλα καὶ παρ' ἀνδράσι τοιοῦτοis, it is generally agreed that τοιοῦτοis represents φίλοις. Hude (*Comm. Crit.* p. 108), who adopts Steup's conjecture, cites also Plato *Symp.* 221 b; Dem. xxiii. 56. — 14. κομίσαντες: as in viii. 57.

15 μηκέτι μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, τοὺς τε ἀμείνους τὰ ἄξια ἔχειν, σωφρονιστὰὶ ὄντες τῆς γνώμης καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ξυγγένειαν οἰκειοῦντες, ἐχθροὺς οὐδενὶ καθιστάντες, ἅπασι δ' ὁμοίως ἐνσπόνδους.

66 “Τεκμήριον δὲ ὡς οὐ πολεμίως ἐπράσσομεν · οὔτε 1 γὰρ ἡδίκησαμεν οὐδένα, προείπομέν τε τὸν βουλόμενον κατὰ τὰ πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια πολιτεύειν ἰέναι

3. — τοὺς ὑμῶν χείρους : part. gen. in attrib. position. G. 965 ; H. 730 d. See on c. 22. 26. — 15. μηκέτι μᾶλλον : sc. χείρους. But since the adj. is not repeated, it is the positive that is really had in mind. — 16. σωφρονιστὰι : regulators, or moderators, as in vi. 87. 11 ; viii. 48. 43. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 471 a εὐμενῶς σωφρονιοῦσιν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ κολάζοντες, οὐδ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ, σωφρονιστὰὶ ὄντες, οὐ πολέμοιοι. The intrinsic falseness of the party attitude here maintained, Thucydides doubtless intended to intimate by the unusual forms of expression. — τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῦντες : chiastically arranged with reference to the preceding. τὰ σώματα, *their persons*, is here contrasted with ἡ γνώμη, as in i. 70. 19. ἀλλοτριοῦντες, *depriving*, chosen prob. on acc. of the antithesis to οἰκειοῦντες (cf. c. 13. 22 ; i. 36. 10 ; 70. 19 ; 78. 2), the natural expression being τὴν πόλιν τῶν σωμάτων ἀποστεροῦντες. Kühn. 421, 3. Abresch compares Sirach xi. 35 ἀπαλλοτριώσει σε τῶν ἰδίων σου. — 17. ἐς τὴν ξυγγένειαν οἰκειοῦντες : “bringing them back into a natural union with their own kindred.” Cf. l. 8 above, ἐς τὰ κοινὰ . . . πάτρια κατα-

στήσαι. — 18. καθιστάντες : sc. ὑμᾶς. But Steup objects that, as the Plataeans were already ἅπασιν ἐνσπονδοί, ἐχθροὺς οὐδενὶ must refer to the Thebans admitted into the city, and would understand ἐς τὴν πόλιν with καθιστάντες (cf. iv. 78. 35 ; 103. 16).

66. You, however, when you discovered how small was the number of the Thebans, treacherously and cruelly took vengeance on them ; so that even for this alone you deserve punishment.

1. τεκμήριον δὲ . . . γάρ : as in ii. 15. 19 ; 39. 10 ; without γάρ in ii. 50. 7. See on i. 8. 3. — ὡς οὐ πολεμίως ἐπράσσομεν : bracketed by St. and v. H., following Meineke (*Hermes* iii. p. 365), on the ground that τεκμήριον refers to what immediately precedes, ἐχθροὺς οὐδενὶ καθιστάντες, ἅπασι δ' ὁμοίως ἐνσπόνδους. But there the reference is to the attitude of the traitorous party in Plataea, here to the Thebans again, esp. to the idea expressed in c. 65. 4 εἰ μὲν . . . πολέμοιοι. Besides, the sent. οὔτε γὰρ ἡδίκησαμεν κτέ. would not answer for a proof of the concluding words of c. 65 ἐχθροὺς . . . ἐνσπόνδους. — οὔτε γὰρ κτέ. : cf. ii. 2. — 3. τὰ πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια : Hude (*Comm. Crit.* p.



πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄσμενοι χωρήσαντες καὶ ξύμβασιν 2  
 5 ποιησάμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχάζετε, ὕστερον δὲ κατα-  
 νοήσαντες ἡμᾶς ὀλίγους ὄντας, εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἐδοκοῦμέν  
 τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον πράξαι οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ὑμῶν  
 ἐσελθόντες, τὰ μὲν ὁμοῖα οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ἡμῖν, μήτε  
 νεωτερίσαι ἔργῳ, λόγοις τε πείθειν ὥστε ἐξελθεῖν, ἐπι-  
 10 θέμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν οὓς μὲν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπε-  
 κτείνατε, οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀλγοῦμεν (κατὰ νόμον γὰρ δὴ τινα  
 ἔπασχον), οὓς δὲ χεῖρας προῖσχομένους καὶ ζωγρήσαντες

108) would insert (with Laur.) τῶν before πάντων, as in c. 65. 8; ii. 2. 27; Cf. also οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες, c. 63. 13; iv. 78. 11; τοὺς ἅπαντας Μυτιληναίους, c. 36. 6; τοὺς ἅπαντας Μεγαρέας, iv. 68. 7. But against these, cf. βοηθείας γενομένης πάντων Βοιωτῶν, iv. 89. 11; ξυμπάντων Σικελιωτῶν, vi. 18. 28; Ἀκαρνανᾶσι πᾶσιν, c. 94. 6.—κατὰ . . . πολιτεύειν: see on c. 62. 8.

4. χωρήσαντες: sc. πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Cf. ii. 3. 5 πρὸς ξύμβασιν ἐχώρησαν.—5. κατανοήσαντες κτέ.: cf. ii. 3. § 2.—6. εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἐδοκοῦμεν . . . πράξαι: i.e. εἰ ἐκρίνετε ἡμᾶς πράξαι, to which corresponds the apod. οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ἡμῖν κτέ. For εἰ ἄρα, if possibly, see on c. 56. 15.—7. ἀνεπιεικέστερον: found elsewhere only in late writers, like Dio C. and Arrian.—οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους: without the consent of the majority. οὐ μετὰ (cf. μὴ μετὰ νόμων, c. 62. 16) = ἀνευ, as in i. 98. 5; 128. 11, etc. Kühn. 515, n. 2.—8. μήτε νεωτερίσαι . . . πείθειν: explanatory of ὁμοῖα. The pres. inf., πείθειν, is necessary to indicate the attempt to persuade—not πείσαι (one Ms.) or πείσειν (all the rest). νεωτερίσαι, resort to violence, as in c. 79. 3;

ii. 3. 7.—9. ὥστε: see on c. 31. 10.—ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ κτέ.: antithesis to τὰ μὲν ὁμοῖα οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ἡμῖν. Instead of simply stating the facts, the speakers express also their judgment of them, and an involved const. results. A more natural const. would have been ἐπέθεσθε δὲ παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν ἐν ᾧ οὓς μὲν κτέ. (St.), or ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν τοὺς μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπεκτείνατε, τοὺς δὲ χεῖρας προῖσχομένους . . . διεφθείρατε (Steup). Kr. thinks the rel. sents. are respectively the objs. of ἀλγοῦμεν and εἵργασθε, comparing for ἀλγεῖν the const. ἀλγεῖν πάθος. But it seems better, with Bm., to supply περὶ τούτων from οὓς μὲν, or, with Cl., to consider that both the rel. clauses hold rather the relation of loosely connected protases, “as to those whom, etc.”—10. ἐν χερσὶν: in battle, i.e. with arms in their hands. The phrase is here applied to the combatants, as in iv. 96. 14; 113. 6; v. 72. 10; vii. 5. 6; to the combat (*hand to hand*), iv. 43. 8, 14; vi. 70. 1.—12. χεῖρας προῖσχομένους κτέ.: the three grounds on which the Thebans base the guilt of the Plataeans are expressed by three

ὑποσχόμενοί τε ἡμῖν ὕστερον μὴ κτενεῖν παρανόμως  
 διεφθείρατε, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ εἴργασθε; κἀνταῦθα τρεῖς 3  
 15 ἀδικίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πράξαντες, τήν τε λυθείσαν ὁμολογίαν  
 καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν ὕστερον θάνατον καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐ-  
 τῶν ἡμῖν μὴ κτείνειν ψευσθείσαν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἣν τὰ ἐν  
 τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὑμῖν μὴ ἀδικῶμεν, ὅμως φατὲ ἡμᾶς παρα-  
 νομήσαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀξιούτε μὴ ἀντιδοῦναι δίκην. οὐκ, ἣν 4

partics., the first agreeing with the obj., the two last with the subj., and these are connected by *καὶ* (Kr. *Spr.* 56, 14, 2) and *τε* (introducing third member). The Thebans ignore, of course, the contrary assertions of the Plataeans, as stated by Thuc. ii. 5. § 6. See on c. 56. 4. For the expression *χεῖρας προισχυμένους*, cf. c. 58. 12; 67. 22; and for the facts, cf. ii. 4. § 7. — *ζωγρήσαντες ὑποσχόμενοί τε*: *ζωγρήσαντες*, as opp. to *ἀπεκτείνετε*, implies the intention not to kill the captives, while *ὑποσχόμενοι* adds the express promise, which the Plataeans, it is true, deny. — 13. *ὕστερον*: Hude (*l.c.*) would put after *μὴ κτενεῖν* and const. with *διεφθείρατε*, comparing *ὕστερον θάνατον* in l. 16. But the reference to the *ὑστερος θάνατος* does not exclude, of course, the possibility of the promise having been made *ὕστερον*. — *παρανόμως*: i.e. *παρὰ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμον*. Cf. c. 67. 25.

14. *κἀνταῦθα . . . πράξαντες κτέ.*: *κἀνταῦθα* is Naber's conjecture (*Mnem. N. S.* xiv. p. 137) for *καὶ ταῦτα* of the Mss. If the common reading be retained, Cl. is prob. right in explaining *ταῦτα* as obj. of *πράξαντες* and *τρεῖς ἀδικίας* as pred., and committing these three wrongs in a short space.

But parallel expressions seem to be wanting. Besides, *ταῦτα* can refer only to the acts of the Plataeans, whereas, in the foregoing, judgments also are expressed (cf. l. 14 *πῶς οὐ δεινὰ εἴργασθε*;). Cf. c. 45. 14, where a similar slip of the copyist occurs. — 15. *τήν τε λυθείσαν ὁμολογίαν*: cf. l. 9 *ἐπιθέμενοι παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν*, and for the const. of the partic. here and in l. 17, cf. c. 53. 14 *ὁ μὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος*. — 17. *ἡμῖν*: for which Badham proposed *ἡ μὴν*, is construed with the verbal subst. *ὑπόσχεσιν*, not with *ψευσθείσαν*. Kr. *Spr.* 48, 12, 4; Kühn. 424. See on i. 63. 9; 122. 3. — *μὴ κτείνειν*: with *ὑπόσχεσιν*, as c. 58. 5 with *δωρεάν*. St. writes, with v. H. *Stud. Thuc.* p. 46, *μὴ κτενεῖν*, on the ground that everywhere else in Thuc. *ὑπισχνέσθαι* is followed by the fut. inf., though he does not consider it absolutely necessary here. See *Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 11. — *ἣν τὰ . . . ἀδικῶμεν*: cf. ii. 5. 21 *τὰ ἔξω ἔλεγον αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν*.

19. *οὐκ*: abs., as in v. 101. 1, i.e. *οὐ τοῦτο γενήσεται* (*ὑμᾶς μὴ δοῦναι δίκην*). Kr. *Spr.* 67, 13, 1. — *ἣν γε οὗτοι τὰ ὀρθὰ γινώσκωσι*: answering to c. 56. 8 *τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φανεῖσθε οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κριταὶ ὄντες*, c. 57. 2 *εἰ . . . γνώσεσθε μὴ τὰ εἰκότα*, and c. 58. 21 *μὴ ὀρθῶς*



20 γε οὔτοι τὰ ὀρθὰ γιγνώσκωσι, πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα  
κολασθήσεσθε.

67 “Καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τούτου ἔνεκα ἐπεξήλ- 1  
θομεν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς μὲν εἰδῆτε  
δικαίως αὐτῶν καταγνωσόμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι ὀσιώτερον  
τετιμωρημένοι. καὶ μὴ παλαιὰς ἀρετάς, εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ 2  
5 ἐγένετο, ἀκούοντες ἐπικλασθῆτε, ἃς χρὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀδι-  
κουμένοις ἐπικούρους εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ αἰσχρόν τι δρῶσι  
διπλασίας ζημίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων ἀμαρτάνουσι.  
μηδὲ ὀλοφυρμῷ καὶ οἴκτῳ ὠφελείσθων πατέρων τε

γνόντες. — 20. αὐτῶν: emphatic, of the matters under discussion, as often. See on i. 1. 10.

67. You judges must, therefore, be influenced neither by inopportune pity nor by misrepresentations, and inflict just punishment.

1. ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι: the speakers address themselves again to the judges. Cf. l. 24. — ταῦτα ἐπεξήλθομεν: we have gone over these things. Of statement here, as of inquiry in i. 22. 11. Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 870 μακροῦ λόγου δεῖ ταῦτ' ἐπεξελθεῖν τορῶς. — 3. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι ὀσιώτερον τετιμωρημένοι: sc. εἰδῶμεν, as grammatical consistency demands; but logically rather a pass. or intr. verb, like φαίνόμεθα, seems to be in the mind of the speaker. Kr. conjectures either ἡμᾶς . . . τετιμωρημένους, or ἡμεῖς δὲ δειξόμεν. Rauchenstein proposes (*Philol.* xxxv. p. 588 f.), ὑμεῖς μὲν φανῆτε (l. 2). Steup also thinks the fault lies in l. 2, and conjectures that the original was ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐνδηλοὶ ἦτε, which was first corrupted into ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐνδῆτε, then changed to ὑμεῖς μὲν εἰδῆτε.

The pf. τετιμωρημένοι expresses confident anticipation of the fulfillment of the wish. — 4. καὶ μὴ κτέ.: it seems best, with Pp. and Kr., to begin here a new sent., for καὶ μὴ ἐπικλασθῆτε can be appropriately taken neither as co-ord. with ἐπεξήλθομεν nor as a third clause dependent on ἵνα. After summing up the result of their previous arguments, the Theban speakers take up here the Plataean appeal for pity, continuing in μηδὲ ὀλοφυρμῷ κτέ. (l. 8). — μὴ . . . ἐπικλασθῆτε: answering to c. 59. 5. — παλαιὰς ἀρετάς: cf. c. 53. § 4; 56. § 5, 7; 57. § 2; 58. § 1. — εἴ τις ἄρα καὶ ἐγένετο: if indeed there was any. See on c. 56. 15. — 6. ἐπικούρους: pred. adj., as βοηθοί, c. 69. 2; τιμωροί, iv. 2. 12. — 7. διπλασίας ζημίας: the same idea also i. 86. 5. — οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων: i.e. ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων = οὐ προσηκόντως. Cf. c. 43. 5; i. 34. 10; 35. 7; ii. 44. 16. For the order, see on c. 57. 3.

8. ὀλοφυρμῷ: sc. ἐκείνων. — οἴκτῳ: sc. ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. — ὠφελείσθων: on the form, see App. on c. 39. 31. — πατέ-

τάφους τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐπιβοώμενοι καὶ τὴν σφετέραν  
 10 ἔρημίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀνταποφαίνομεν πολλῶ δεινό- 3  
 τερα παθοῦσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεφθαρ-  
 μένην, ὧν πατέρες οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἄγον-  
 τες ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, οἱ δὲ πρεσβῦται λελειμμένοι  
 κατ' οἰκίας ἐρήμοι πολλῶ δικαιοτέραν ὑμῶν ἱκετίαν  
 15 ποιοῦνται τούσδε τιμωρήσασθαι. οἴκτου τε ἀξιώτεροι 4  
 τυγχάνειν οἱ ἀπρεπές τι πάσχοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ  
 δὲ δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἶδε, τὰ ἐναντία ἐπίχαρτοι εἶναι. καὶ 5

ρων τε . . . ἐπιβοώμενοι κτέ.: the parti-  
 cipial clause co-ord. as third member  
 with ὀλοφυρμῷ καὶ οἴκτῳ. — 9. τάφους  
 . . . ἐπιβοώμενοι: cf. c. 59. § 2. —  
 10. ἔρημίαν: *isolation*, as in i. 71. 22.  
*Cf.* c. 57. § 4. — πολλῶ δεινότερα πα-  
 θοῦσαν: cf. c. 59. 6 ὧν πεισόμεθα δεινό-  
 τητα, 59. 17 νῦν τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν  
 παθεῖν.

11. τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων . . . διεφθαρμένην:  
*cf.* ii. 5. § 7. For the order, see on  
 c. 54. 19. ἡλικία concrete (*iuventus*),  
 like νεότης, ii. 8. 3. — 12. ὧν: referring  
 to the collective noun, ἡλικίαν. *Cf.*  
 στρατιὰν . . . οὓς, vii. 1. 9; στρατεύματι  
 . . . οἷς, vii. 75. 39. G. 1021 b; H. 629.  
 — πατέρες οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ: part. appo-  
 sition. See on c. 13. 17. — πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 . . . ἄγοντες: cf. viii. 24. 33 ἐνεχέρη-  
 σάν τινες πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἀγαγεῖν τὴν  
 πόλιν. — 13. ἐν Κορωνείᾳ: as in c. 62.  
 20, a reminder flattering to the Lace-  
 daemonians, which would increase  
 the effect intended to be produced  
 by πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἄγοντες. —  
 οἱ δὲ πρεσβῦται λελειμμένοι κατ'  
 οἰκίας ἐρήμοι: *while others left behind*  
*as desolate (sonless) old men in their*  
*homes.* κατ' οἰκίας is St.'s conjecture  
 for καὶ οἰκίαι of the Mss. Cl.'s ex-

planation of the vulg., "left behind  
 in old age and their houses desolate,"  
 would require καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι, as Kr. pro-  
 posed. Besides, the bringing together  
 here of aged fathers and desolate  
 houses, where after ὧν πατέρες only  
 the fathers should be spoken of, is  
 quite unnatural. Bm.'s explanation,  
 that οἰκίαι ἐρήμοι is a bold expression,  
 pred., just as πρεσβῦται, το πατέρες,  
 "left behind as old men and as  
 desolate households," lacks the sup-  
 port of sure parallels for such an  
 expression. — 14. ὑμῶν: obj. gen. to  
 ἱκετίαν. *Cf.* c. 59. 13, 29.

16. ἀπρεπές τι: cf. c. 57. 6. — οἱ δὲ  
 δικαίως: *sc.* πάσχοντές τι. — 17. τὰ  
 ἐναντία: adv., as in vi. 79. 15, and in  
 the sing. iv. 86. 6; vii. 87. 5. — ἐπί-  
 χαρτοι εἶναι: *sc.* ἀξιοί εἰσι, from ἀξιώ-  
 τεροι. ἐπίχαρτοι, *objects of rejoicing*,  
*i.e.* those over whose sufferings men  
 may rejoice. *Cf.* Aesch. *Prom.* 164  
 ἐχθροῖς ἐπίχαρτα πέπονθα, Dem. xlv.  
 85 μὴ ὑπερίδητέ με καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας  
 δι' ἔνδειαν τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ δούλοις τούτου  
 κόλαξιν ἐπίχαρτον γενόμενον, Solomon,  
*Prov.* xi. 3 ἐπίχαρτος ἀσεβῶν ἀπώλεια.  
*Cf.* also Aesch. *Agam.* 722; Soph.  
*Trach.* 1262. ἐπιχαλεῖν also generally



τὴν νῦν ἐρημίαν δι' ἑαυτοὺς ἔχουσι· τοὺς γὰρ ἀμείνους  
 ξυμμάχους ἐκόντες ἀπεώσαντο. παρενόμησάν τε οὐ προ-  
 20 παθόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν, μίσει δὲ πλέον ἢ δίκη κρίναντες.  
 καὶ † οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες νῦν τὴν ἴσιν τιμωρίαν· ἔννομα  
 γὰρ πείσονται καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκ μάχης χεῖρας προῖσχόμενοι,  
 ὥσπερ φασίν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως ἐς δίκην σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 παραδόντες. ἀμύνατε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τῷ 6  
 25 τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ ὑπὸ τῶνδε παραβαθέντι, καὶ ἡμῖν  
 ἄνομα παθοῦσιν ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δικαίαν ὧν πρόθυμοι  
 γεγενήμεθα, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶνδε λόγοις περιωσθῶμεν ἐν  
 ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων

has this sense. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 961; *Ar. Pax*, 1015; *Dem.* ix. 61; xxi. 134. Cf. also *ἐπίχαρις*, *Aesch. Sept.* 910, and *ἐπίχαρμα*, *Eur. H. F.* 459; *Phoen.* 1555; *Theocr.* ii. 20.

18. τὴν νῦν ἐρημίαν: see on l. 9. — 19. παρενόμησαν: on the reading, see App. — 20. πλέον ἢ: as in c. 12. 6; ii. 89. 21; v. 9. 18 = μάλλον ἢ. *Kr. Spr.* 49, 2, 5. — 21. οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες . . . τιμωρίαν: on the reading, see App. — 22. οὐχί: see on c. 53. 19. — 23. ὥσπερ φασίν: cf. c. 58. § 3. — ἀπὸ ξυμβάσεως . . . παραδόντες: cf. c. 52. § 1, 2; 53. § 1.

24. ἀμύνατε κτέ.: a slight anacoluthon. The first καὶ anticipates a second obj. corresponding to τῷ . . . νόμῳ, but the introduction of the new verb ἀνταπόδοτε changes the const. For similar irregularity of const., cf. c. 71. 2; iv. 105. 2; v. 88. 3, and see on ii. 46. 1. For similar irregularity after τε, see on c. 94. 17; i. 16. 2. — τῷ . . . νόμῳ . . . παραβαθέντι: cf. c. 66. § 2, 3; 67. § 5. For the expression ἀμύνατε τῷ νόμῳ, cf. *Eur. Or.* 523 ἀμυνῶ,

ὅσονπερ δυνατός εἰμι, τῷ νόμῳ. βοηθεῖν is so used *Plato Apol.* 32 e; *Aeschin.* i. 33. — 26. ὧν πρόθυμοι γεγενήμεθα: referring to the service rendered at Coronea. Both πρόθυμοι and περιωσθῶμεν in parody of c. 57. 17, 18. — 27. μὴ . . . περιωσθῶμεν ἐν ὑμῖν: let us not be repulsed by you on account of their words. See on c. 57. 17. ἐν ὑμῖν seems to be used with reference to c. 57. 14. — 28. ποιήσατε . . . παράδειγμα . . . προθήσοντες: show that you will institute (set forth) contests not of words, but of deeds. Cf. *Gorg. Palam.* 34 ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ μὴ τοῖς λόγοις μάλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. For the const., see on c. 40. 37. The art. is not pleonastic, the sense being, "the contests that you will set forth, you will set forth not of words, but of deeds." (Bl.) ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες as στέφανον προτιθείσα, ii. 46. 4. The reference is to the oratorical gymnastics to which Cleon alludes in c. 37. § 4; 38. § 3, 4. Cf. *Isoc.* iv. 45 παρ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν ἀγῶνας ἰδεῖν μὴ μόνον τάχους καὶ ῥώμης, ἀλλὰ

τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσονται ἀλλ' ἔργων, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν  
 30 ὄντων βραχεῖα ἢ ἀπαγγελία ἀρκεῖ, ἀμαρτανομένων δὲ  
 λόγοι ἔπεσι κοσμηθέντες προκαλύμματα γίνονται. ἀλλ' 7  
 ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς, κεφαλαιώσαντες πρὸς  
 τοὺς ξύμπαντας διαγνώμας ποιήσθηθε, ἥσσόν τις ἐπ'  
 ἀδίκους ἔργοις λόγους καλοὺς ζητήσῃ."

καὶ λόγων καὶ γνώμης, and Dem. xviii. 226 ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα.—29. ὧν: with the appos. partics. ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων and ἀμαρτανομένων δέ, dependent on ἢ ἀπαγγελία and προκαλύμματα. Cf. ii. 65. 28 ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν . . . ὠφέλεια ἦν, σφαλέντα δὲ . . . βλάβη καθίστατο.—30. βραχεῖα: in pred. position, "though it be short." See on c. 63. 16. The speakers once more (cf. c. 61. 2) hint reprovingly at the length of the speech of the Plataeans.—ἀμαρτανομένων: pass., as in ii. 65. 45; vii. 18. 25; the act. ἀμαρτάνειν τι in i. 38. 13; 39. 7; iv. 114. 26. G. 1240; H. 819 c; Kühn. 378, 10. Cf. Plato *Prot.* 357 e ἡ ἐξαμαρτανομένη πρᾶξις, Xen. *Anab.* v. 8. 20 μικρὰ ἀμαρτηθέντα. For the pres. approaching the force of the pf., cf. c. 54. 9, and see GMT. 27; Kr. *Spr.* 53, 1, 3.—31. λόγοι ἔπεσι κοσμηθέντες: speeches adorned with fine sentiments. Cf. ii. 41. 14, and Plato *Apol.* 17 b κεκαλλιεπημένους λόγους . . . ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν.—προκαλύμματα: cf. Luc. *Pseudol.* 31 προκάλυμμα τῆς βδελυρίας, de Merc. *Cond.* 5 προκάλυμμα τῆς αὐτομολίας, Dion. H. *Ant.* vi. 77 προκάλυμμα τῆς ἀπάτης. With the sentiment of the passage, cf. Sall. *Jug.* 85. 31 ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, ut turpia facta oratione tegant.

ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἡγεμόνες . . . ζητήσῃ: "but if leaders, as now you, sum up in a short question and make decisions that apply to all, men will strive less with fair words to justify wrong deeds." The verb ποιήσθηθε is construed with ὑμεῖς instead of ἡγεμόνες. For similar const., cf. i. 82. 9; Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 1. 3; Dem. iv. 2.—32. κεφαλαιώσαντες: the reference is to the βραχὺ ἐπερώτημα of c. 52. § 4.—πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας: Cl., who construes these words with διαγνώμας ποιήσθηθε, explains, "as a warning example to all." Jow. thinks the reference is to the question being asked of all the captives without distinction. Steup thinks best to connect πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας with κεφαλαιώσαντες, comparing i. 36. 14 βραχυτάτῳ κεφαλαιῷ τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, which he renders, "with a very short summary for all as well as for each." In that case the meaning would be, "having settled the main point (here the βραχὺ ἐπερώτημα) with reference to the interests of all the members of the alliance." H. Weil (*Revue de Philol.* N. S. ii. p. 91 f.) would emend the passage so as to read, κεφαλαιώσαντες πρὸς τὸ ξύμπαν τὰς διαγνώμας ποιήσθηθε, and this is adopted by v. H.—33. διαγνώμας ποιήσθηθε: cf. c. 36. 4 περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἐποι-



68 Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἶπον. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμό- 1  
νιοι δικασταὶ νομίζοντες τὸ ἐπερώτημα σφίσιν ὀρθῶς  
ἔξειν, εἴ τι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν πεπόνθασι,  
διότι τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἡξίουν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ  
5 τὰς παλαιὰς Πανσανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἦσυ-  
χάζειν καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον [ἀ] πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προεί-

οῦντο. For διαγνώμας, see on c. 42. 1.  
—ἐπ' ἀδίκοις ἔργοις : ἐπὶ with dat. of  
conditioning circumstances, similar  
to ἐπὶ φανεροῖς, i. 69. 9 ; ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς,  
i. 70. 10.

68. In accordance with the decision  
of the Lacedaemonian judges, the Pla-  
taean and Athenian captives are put  
to death, the women enslaved, the city  
razed to the ground, and the lands  
leased to the Thebans.

1. τοσαῦτα δέ : see on c. 49. 1. —  
2. σφίσιν ὀρθῶς ἔξειν : the emphatic  
position of σφίσιν indicates the effort  
of the Lacedaemonians to put their  
cruel decision in as fair a light as  
possible. "The question whether  
they have received any good at the  
hands of the Plataeans in the war  
would be in order for them." — 4.  
διότι . . . κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο  
. . . πεπονθέναι : these words should  
express the ground of the confidence  
of the Lacedaemonians in the justice  
of their question, but the traditional  
reading cannot be construed. The  
simplest remedy is, with Heilmann,  
Cl., St., Bm., and others, to bracket ἀ  
in l. 6. The sense then is : "Because  
they not only at all other times  
had, forsooth, urged the Plataeans to  
neutrality according to the ancient  
agreements with Pausanias after the  
Persian wars, but especially when  
afterwards before the circumvalla-

tion they had proposed to them to  
be neutral according to those agree-  
ments, since the Plataeans did not  
accept (the proposals), considering  
that by their own just demand  
they themselves were now ἐκσπονδοί  
(i.e. released from treaty obligations)  
and had been wronged by the Pla-  
taeans." With the view here taken  
of the relation of ἡγούμενοι to the  
preceding (i.e. that ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο,  
ἡγούμενοι . . . κακῶς πεπονθέναι is an  
exegetical explanation of νομίζοντες  
. . . διότι κτέ.), any emendation of ὥς  
οὐκ ἐδέξαντο is perhaps unnecessary.  
Cl. and Bm. follow St. (*Jahrbb.* 1868,  
p. 111) in inserting δ' (ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐδέ-  
ξαντο). Küppers (*Curiae Crit.* p. 12  
sq.) proposes καὶ ὥς. The simplest  
change would be οὐδ' ὥς (v. 55. 11 ;  
115. 6). For possible interpretations  
of the text as it stands, see Jow. —  
4. τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἡξίουν κτέ. :  
cf. the words of Archidamus ii. 72. 9  
ἅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἤδη προκαλε-  
σάμεθα, ἡσυχίαν ἀγετε κτέ. — ἡξίουν  
αὐτοὺς ἡσυχάζειν : belongs to both  
τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον and καὶ ὅτε ὕστε-  
ρον κτέ. — δῆθεν : ironical, indicating  
Thuc.'s doubt of the sincerity of the  
admonitions here mentioned. — 5.  
Πανσανίου : cf. ii. 71. § 2 ff. ; 72. § 1.  
— μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον : i.e. μετὰ τὰ Μη-  
δικά. — 6. ὅτε ὕστερον κτέ. : refers to  
the demand of Archidamus (c. 64. 13 ;

χοντο αὐτοῖς κοινούς εἶναι κατ' ἐκείνα, ὥς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο,  
 ἡγούμενοι τῇ ἐαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἔκσπονδοι ἤδη ὑπ'  
 αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθέναι, αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸ ἓνα ἕκαστον  
 10 παραγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτῶντες, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ  
 τοὺς συμμαχούς ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδρακότες εἰσίν,  
 ὅποτε μὴ φαῖεν, ἀπάγοντες ἀπέκτεινον, καὶ ἐξαίρετον  
 ἐποίησαντο οὐδένα. διέφθειραν δὲ Πλαταιῶν μὲν αὐτῶν 2  
 οὐκ ἐλάσσους διακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν,  
 15 οἳ ξυνεπολιορκοῦντο · γυναῖκας δὲ ἡνδραπόδισαν. τὴν 3

ii. 72. 10). — προείχοντο : as i. 140.  
 24. Schol. προεβάλλοντο. — 7. κοινούς :  
*neutral*, as in c. 53. 8. — κατ' ἐκείνα :  
*i.e.* κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς σπονδὰς. — 8.  
 βουλήσει : as the word occurs no-  
 where else in Thuc. in the sense of  
*demand*, it may be better to render  
 it by *intention* (*voluntas*), as Bl.  
 does. Cf. v. 105. 4. Arn. considers  
 the text (τῇ ἐαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει) to  
 be either corrupt or else a scholium.  
 St. proposes τῇ ἐαυτῶν δικαιώσει, of  
 which he thinks τῇ δικαίᾳ βουλήσει  
 was prob. a gloss. Cf. i. 141. 6 ; iv.  
 86. 21 ; v. 17. 11. Rauchenstein  
 (*Philol.* xxxv. p. 589) suggests τῇ  
 αὐτῶν δικαιώσει. — ἔκσπονδοι ἤδη : cf.  
 ii. 74. § 3. These words contain the  
 main point of the whole sentence.  
 The result of Plataean obstinacy is  
 at the same time the excuse for the  
 Lacedaemonians not sparing them.  
 — 9. ἓνα ἕκαστον παραγαγόντες καὶ :  
 inserted between τὸ αὐτό and ἐρω-  
 τῶντες. For similar breaks in the  
 const., Cl. compares ii. 4. 20 ; ii. 9,  
 and Bm. vi. 68. 17. But Steup, who  
 objects that none of these is exactly  
 parallel, and the first not above sus-  
 picion, thinks that καὶ is possibly to

be bracketed, with Reiske and v. H.—  
 10. παραγαγόντες : *bringing forward*.  
 Cf. v. 45. 19 ; 46. 34 ; viii. 53. 13 ;  
 Dem. xviii. 170 ; xxvi. 17. — 12. ὅποτε  
 μὴ φαῖεν : *when they answered 'no.'*  
 μὴ φάναι, as in viii. 53. 19. For the  
 opt. of general cond., see GMT. 532 ;  
 H. 914, B 2. — καὶ ἐξαίρετον ἐποίη-  
 σαντο οὐδένα : cf. ii. 24. 5, 10.

13. Πλαταιῶν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσ-  
 σους διακοσίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πέντε  
 καὶ εἴκοσιν : originally 400 Plataeans  
 and 80 Athenians were besieged (ii.  
 78. § 3). Of these 480 defenders, 212  
 escaped in the sortie (c. 24. 11), and  
 one was captured (c. 24. 13). Since  
 now, acc. to the present passage, not  
 less than 225 were killed after the sur-  
 render, about 42 must have perished  
 during the siege, the most of these  
 prob. before the sortie, for in c. 20.  
 § 2 the Plataeans and Athenians who  
 attempt to break out are represented  
 as ἐς ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ εἴκοσι μά-  
 λιστα, and also as the half of the  
 beleaguered men still surviving. —  
 15. ξυνεπολιορκοῦντο : *impf.*, from  
 the beginning of the siege till this  
 time. Kr. *Spr.* 53, 2, 8. Hence Mei-  
 neke's conjecture, ξυνεπεπολιόρκητο,



δὲ πόλιν ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν τινα [Θηβαῖοι] Μεγαρέων ἀνδράσι κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεπτωκόσι καὶ ὅσοι τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντες Πλαταιῶν περιῆσαν ἔδοσαν ἐνοικεῖν· ὕστερον δὲ καθελόντες αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων ὠκοδόμησαν πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταγώγιον διακοσίων

is unnecessary. — **γυναῖκας** : *i.e.* those remaining of the 110, who had stayed as *σιτοποιοί* in the city (ii. 78. 13). Müller-Strübing (*Aristoph. etc.* p. 44 f. and *Thuk. Forsch.* p. 138 ff.) objected to the words *γυναῖκας δὲ ἡνδραπόδισαν*, because the women in question were already slaves and not now first made so. But as v. Velsen replied (*Philol. Anz.* vii. p. 372), *ἡνδραπόδισαν* is only the antithesis to *ἀπέκτεινον* (*cf.* c. 28. 9, 10 ; 36. 6, 8), and it makes no difference whether the captured women were slaves before or not. Indeed, *ἀνδραποδίζειν* may be rendered here, with St. (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1882, p. 99), “to sell as prisoners of war.” That the women were slaves before, a view held already by Grote, is now generally accepted, and seems to be supported by ii. 78. § 4, where, after giving the number of the defendants and of the *σιτοποιοί*, Thuc. says, *τοσοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ ξύμπαντες ὅτε ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτε ἐλεύθερος*. But even if the women were only slaves, a remark about their fate was still by no means superfluous, as Müller-Strübing asserts. — 16. **τινα** : “about,” with the definite period of time *ἐνιαυτόν*, as elsewhere with numbers. Kr. *Spr.* 51, 16, 4. *Cf.* c. 111. 7 ; vii. 34. 19 ; 87. 15 ; viii. 21. 4. — [Θηβαῖοι] : St.,

Bm., and v. H. rightly follow Cl. in bracketing this word, for it seems clear from the context that the general subj. down to *ἀπεμίσθωσαν* inclusive is the Lacedaemonian leaders. See App. — 17. **κατὰ στάσιν** : *in consequence of a sedition*. See on c. 2. 10. — **ἐκπεπτωκόσι** : *cf.* iv. 66. § 1 ff. ; 74. § 2. — **τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντες** : *cf.* v. 84. 3 ; vi. 51. 7 ; viii. 31. 7. — 19. **ἐς ἔδαφος** : also iv. 109. 2 ; here strengthened by *ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων*, funditus. So Cl. explains, with most editors. *Cf.* Procop. *de Aedif.* p. 12 d *καθεῖλε μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων*, Jos. *Ant.* 174, 29 *ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασπᾶν θεμελίων καὶ μηδὲ ἔδαφος καταλιπεῖν*. But Steup follows St. in connecting *ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων* with *ὠκοδόμησαν*, *built out of the foundation-stones* (of the ruined houses). *Cf.* i. 93. 3. — 20. **πρὸς τῷ Ἡραίῳ** : *cf.* Hdt. ix. 52. 9 ; Plut. *Aristid.* 18 ; Paus. ix. 2. 7. The temples must have been left standing, and served doubtless as a starting-point for the rebuilding after the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). — **καταγώγιον** : *i.e.* a *πανδοκεῖον* for the accommodation of those who came to worship at the temple. This building, as well as the *νεὼς ἐκατόμπος* mentioned below, was evidently meant to propitiate the patron goddess of the land. Concerning such inns connected with temples, see

ποδῶν πανταχῇ, κύκλῳ οἰκήματα ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνω-  
 θεν, καὶ ὀροφαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι τοῖς τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐχρή-  
 σαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἃ ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἔπιπλα, χαλκὸς  
 καὶ σίδηρος, κλῖνας κατασκευάσαντες ἀνέθεσαν τῇ Ἡρᾷ,  
 25 καὶ νεὼν ἑκατόμποδον λίθινον ὠκοδόμησαν αὐτῇ. τὴν  
 δὲ γῆν δημοσιώσαντες ἀπεμίσθωσαν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη, καὶ  
 ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι. σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν περὶ Πλα- 4  
 ταιῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὕτως ἀποτετραμμένοι ἐγένοντο  
 Θηβαίων ἔνεκα, νομίζοντες ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς ἄρτι  
 30 τότε καθιστάμενον ὠφελίμους εἶναι.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ 5

Becker, *Charicles* (ed. Göll), ii. p. 5 f.

— 21. πανταχῇ: *on every side*, doubtless more prop. connected with διακοσίων ποδῶν, 200 feet square, than with κύκλῳ, though in vii. 79. 19 it is joined with κύκλῳ. — κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν: *i.e.* κάτω καὶ ἄνω. The designation has reference to the starting-point. See on ii. 102. 14. — 22. ὀροφαῖς καὶ θυρώμασι: including all the woodwork of the buildings. — 23. τοῖς ἄλλοις: connect with κατασκευάσαντες. — ἔπιπλα, χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος: *i.e.* everything of metal found within the ruined city (ἐν τῷ τείχει, *cf.* ii. 78. 15) that could be applied to any use. — 24. κλῖνας: *couches* for the καταγώγιον. — 27. ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι: the Thebans leased (ἐμισθώσαντο) and used the land. νέμεσθαι refers to occupation of the soil in any way. *Cf.* i. 2. 6. See App. on Θηβαῖοι, l. 16.

σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν: *pretty nearly or altogether*. σχεδὸν τι, as in v. 66. 16; vii. 33. 6. *Kr. Spr.* 51, 16, 5. For τὸ ξύμπαν, see *Kr. Spr.* 46, 3,

3. The advantage conceded to the Thebans in the usufruct of the Plataean territory induces the general remark, that in their whole conduct toward the Plataeans the Lacedaemonians were determined by regard for the Thebans, Θηβαίων ἔνεκα, on which the stress of the sent. rests. — 28. ἀποτετραμμένοι ἐγένοντο: this periphrasis is unusual in good prose. *Kr. Di.* 56, 1, 5. — 29. ἄρτι τότε καθιστάμενον: see on c. 3. 2. — 30. ὠφελίμους εἶναι: *cf.* c. 62. § 5.

31. ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ: *i.e.* 520 or 519 B.C. *Cf.* c. 55. 3. Grote (chap. 31) charges Thuc. with error, on the strength of Hdt. vi. 108, and thinks that the alliance of Plataea with Athens could not have been formed before the expulsion of Hippias in 510 B.C. But see, *per contra*; Curtius, *Gr. Gesch.* i.<sup>6</sup> p. 678, n. 165. It does not seem necessary to assume here, with Gutschmid and others (see Busolt, *Die Laked.* i. p. 307, n. 49, and *Gr. Gesch.* i. p. 609, n. 3), even a slip of the copyist for



ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν ·  
 69 αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίοις 1  
 βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι, ὥς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους  
 ἐκ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ  
 χειμασθεῖσαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σποράδες πρὸς τὴν Πελο-  
 5 πόννησον κατηνέχθησαν, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῇ Κυλ-  
 λήνῃ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα τριήρεις Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀμπρα-  
 κιωτῶν καὶ Βρασίδαν τὸν Τέλλιδος, ξύμβουλον Ἀλκίδα  
 ἐπεληλυθότα. ἐβούλοντο γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς τῆς 2  
 Λέσβου ἡμαρτήκεσαν, πλεόν τὸ ναυτικὸν ποιήσαντες ἐς

τρίτῳ καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῷ. — 32. ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο : cf. ii. 73. 10 ἀφ' οὗ ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα. — ἐπειδὴ : after. Cf. c. 70. 1 ; i. 6. 9, 20 ; viii. 68. 27.

69. Alcidas and Brasidas join in an expedition against Coreyra.

1. αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες κτέ. : the account of the fleet of Alcidas, interrupted at c. 33. § 1, is here resumed. For the number of ships, see on c. 26. 2. — Λεσβίοις βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι : const. as in i. 53. 14. See on c. 67. 6. — 2. τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους : i.e. in a southwesterly direction from Ephesus. Cf. c. 33. 1. τότε is freq. used of a time assumed to be well known. See on i. 101. 8. — 3. ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων : ἐκ for ὑπό, as i. 20. 10 ; ii. 49. 1 ; vi. 36. 9 ; Plato *Theaet.* 171 b ; Xen. *Anab.* ii. 6. 1. H. 798 c ; Kühn. 430, 2, 3 c. — ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι : sc. as far as Patmos, c. 33. 13. — πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ . . . κατηνέχθησαν : σποράδες is correl. to the preceding partic. = σποράδες γενόμεναι, i.e. διασπαρῆσαι. Kühn. 491. Cf. c. 82. 6 οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδ'

ἐτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτούς, v. 64. 17 οὐ ῥάδιον ἦν μὴ ἀθρόοις καὶ ἀλλήλους περιμείνασι διελθεῖν τὴν πολεμίαν. So most of the editors explain, but Cl. and St. take σποράδες with κατηνέχθησαν, and consider καί after χειμασθεῖσαι an interpolation. — 5. καταλαμβάνουσι : without partic. (see on i. 59. 3), as in ii. 18. 17 ; 94. 19. — 5. ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ : the naval station of the Eleans (τὸ Ἡλείων ἐπινεῖον, i. 30. 9 ; ii. 84. 33). It was prob. designated as the place of rendezvous. — 7. Βρασίδαν : first mentioned ii. 25. 7, and referred to everywhere by Thuc. with marked respect as the ablest Spartan leader. — ξύμβουλον Ἀλκίδα ἐπεληλυθότα : who had arrived as adviser to Alcidas. For the const., cf. viii. 20. 7 ναύαρχος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος Ἀστίοχος ἐπ' ἤλθεν. The ξύμβουλος was a commissioner with irregular powers sent to advise the nauarch. Three ξύμβουλοι are given to the nauarch in ii. 85. 1 ; eleven in viii. 39. 7. For the ten ξύμβουλοι assigned to king Agis, see on v. 63. 15. See also on c. 42. 19.

10 τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῦσαι στασιάζουσιν, δώδεκα μὲν ναυσὶ  
μόναις παρόντων Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ναύπακτον, πρὶν δὲ  
πλέον τι ἐπιβοηθῆσαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ναυτικόν, ὅπως  
προφθάσωσι· καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ὃ τε Βρασίδης καὶ ὁ  
Ἀλκίδας πρὸς ταῦτα.

70 Οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι ἐστασίαζον, ἐπειδὴ οἱ αἰχμά- 1  
λωτοι ἦλθον αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ναυμα-  
χιῶν ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀφεθέντες, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὀκτακο-

10. δώδεκα ναυσί: cf. 75. 3; 77. 11. Twelve was the number under the command of Asopius at Naupactus (c. 7. 3). — 11. πρὶν δὲ . . . προφθά-  
σωσι: the natural const. would have been ὅπως δὲ, πρὶν . . . ναυτικόν, προ-  
φθάσωσι, but ὅπως is placed after the  
πρὶν clause, in order that the clauses  
δώδεκα μὲν . . . περὶ Ναύπακτον and  
πρὶν δὲ . . . ναυτικόν may be in direct  
antithesis. For the co-ordination of  
the different kinds of clauses, see Kr.  
Spr. 59, 2, 3. — 13. παρεσκευάζοντο:  
were making preparation. The un-  
dertaking is described in c. 76 ff. —  
14. πρὸς ταῦτα: cf. ii. 77. 4 πρὸς τὴν  
περιτείχισιν παρεσκευάζοντο.

#### HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL CON- FLICTS IN CORCYRA. c. 70-85.

70. *The bitter struggle between  
the Athenian and Corinthian parties  
in Corcyra from the beginning until  
the murder of the Athenian proxenus  
Pithias.*

1. ἐστασίαζον: cf. c. 69. 10 ἐς τὴν Κέρ-  
κυραν πλεῦσαι στασιάζουσιν. — ἐπειδὴ:  
see on c. 68. 32. — 2. ἦλθον αὐτοῖς:  
for dat. with ἐλθεῖν, see on c. 5. 12;  
39. 22; i. 13. 12. — ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἐπί-  
δαμνον ναυμαχιῶν: more accurately,

from the second of the two sea-  
fights, that at Sybota. Cf. i. 47-55.  
Acc. to i. 55. 6, the number of cap-  
tives was 250, of whom it is said  
ἐτύγχανον δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρῶ-  
τοι ὄντες τῆς πόλεως. — 3. ὑπὸ Κοριν-  
θίων ἀφεθέντες: as may be inferred  
from the context, not before the  
winter of 428-427 B.C., so that their  
captivity (ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον πολλῇ)  
must have lasted about five years.  
See App. — ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων:  
gen. of price. The ransom of each  
man would be 3½ talents, which  
seems enormous, even though the  
most of the captives were among the  
first men of the state (see above),  
and so would be, as a body of 250,  
a most valuable pledge in the hands  
of the Corinthians. Jow. thinks that  
the unusual amount is not a matter  
of much importance, as the sum was  
never meant to be paid. But Steup  
thinks that, even in a sham transac-  
tion, the demand would have to  
seem reasonable, in order not to ex-  
cite suspicion. He cites from Philip's  
letter, Dem. xii. 3, a ransom of nine  
talents for a single man, and urges  
here the importance to the Cor-  
inthians of a body of 250 Corcy-



σίῳν ταλάντων τοῖς προξένοις διηγγυημένοι, ἔργῳ δὲ  
 5 πεπεισμένοι Κορινθίοις Κέρκυραν προσποιῆσαι. καὶ  
 ἔπρασσον οὗτοι ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν μετιόντες, ὅπως  
 ἀποστήσωσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ἀφικομένης Ἀτ- 2  
 τικῆς τε νεὼς καὶ Κορινθίας πρέσβεις ἀγουσῶν καὶ ἐς  
 λόγους καταστάντων ἐψηφίσαντο Κερκυραῖοι Ἀθηναίοις  
 10 μὲν ξύμμαχοι εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα, Πελοποννησίοις  
 δὲ φίλοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ (ἦν γὰρ Πειθίας ἐθε- 3

raean captives of such prominence, referring to the advantage which the Athenians derived from the 292 Spartans captured at Sphacteria (iv. 41. § 1; 117). For the ordinary ransom, see Boeckh, p. 99 f. — 4. τοῖς προξένοις διηγγυημένοι: *bailed on the security of their proxeni*, i.e. of Corinthian citizens who were the representatives of Corcyra at Corinth. For the dat., see on c. 64. 15. As to the relation of πρόξενος, see Schoemann, *Gr. Ant.* ii. p. 25. — 5. πεπεισμένοι . . . προσποιῆσαι: cf. i. 55. 5 (οἱ Κορίνθιοι) τῶν Κερκυραίων . . . πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους δῆσαντες ἐφύλασσαν καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον πολλῇ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσειαν. — προσποιῆσαι: *to win over*, as in i. 55. 8; ii. 8. 15. — 7. ἀποστήσωσιν: subjv. after past tense of verb of striving, as in i. 57. 9. GMT. 339; H. 885 b.

ἀφικομένης: sing. before two nouns, ἀγουσῶν following them. G. 901; H. 607. Cf. i. 29. 6. — 8. ἐς λόγους καταστάντων: sc. τῶν πρέσβεων ἐκατέρων τοῖς Κερκυραίοις. — 10. ξύμμαχοι εἶναι κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα: i.e. an ἐπιμαχία, *defensive alliance*, as described i. 44. 8. — 11. ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον: i.e. as

before the conflict with Corinth and other members of the Peloponnesian alliance about Epidamnus. Cf. i. 28. 10, where Corcyraean ambassadors, warning the Corinthians against going to war about Epidamnus, remark, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν, ἐκείνων βιαζομένων, φίλους ποιεῖσθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται, ἐτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων μᾶλλον, ὠφελίας ἕνεκα. So that, although Corcyra had never belonged to the Peloponnesian alliance, she had had, before the contention about Epidamnus, not only peaceful, but even friendly, relations with the Peloponnesians. These were now to be renewed without affecting the treaty obligations of Corcyra to Athens. The whole decision was a kind of first triumph of the Corinthian party, since Corcyra's conflicts with Corinth and her allies about Epidamnus, and her participation in the ravaging of the Peloponnesian coasts in the summer of 425 B.C. (ii. 25. § 1), were disregarded, while the connexion with Athens was expressly restricted to existing conditions, ἐπιμαχία τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, ἐάν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἦ ἢ Ἀθήνας ἢ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους (i. 44. 8).

λοπρόξενός τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ δήμου προειστή-  
κει) ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐς δίκην, λέγοντες  
Ἀθηναίοις τὴν Κέρκυραν καταδουλοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἀποφυγὼν 4  
15 ἀνθυπάγει αὐτῶν τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους πέντε ἄνδρας,  
φάσκων τέμνειν χάρακας ἐκ τοῦ τε Διὸς τοῦ τεμένους  
καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου· ζημία δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην χάρακα ἐπέ-  
κειτο στατήρ. ὀφλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἴκε- 5

καὶ (ἦν γὰρ . . . προειστήκει): a causal sent. thus placed in parataxis before the main one is common in Hdt. and not rare in Thuc. For const. and punctuation, see on i. 31. 7.—Πειθίας: this name occurs in a late Corcyraean epitaph, in the form Πειθείας (C. I. G. ii. 1911). —ἐθελοπρόξενος: Schol. ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενος καὶ μὴ κελευσθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. οἱ γὰρ πρόξενοι κελευόμενοι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεως ἐγένοντο, i.e. as Boeckh (C. I. G. i. p. 731) explains, non a Corcyraeis constitutus. But Steup thinks that others prob. more correctly explain, non ab Atheniensibus declaratus. The word and the office occur only here and in the comments of the grammarians on this passage. —12. προειστήκει: i.e. προστάτης ἦν τοῦ δήμου. Cf. c. 75. 9; iv. 46. 14. —13. ὑπάγουσιν: used with and without ἐς δίκην. Cf. Hdt. vi. 136. 4; Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 12, 33; v. 4. 24. —οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες: Schol. οἱ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἐπανελθόντες. —14. καταδουλοῦν: i.e. trying to enslave. GMT. 25; H. 825.

ἀποφυγὼν: acquitted, as in c. 13. 34. —16. τέμνειν χάρακας: acc. to the remark of the grammarians (χάραξ θηλυκῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμπέλων, ἀρσενικῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸς πολιορκίαν), the χάρακες

are the stakes that support the vines. Cf. Phryn. Ecl. p. 61 ἡ χάραξ τὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου στήριγμα. See Lobeck *ad loc. cit.* Probably the more prominent citizens had the oversight and management of the temple and groves, and were now accused of having used these for their own private advantage. The pres. τέμνειν indicates that the transgression charged had been a constant practice; and this may explain the large amount of the fine, which manifestly threatened their existence. —ἐκ τοῦ τε Διὸς τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου: these were doubtless two τεμένη, as is clear both from the position of καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου and the correlation with τε . . . καί. For ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ τεμένους, cf. c. 81. 27; 96. 1; v. 47. 65. The reading of Vat. ἐκ τοῦ τε Διὸς τεμένους is prob. due to a slip of the copyist, and Cobet's conjecture ἐκ τε τοῦ Διὸς τεμένους (Mnem. N. S. viii. p. 142) is hardly to be accepted. The sites of the two τεμένη are unknown. See B. Schmidt, p. 32 f. —17. τοῦ Ἀλκίνου: the Homeric king of 'Scheria,' who was worshipped as a ἥρως. —ἐπέκειτο: here and viii. 15. 6, pf. pass. of ἐπιτιθέναι (viii. 67. 13). —18. στατήρ: whether a gold coin worth twenty drachmae, or a silver coin worth two



τῶν καθεζομένων διὰ πλῆθος τῆς ζημίας, ὅπως ταξάμε-  
 20 νοι ἀποδῶσιν, ὁ Πειθίας (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ βουλῆς ὢν)  
 πείθει ὥστε τῷ νόμῳ χρήσασθαι. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε νόμῳ  
 ἐξείργοντο καὶ ἅμα ἐπνυθάνοντο τὸν Πειθίαν, ἕως ἔτι  
 βουλῆς ἐστὶ, μέλλειν τὸ πλῆθος ἀναπείσειν τοὺς αὐτοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους φίλους τε καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομίζειν, ξυνίσταντό τε  
 25 καὶ λαβόντες ἐγχειρίδια ἐξαπιναίως ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἐσελ-  
 θόντες τὸν τε Πειθίαν κτείνουσι καὶ ἄλλους τῶν τε βουλευ-  
 τῶν καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἐς ἑξήκοντα. οἱ δέ τινες τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης

drachmae, is meant, is doubtful. The context favours the former, as otherwise too large a number of *χάρακες* must be assumed in order to bring the amount of the fine up to a sum that would make intelligible the conduct of the accused rich men. In the inscription cited by B. Schmidt, p. 71 (*C. I. A.* ii. 841), which belongs prob. to the beginning of the third century B.C., a fine of fifty drachmae is imposed, ἅν τις ληφθῇ κόπτων ἢ φέρων τι τῶν ἀπειρημένων ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

ὀφλόντων: *condemned*, as in v. 101. 3; Plato *Legg.* 754 e. — πρὸς τὰ ἱερά: cf. ii. 47. 16 πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἰκέτευσαν, and c. 81. 25 πρὸς αὐτοῖς (i.e. τοῖς ἱεροῖς) ἐκτείνοντο. — ἱκετῶν καθεζομένων: see on c. 28. 13; i. 24. 19. — 19. διὰ πλῆθος τῆς ζημίας: πλῆθος for μέγεθος, with reference perhaps to the large number of the *χάρακες*. Cf. *στρατιᾶς πλήθει*, i. 129. 17. — ταξάμενοι: *getting themselves rated*, i.e. arranging for payment by instalments. Cf. the use of *τάξις* as a technical expression for such an arrangement with creditors, Plato *Legg.* 844 b. Cf. c. 50. 10; i. 99. 11, and see B. Schmidt, p. 71 f.

— 20. καὶ βουλῆς: cf. l. 12 τοῦ δήμου προειστήκει. Both parties were represented in the βουλή. In l. 23 also βουλή occurs without the article. Cf. Dio C. xxxvi. 11 βουλῆς γεγωνῶς, Plut. *Coriol.* 30 ἀπὸ βουλῆς. — 21. πείθει ὥστε: see on c. 31. 10.

τῷ νόμῳ ἐξείργοντο: sc. τοῦ ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι. — 23. μέλλειν . . . νομίζειν: whereby the relation with Athens would be effected, which the Athenians themselves had rejected, i. 44. § 1. — 24. ξυνίσταντο: of conspirators also ii. 88. 4; v. 82. 4; viii. 65. 6. The subj. is the five *with their followers*. — 26. καὶ ἄλλους: i.e. the leaders of the democratic party. — 27. καὶ ἰδιωτῶν: perhaps partisans of Pithias, who had come to his rescue. — οἱ δέ τινες . . . ὀλίγοι: i.e. some few of the partisans of Pithias who were present in the βουλευτήριον, not of the democratic factions in general; for while most of the leaders doubtless perished at this time, the faction itself was not almost entirely destroyed. For *τινες ὀλίγοι*, cf. i. 63. 7; iv. 46. 17; 56. 7. — τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης: as in i. 113. 10; v. 46. 26. For the pred. gen., see G. 1094; H. 732;

τῷ Πειθίᾳ ὀλίγοι ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τριήρη κατέφυγον ἔτι παρ-  
 71 οὔσαν. δράσαντες δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ξυγκαλέσαντες Κερκυ- 1  
 ραίους εἶπον ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ βέλτιστα εἶη καὶ ἥκιστ' ἂν  
 δουλωθεῖεν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων, τό τε λοιπὸν μηδετέρους  
 δέχεσθαι ἄλλ' ἢ μιᾷ νηὶ ἡσυχάζοντας, τὸ δὲ πλεόν πο-  
 5 λέμιον ἡγεῖσθαι. ὥς δὲ εἶπον, καὶ ἐπικυρῶσαι ἡνάγκα-  
 σαν τὴν γνώμην. πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας εὐθύς 2  
 πρέσβεις περί τε τῶν πεπραγμένων διδάξοντας ὥς ξυν-  
 ἔφερε καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας πείσοντας μηδὲν  
 ἀνεπιτήδειον πράσσειν, ὅπως μή τις ἐπιστροφή γένηται.

Kr. Spr. 47, 6, 10. — 28. ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τριήρη: cf. l. 7.

71. The victorious oligarchs take precautions for their security.

2. ταῦτα . . . δουλωθεῖεν: ταῦτα refers to what has already happened, the murder of the democratic leaders, hence εἶη is used without ἂν of the past, but ἥκιστ' ἂν δουλωθεῖεν of the future. For the position of καὶ before βέλτιστα, see on c. 67. 24. — 3. τό τε λοιπὸν κτέ.: τε introduces a third member, of which the verbs, as expressing a proposal after εἰπεῖν, are in the inf., as ii. 13. 14. GMT. 99; H. 946 b; Kr. Spr. 55, 3, 13. — μηδετέρους δέχεσθαι ἄλλ' ἢ μιᾷ νηί: similar formulae also ii. 7. 13; vi. 52. 7. ἄλλ' ἢ, nisi, as in v. 60. 5; 80. 6; vii. 50. 23; viii. 28. 9. H. 1046, 2 c; Kr. Spr. 69, 4, 6. — 4. ἡσυχάζοντας: remaining quiet, i.e. taking neither side; to be construed with τοὺς Κερκυραίους, as a comparison with ii. 7. 13 shows. — τὸ δὲ πλεόν: any larger number. Cf. c. 108. 13; ii. 100. 26.

7. ὥς ξυνέφερε: "where their interest lay," i.e. to put matters in the

most favourable light for themselves.

— 8. τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας: i.e. those who had taken refuge first on the Attic trireme (c. 70. 28), and afterwards had fled to Athens. ἐκεῖ instead of ἐκεῖσε, because of the force of the pf. G. 1226; H. 788 b. Cf. ἐν for ἐς after pf., i. 87. 18; iv. 14. 7; vii. 71. 40; 87. 13. Kr. Spr. 68, 12, 2. — 9. ὅπως μή τις ἐπιστροφή γένηται: that vengeance may not be taken on Coreyra, i.e. by the Athenians. ἐπιστροφή (lit. animadversio, ἄμυνα Suid. s.v.) in this sense also Polyb. iv. 4. 4 καὶ κοινῆς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστροφῆς ἔφη τεύξεσθαι, xxii. 17. 7 καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι καὶ κολάσεως. It expresses the purpose of πέμπουσι πρέσβεις, not a warning μηδὲν ἀνεπιτήδειον πράσσειν. So also Kr. and Bm. explain. St. renders revolution (rerum conversio), comparing Soph. O. C. 537 ἰὼ δῆτα μυρίων γ' ἐπιστροφαὶ κακῶν, and Polyb. xxii. 13. 15 καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ καθόλου τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπιστροφήν (Ursinus's conjecture). Arn. and Jow. prefer counter-revolution.



72 ἐλθόντων δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς τε πρέσβεις ὥς νεω- 1  
 τερίζοντας ξυλλαβόντες καὶ ὅσους ἔπεισαν κατέθεντο ἐς  
 Αἴγινα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Κερκυραίων οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ 2  
 πράγματα ἐλθούσης τριήρους Κορινθίας καὶ Λακεδαιμο-  
 5 νίων πρέσβεων ἐπιτίθενται τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐνί-  
 κησαν. ἀφικομένης δὲ νυκτὸς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς τὴν ἀκρό- 3  
 πολιν καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως καταφεύγει, καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 ξυλλεγεῖς ἰδρύθη καὶ τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα εἶχον· οἱ δὲ  
 τήν τε ἀγορὰν κατέλαβον, οὔπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ᾧκουν αὐτῶν,  
 10 καὶ τὸν λιμένα τὸν πρὸς αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον.

72. The demos, attacked by the oligarchs, seizes the Acropolis and other high points, as well as the Hyllaic harbour. Their opponents take possession of the agora and the adjacent harbour.

1. ἐλθόντων: sc. τῶν πρέσβεων. For gen. abs. without expressed subj., when this can be easily supplied from the context, see on i. 2. 8. GMT. 848; H. 972 a. — 2. ὅσους ἔπεισαν: sc. of the ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότες. — κατέθεντο: see on c. 28. 14.

3. οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα: see on c. 11. 11; 28. 1. — 4. ἐλθούσης: placed first in agreement with the nearest noun, but belonging also to πρέσβεων. See on c. 70. 7. — 5. ἐπιτίθενται τῷ δήμῳ: the oligarchs thought they could not carry out their further plans without a second and greater butchery.

6. ἀφικομένης νυκτός: Kr. conjectures ἐφικομένης, acc. to analogy of ἐπιέναι, ἐφήκειν (iv. 129. 28; viii. 67. 7; 94. 1). But ἀφικνεῖσθαι can be used with νύξ, as with νόσος ii. 48. 9, and with ἀγγελία v. 64. 1; viii. 15. 1.

ἐφικνεῖσθαι is not found in Thuc. The approach of night is usually expressed by ἐπιγίγνεσθαι (c. 112. 3; iv. 25. 9; 48. 16; 125. 6). — ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν: regarding the site, see B. Schmidt, p. 27 f. — 7. τὰ μετέωρα: the higher points. Cf. c. 89. 11; iv. 44. 11; 57. 9; 112. 8; 124. 19. — 8. ἰδρύθη: of a temporary occupation also iv. 44. 11; 131. 2. — τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα: Leake (in Bloomfield's ed.), after careful investigation, concludes the Hyllaic harbour to be the now shallow bay which extends inward west of the southward projecting promontory on which the acropolis lay (now called the bay of Chalikiopulos). The harbour 'by the agora and toward the mainland' (l. 10), where the νεώριον was (c. 74. 6), Leake considers to be the modern bay of Kastrades at the northern end of the peninsula. See also J. Partsch, *die Insel Korfu*, p. 65, and B. Schmidt, p. 22 ff. — εἶχον: easy transition to the plural. Cf. i. 13. 6; 34. 5. Kühn. 359, 2. — 9. οὔπερ: where, i.e. adjacent to which. See on c. 75. 19.

73 τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἡκροβολίσαντό τε ὀλίγα καὶ ἐς τοὺς  
 ἀγροὺς περιέπεμπον ἀμφοτέροι, τοὺς δούλους παρα-  
 καλοῦντές τε καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι· καὶ τῷ  
 μὲν δήμῳ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸ πλῆθος παρεγένετο ξύμμα-  
 5 χον, τοῖς δ' ἑτέροις ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐπίκουροι ὀκτακόσιοι.  
 74 διαλιπούσης δ' ἡμέρας μάχη αὖθις γίγνεται, καὶ νικᾷ 1  
 ὁ δῆμος χωρίων τε ἰσχύι καὶ πλήθει προέχων, αἱ  
 τε γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι  
 ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κεράμῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσai  
 5 τὸν θόρυβον. γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς περὶ δείλην ὄψiαν 2  
 δείσαντες οἱ ὀλίγοι μὴ αὐτοβοεῖ ὁ δῆμος τοῦ τε νεωρίου

73. Both parties get reinforcements.

1. ἡκροβολίσαντο: of light skirmishing as a prelude to severer fighting, also iv. 34. 2; ἀκροβολισμός, vii. 25. 19, 37. — ὀλίγα: acc. neut. pl. of inner obj., approximating to an adverb. See on c. 40. 12; i. 38. 6; vii. 34. 23. — 2. τοὺς δούλους: in the case required by the nearest partic., but belonging to both. — 4. τὸ πλῆθος: the majority, as in i. 106. 8; 125. 4; iv. 96. 32; viii. 81. 4. — 5. ἐπίκουροι: see on c. 18. 3; i. 115. 18.

74. In a bitter conflict in the city itself, in which the oligarchs for their own protection set fire to all the houses about the agora, the demos is victorious.

1. διαλιπούσης: intr., of time, as in i. 112. 1. The day between the two μάχαι is the one whose events have just been described in c. 73. — 2. αἱ τε γυναῖκες κτέ.: cf. ii. 4. 5. — 3. ξυνεπελάβοντο: intr., the obj. of the common effort being implied in the context. Cf. i. 115. 9;

viii. 92. 31. — βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν κτέ.: as at Plataea, ii. 4. 7. — 4. τῷ κεράμῳ: collective, as in ii. 4. 7; iv. 48. 10. — παρὰ φύσιν: as in vi. 17. 1.

5. περὶ δείλην ὄψiαν: as in viii. 26. 1. Schol. τοῦ ἡλίου περὶ δυσμὰς ὄντος. — 6. αὐτοβοεῖ: with a sudden rush, lit. at the first cry. Cf. Liv. i. 11 primo impetu et clamore, vi. 4 primo clamore atque impetu. The word occurs also c. 113. 27; ii. 81. 21; v. 3. 9; viii. 23. 11; 62. 8; 71. 12, but is not found elsewhere except in late writers. Acc. to Marcell. Vit. 52, it is ἀρχαιότερον τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν χρόνων. Kr. quotes Bekker's Anecd. p. 214 and 465, ταχέως καὶ ἅμα τῷ πολεμικῷ ἀλαλαγμῷ. οὕτω Θουκυδίδης, παρὰ Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ κράτος. — τοῦ νεωρίου: apparently the strongest of the points occupied by the oligarchs (c. 72. § 3). The νεώρια were usually enclosed by walls. See Hermann, Gr. Ant. ii. 2, p. 277. Thuc.'s silence as to the site of this νεώριον would seem to indicate that he re-



κρατήσκειν ἐπελθὼν καὶ σφᾶς διαφθείρειν, ἐμπιπράσι  
τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὰς ξυνοικίας,  
ὅπως μὴ ἦ ἔφοδος, φειδόμενοι οὔτε οἰκείας οὔτε ἄλλο-  
10 τρίας, ὥστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπόρων κατεκαύθη καὶ  
ἡ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσε πᾶσα διαφθαρῆναι, εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπε-  
γένετο τῇ φλογὶ ἐπίφορος ἐς αὐτήν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν παυσάμενοι τῆς μάχης ὥς ἐκάτεροι ἦσαν 3  
χάσαντες τὴν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν, καὶ ἡ Κορινθία  
15 ναῦς τοῦ δήμου κεκρατηκότος ὑπεξανήγετο, καὶ τῶν ἐπι-  
κούρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον λαθόντες διεκομίσθησαν.  
75 τῇ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένη ἡμέρᾳ Νικόστρατος ὁ Διειτρέφους, 1  
Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, παραγίγνεται βοηθῶν ἐκ Ναυ-

garded a νεώριον as part of every harbour. See on c. 81. 8. — 8. τῆς ἀγορᾶς : cf. 72. 9. — τὰς ξυνοικίας : i.e. large tenement houses (=insulae at Rome). Cf. Aeschin. i. 124 ὅπου μὲν πολλοὶ μισθωσάμενοι μίαν οἴκησιν διελόμενοι ἔχουσι ξυνοικίαν καλοῦμεν, ὅπου δ' εἰς ἐνοικεῖ οἰκίαν. Also Ar. Eq. 1001; (Xen.) de Rep. Athen. i. 17. — 10. χρήματα : wares, as vi. 97. 27; vii. 24. 9; 25. 7. — 11. εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγένετο . . . ἐπίφορος : cf. ii. 77. 20 πνεῦμα εἰ ἐπεγένετο αὐτῇ ἐπίφορον. — εἰ ἐπεγένετο : si ingruisset, since ἐκινδύνευσε διαφθαρῆναι is about equiv. to διεφθάρη ἄν. See on c. 10. 20. GMT. 427 a; Kühn. 392<sup>b</sup>, 5.

13. ὥς ἐκάτεροι : utrique pro se (as ὥς ἕκαστοι, i. 3. 19), to be construed with ἡσυχάσαντες. — ἡσυχάσαντες : after they had become quiet, i.e. gone to rest again. — 14. ἐν φυλακῇ ἦσαν : cf. ii. 13. 52; iv. 55. 6. See on c. 75. 11. — ἡ Κορινθία ναῦς : cf. c. 72. 4. — 15. ὑπεξανήγετο :

slipped out to sea. The word seems to occur only here. — τῶν ἐπικούρων : cf. c. 73. 5. — 16. λαθόντες διεκομίσθησαν : cf. c. 51. 9; vii. 29. 10. GMT. 893.

75. The Athenian strategus, Nicostratus, arriving at Corcyra from Naupactus with twelve ships, makes an unsuccessful effort to effect an adjustment.

1. Νικόστρατος : mentioned as general also iv. 53. 5; 119. 10; 129. 11; v. 61. 3. — Διειτρέφους : so acc. to inscriptions, although the Mss. have Διειτρέφους. See St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 38; Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 40. — 2. παραγίγνεται βοηθῶν κτέ. : a crisis in the στάσις of the Corcyraeans is now reached, inasmuch as after this there is outside interference in the conflicts. Nicostratus prob. reached Corcyra (see App. on c. 70. 3) about the time when Alcidas arrived in Cyllene (c. 69. § 1; cf. c. 76), and Müller-Strübing is doubtless right in con-

πάκτου δώδεκα ναυσὶ καὶ Μέσσηνίων πεντάκοσίοις ὀπλί-  
 ταις · ξύμβασίν τε ἔπρασσε καὶ πείθει ὥστε ξυγχωρῆσαι  
 5 ἀλλήλοισι δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους κρίναι (οἱ  
 οὐκέτι ἔμειναν), τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οἰκεῖν σπονδὰς πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους ποιησαμένους καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὥστε τοὺς  
 αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα 2  
 πράξας ἔμελλεν ἀποπλεύσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου προ-  
 10 στάται πείθουσιν αὐτὸν πέντε μὲν ναῦς τῶν αὐτοῦ σφίσι  
 καταλιπεῖν, ὅπως ἦσσόν τι ἐν κινήσει ὦσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι,  
 ἴσας δὲ αὐτοὶ πληρώσαντες ἐκ σφῶν αὐτῶν ξυμπέμψειν.  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν ξυνεχώρησεν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κατέλεγον ἐς 3

jecturing (*N. Jahrb.* cxxxiii. p. 597), that his appearance was due to the news of the murder of Pithias (c. 70. 26), and that this intelligence was the occasion also of the voyage of the Peloponnesians to Corcyra (c. 69. § 2). — ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δώδεκα ναυσί: cf. c. 69. 10, and see App. on c. 77. 12. — 4. ξύμβασιν ἔπρασσε: *tried to effect an agreement*. — ὥστε: see on c. 31. 10. — 5. δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας . . . οἰκεῖν: see on c. 48. 5. — δέκα ἄνδρας τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους; for the order, see on c. 42. 4. — αἰτιωτάτους: *most to blame*, sc. for the bloody conflicts that had occurred. This expression proves that all the ten men belonged to the ὀλίγοι, and this is confirmed by the circumstances under which the agreement was effected. See B. Schmidt, p. 73. — οἱ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν: parenthetical, “who no longer remained, after the conclusion of the agreement, but made off.” — 6. σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους ὥστε: cf. i. 44. 4 ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι ὥστε. — 7. ὥστε . . . νομίζειν: belongs only to πρὸς

Ἀθηναίους, not to πρὸς ἀλλήλους. For ὥστε, *on condition that*, see on c. 28. 4; i. 28. 18. The formula τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν also c. 70. 23; i. 44. 5; vii. 33. 29. Cf. also v. 48. 6 τοῖς αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν.

8. ὁ μὲν ἔμελλεν . . . οἱ δὲ . . . πείθουσι: paratactic connexion, where a dependent const. in the first clause might have been expected. — 11. ὅπως . . . οἱ ἐναντίοι: *that their opponents might be less inclined to stir*. For ἦσσόν τι, see on c. 45. 29. — ἐν κινήσει ὦσιν: a periphrasis indicating an enduring condition, as ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ ἐγίγνοντο, vii. 44. 1; ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶναι, i. 74. 22; iv. 70. 20; vii. 25. 4, 43; 46. 6; ἐν φυλακῇ εἶναι, c. 74. 14; ii. 13. 52; iv. 55. 6. — 12. ἴσας: after numerals, *an equal number of*. See on i. 115. 13. — ξυμπέμψειν: depends on ἐπαγγέλλονται, or some such word, to be supplied from πείθουσιν. For similar const., cf. c. 94. 19. Kr. *Spr.* 65, 11, 7.

13. καὶ ὁ μὲν ξυνεχώρησεν κτέ.: the objections urged by Müller-Strü-



τὰς ναῦς. δείσαντες δὲ ἐκείνοι μὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπο-  
 15 πεμφθῶσι καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκόρων ἱερόν. Νι- 4  
 κόστρατος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνίστη τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο. ὥς δ'  
 οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δῆμος ὀπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ,  
 ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑγιὲς διανοουμένων τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν  
 ἀπιστία, τὰ τε ὄπλα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔλαβε καὶ  
 20 αὐτῶν τινὰς οἷς ἐπέτυχον, εἰ μὴ Νικόστρατος ἐκώλυσε,  
 διέφθειραν αὖν. ὁρῶντες δ' οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ γιγνόμενα καθί- 5  
 ζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον ἰκέται καὶ γίγνονται οὐκ ἐλάσσους

bing (*ibid.* p. 598) against the credibility of what is here related are refuted by B. Schmidt, p. 74 f. — **κατέλεγον**: of levying troops for military or naval service. Cf. vii. 31. 27; viii. 31. 2, both in mid., the commander being subject. — **15. καθίζουσιν**: see on c. 28. 13. — **τὸ τῶν Διοσκόρων ἱερόν**: Διοσκόρων (not Διοσκούρων) with Bk. and others, acc. to Laur. See St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 46; Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 21. The site of the sanctuary is unknown. See B. Schmidt, p. 33 f. — **16. ἀνίστη**: the regular word for this action. Cf. i. 24; 28. 13; i. 126. 33; 128. 3; 137. 1. Acc. to the following narrative, ἀνίστη must be understood, with B. Schmidt, p. 75, not of the mere attempt, but of the actual accomplishment. The correlation τε καὶ also supports this view. As Schmidt rightly observes (p. 73), ἀνίστη carries the idea of pledging the security of the *ικέται*.

**17. ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ**: on this ground. Cf. i. 141. 3; iv. 80. 7; v. 42. 7. — **18. οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς διανοουμένων**: lit. *planning nothing wholesome* for the state. They view the matter, of course, from a party point of view.

Cf. iv. 22. 9; Dem. xli. 22 τὰ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ὄντα μηδ' ἀληθῆ γράμματα, Plut. Otho 3 οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς διανοεῖσθαι. — **τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστία**: by their refusal to sail. For μὴ with inf. after ἀπιστία, which gets from the context the force of refusal arising from mistrust, see on c. 32. 13. Cf. i. 10. 3 ἀπιστολή μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον. — **19. ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν**: acc. to Müller-Strübing (*ibid.* p. 599), this mention of the houses of the ὀλίγοι is incompatible with c. 72. 8 οἱ δὲ (i.e. οἱ ὀλίγοι) τήν τε ἀγορὰν κατέλαβον, οὐπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤκουν αὐτῶν, and c. 74. 7 (οἱ ὀλίγοι) ἐμπιπρᾷσι τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ τὰς ξυνοικίας. But Schmidt rightly observes (p. 75), that in c. 72. 8 only the most, not all, of the oligarchs are meant. Besides, it is not necessary to restrict οὐπερ there to the immediate environment of the agora. — **20. αὐτῶν τινὰς οἷς ἐπέτυχον**: these had doubtless left the place where Nicostratus had treated with the *ικέται*, and gone home.

**21. καθίζουσιν . . . ἰκέται**: see on c. 28. 13; i. 24. 19. — **22. ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον**: Bl. thinks that they removed from the temple of Castor and Pollux to

τετρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ δῆμος δείσας μή τι νεώτερίσωσιν, ἀνίστησί τε αὐτοὺς πείσας καὶ διακομίζει ἐς τὴν πρὸ τοῦ  
 25 Ἡραίου νῆσον, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκείσε αὐτοῖς διεπέμπετο.

76 Τῆς δὲ στάσεως ἐν τούτῳ οὔσης τετάρτη ἡ πέμ- 1  
 πτη ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὴν νῆσον διακομι-  
 δὴν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Κυλλήνης Πελοποννησίων νῆες, μετὰ τὸν  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας πλοῦν ἐφ' ὄρμῳ οὔσαι, παραγίγνονται τρεῖς

that of Hera, because the greater sanctity of the latter offered a surer asylum.—γίγνονται: with numerals, as in i. 107. 24; ii. 13. 27; 20. 11; 98. 14; iv. 9. 10.—23. τετρακοσίων: from the largeness of the number B. Schmidt concludes (p. 75 f.) that οἱ ἄλλοι in l. 21 refers to the rest of the oligarchs in general, not simply to the rest of those that refused to go upon the ships. But the latter view seems tenable. For, besides the substitutes for the proportional part of the 500 Messenian hoplites of Nicostratus (forty-two men for each ship), there may be reckoned for the five ships all the usual crew of Attic triremes, except the rowers, i.e. acc. to Boeckh i.<sup>2</sup> p. 389, thirty men each. And even of the oarsmen some may not have been slaves or mercenaries.—νεώτερίσωσιν: applied to any innovation in established order, esp. to harsh and violent changes. Cf. c. 66. 9; i. 58. 3; ii. 3. 7; iv. 51. 3.—24. διακομίζει . . . νῆσον: cf. iv. 46. 11 αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν νῆσον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν Πτυχίαν ἐς φυλακὴν διεκόμισαν.—ἐς τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἡραίου νῆσον: Leake (in Bloomfield's ed., c. 72. 8) thinks the Heraeum stood on the esplanade between the modern city (Corfu) and its citadel on the opposite island; and this island,

not Ptychia-Vido, as others think, he considers to be the νῆσος πρὸ τοῦ Ἡραίου. B. Schmidt (p. 34 ff.) follows Leake with reference to the island, but locates the Heraeum near the southern shore of the bay of Kas-trades, on the hill where now is the monastery of Euphemia. The Heraeum seems certainly to have been on the mainland (see on c. 79. 4), though Partsch (*die Insel Korfu*, p. 66 ff.), who decides for Vido as the νῆσος, locates the temple on the modern citadel-island. See also Partsch, *Wochenschr. f. kl. Phil.* 1891, p. 593 ff.

76. Fifty-three Peloponnesian ships under Alcidas and Brasidas appear before Corcyra.

3. αἱ ἐκ τῆς Κυλλήνης . . . νῆες: cf. c. 69. 6. For ἐκ τῆς, the usual prolepsis, see on c. 5. 1.—4. ἐφ' ὄρμῳ: with St. (*Rh. Mus.* xxvi. p. 345 f.), for ἔφορμοι of the Mss., which the Schol. explains by ἐν ὄρμῳ διατρίβουσαι. ἔφορμος as adj. seems not to be found; as a noun, it is found in c. 6. 6; iv. 27. 7; 32. 4. ὄρμος is a place of safe anchorage, not a harbour proper. Cf. iv. 26. 9; vi. 44. 12; vii. 41. 4. The expression ἐφ' ὄρμῳ εἶναι is not found elsewhere. Kr. conjectured ἐν ἐφόρμῳ οὔσαι, Meineke and v. H. ἐφορμοῦσαι. That ἔφορμος



5 καὶ πεντήκοντα · ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀλκίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πρό-  
 τερον, καὶ Βρασίδης αὐτῷ ξύμβουλος ἐπέπλει. ὀρμισά-  
 μενοι δὲ ἐς Σύβοτα λιμένα τῆς ἡπείρου ἅμα ἔω ἐπέπλεον  
 77 τῇ Κερκύρᾳ. οἱ δὲ πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ πεφοβημένοι τά τ' 1  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν παρεσκευάζοντό τε ἅμα  
 ἐξήκοντα ναῦς καὶ τὰς αἰεὶ πληρουμένας ἐξέπεμπον πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἐναντίους, παραινούντων Ἀθηναίων σφᾶς τε ἑᾶσαι  
 5 πρῶτον ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ ὕστερον πάσαις ἅμα ἐκείνους ἐπι-  
 γενέσθαι. ὥς δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦσαν σπο- 2  
 ράδες αἱ νῆες, δύο μὲν εὐθὺς ἠὺτομόλησαν, ἐν ἐτέραις  
 δὲ ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐμπλέοντες ἐμάχοντο, ἦν δὲ οὐδεὶς κό-  
 σμος τῶν ποιουμένων. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν 3  
 10 ταραχὴν εἴκοσι μὲν ναυσὶ πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους ἐτά-  
 ξαντο, ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς πρὸς τὰς δώδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθη-

and ἐφορμεῖν do not always refer to a blockade is shown by the use of ἐφόρμησις in vi. 48. 9. After the forty ships of Alcidas had returned from the Ionian coast and united with the thirteen of Brasidas, the fleet lay for some time at anchor at Cyllene, occupied with preparations for the voyage to Corecra, c. 69. 13. — 6. ξύμβουλος : see on c. 69. 7. — ἐπέπλει : was on board. See on c. 16. 17. It is quite different from ἐπέπλεον in the next line. — 7. Σύβοτα : name of islands, promontory, and harbour on the Thesprotian coast (cf. i. 47. 4; 50. 14; 54. 4); still existing in S. Nicolo di Sivota.

77, 78. In a sea-fight the Corcyraean ships, advancing in disorder, are thrown into confusion. Their retreat is covered by the twelve Attic ships, which after an indecisive conflict retire before superior numbers.

1. οἱ δέ : i.e. the democratic authorities in Corecra. — πολλῷ θορύβῳ καὶ πεφοβημένοι : unlike elements combined in the same pred. relation. Kr. Spr. 59, 2, 3. Cf. c. 25. 8; 34. 17; 42. 23; i. 63. 7. — 3. τὰς αἰεὶ πληρουμένας ἐξέπεμπον : both impf. and pres. partic. are necessary with the iterative αἰεὶ. See on c. 23. 11. — 4. παραινούντων Ἀθηναίων : although the Athenians advised. Cf. c. 79. 10. — 5. πάσαις ἅμα : i.e. with all at once, not ταῖς αἰεὶ πληρουμέναις. — ἐπιγενέσθαι : to follow after. Cf. ii. 44. 12.

6. αὐτοῖς : the dat. placed first in the most general relation to the whole. Cf. i. 6. 8; 48. 9. — 8. οἱ ἐμπλέοντες : only here = οἱ ἐπιβάται. — 9. τῶν ποιουμένων : cf. vi. 87. 10; viii. 43. 14; 46. 27; 69. 9.

10. ἐτάξαντο : 'direct middle,' as in i. 48. 9; iv. 11. 2, etc. G. 1242, 1; H. 812. Cf. κύκλον τάξασθαι, c. 78. 7;

78 ναίων, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ δύο Σαλαμινία καὶ Πάραλος. καὶ 1  
οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι κακῶς τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγας προσπί-  
πτοντες ἑταλαιπωροῦντο (τὸ) καθ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν περικύκλωσιν ἀθρό-  
5 αῖς μὲν οὐ προσέπιπτον οὐδὲ κατὰ μέσον ταῖς ἐφ' ἑαυ-  
τοὺς τεταγμέναις, προσβαλόντες δὲ κατὰ κέρας καταδύ-  
ουσι μίαν ναῦν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κύκλον ταξαμένων  
αὐτῶν περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπειρῶντο θορυβεῖν. γνόντες δὲ οἱ 2  
πρὸς τοῖς Κερκυραίοις καὶ δείσαντες, μὴ ὅπερ ἐν Ναυ-  
10 πάκτῳ γένοιτο, ἐπιβοηθοῦσι· καὶ γενόμεναι ἀθρόαι αἱ  
νῆες ἅμα τὸν ἐπίπλουν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐποιοῦντο. οἱ δ' 3  
ὑπεχώρουν ἤδη πρύμναν κρουόμενοι καὶ ἅμα τὰς τῶν Κερ-

ii. 83. 23.—12. ὧν ἦσαν κτέ.: cf. i. 116. 8 ὧν ἦσαν αἱ εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες. See App.—Σαλαμινία καὶ Πάραλος: see on c. 33. 2.

78. 2. κακῶς: referring to οὐδεὶς κόσμος of c. 77. 8.—κατ' ὀλίγας: as described c. 77. § 1.—3. ἑταλαιπωροῦντο: see on c. 3. 1.—(τὸ) καθ' αὐτούς: in sua parte, Haase's conjecture (*Lucubr.* p. 44), adopted by Cl. and St., for the vulg. καθ' αὐτούς, suits the context better. Cf. c. 108. 10; i. 62. 24. The vulg. would mean either of themselves, inter se, i.e. without the enemy's help (cf. ii. 88. 4; iv. 71. 5), or alone, per se (cf. c. 39. 14; ii. 99. 6).—4. τὸ πλῆθος: the superior number, as ii. 89. 5.—ἀθρόαις: like κατὰ μέσον, referring to the hostile ships, ταῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς τεταγμέναις. Both expressions supplement each other with this sense: The Athenians fear to attack the whole fleet of thirty-three ships in the centre, but throwing themselves with their whole strength upon one wing, κατὰ κέρας,

sink one ship; whereupon the Peloponnesians concentrate (κύκλον ταξαμένων) their ships in the same manner as described in ii. 83. § 5, and the Attic ships repeat the movement that was so successful on the former occasion (περιέπλεον καὶ ἐπειρῶντο θορυβεῖν), but a like result is prevented by timely aid to the Peloponnesians from the other division.—5. μέσον: the art. omitted as often. H. 661. Cf. i. 62. 14; ii. 81. 11; iv. 31. 8; 96. 10.—ἐφ' ἑαυτούς: Palat. has ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, which is supported by the const. of c. 13. 18; ii. 70. 8. But for the acc., cf. i. 14; 77. 10.

8. οἱ πρὸς τοῖς Κερκυραίοις: i.e. οἱ πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους τεταγμένοι τῶν Πελοποννησίων. Cf. c. 77. 10. For the const., cf. c. 77. 6.—9. ὅπερ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ: sc. ἐγένετο. Cf. ii. 84.—10. ἀθρόαι: i.e. the hitherto separate divisions.

12. πρύμναν κρουόμενοι: backing water, i.e. withdrawing without turning the vessel. See on i. 50. 21; vii.



κυραίων ἐβούλοντο προκαταφυγεῖν ὅτι μάλιστα, ἐαυτῶν  
σχολῇ τε ὑποχωρούντων καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς τεταγμένων τῶν  
15 ἐναντίων.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ναυμαχία τοιαύτη γενομένη ἐτελεύτα 4  
79 ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δείσαντες, μὴ σφίσιν 1  
ἐπιπλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὥς κρατοῦντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἢ  
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἀναλάβωσιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι νεωτερίσωσι,  
γούς τε ἐκ τῆς νήσου πάλιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραϊον διεκόμισαν καὶ  
5 τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐτόλ- 2  
μησαν πλεύσαι κρατοῦντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τρισκαίδεκα δὲ

40. 2. — 13. προκαταφυγεῖν ὅτι μάλιστα, ἐαυτῶν σχολῇ κτέ. : Cl. wrote, with Vat., προκαταφυγεῖν, ἐαυτῶν ὅτι μάλιστα, remarking that it was unimportant whether or not the Corcyraeans outstripped the enemy *as far as possible* (ὅτι μάλιστα), if only they gained time to reach their harbour. But there is no need to take ὅτι μάλιστα (cf. i. 44. 13; v. 36. 9) in this sense. On the contrary, the fact that the Corcyraeans lost altogether thirteen ships (c. 79. 6) seems to indicate that ὅτι μάλιστα means *as much as possible*, i.e. as many ships as possible. St. construes ὅτι μάλιστα with ἐβούλοντο, comparing c. 47. 11; i. 141. 29; ii. 90. 17; iv. 79. 11; v. 36. 8; vi. 9. 11; viii. 91. 15. — 14. ὑποχωρούντων : gen. abs. instead of ὑποχωροῦντες, on account of the parallelism with the following clause. See also on c. 13. 30. — τεταγμένων : cf. l. 6; 77. 10. Hude's conjecture (p. 110) τετραμμένων is unnecessary.

16. τοιαύτη γενομένη : tacitly implying the success of the Athenian plan, — not only that they finished their

retreat without loss, but also that the Corcyraeans reached the harbour, though with a loss, it is true, of thirteen ships (c. 79. § 2). — ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν : *lasted till sunset*. Cf. c. 108. 18; i. 51. 9.

79. *The Peloponnesians, afraid to attack the city, sail away with thirteen captured Corcyraean ships, and disembarking next day at Leucimne ravage the island.*

3. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου : proleptic, as c. 76. 3. Cf. c. 75. 24. — νεωτερίσωσι : *resort to violence*, as in c. 66. 9; ii. 3. 7. See on c. 75. 23. — 4. τοὺς τε . . . ἐφύλασσον : from these words in connexion with the foregoing, B. Schmidt (p. 43) rightly infers that the Heraeum was inside of the city walls. — 5. ἐφύλασσον : = ἐν φυλακῇ or διὰ φυλακῆς εἶχον.

ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν : the real antithesis is not τρισκαίδεκα δὲ ναὺς ἔχοντες, but, after the repetition of ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν in l. 8, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Λευκίμνην (l. 11). — 6. κρατοῦντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ : *although superior in the naval battle*. These words, wrongly rejected by

ναῦς ἔχοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν ἡπει-  
 ρον ὅθενπερ ἀνηγάγοντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν 3  
 πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, καίπερ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ  
 10 καὶ φόβῳ ὄντας καὶ Βρασίδου παραινούντος, ὡς λέγε-  
 ται, Ἀλκίδα, ἰσοψήφου δὲ οὐκ ὄντος · ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Λευ-  
 κίμνην τὸ ἀκρωτήριον ἀποβάντες ἐπόρθουν τοὺς ἀγρούς.  
 80 ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐν τούτῳ, περιδεὴς γενό- 1  
 μενος μὴ ἐπιπλεύσωσιν αἱ νῆες, τοῖς τε ἰκέταις ἦσαν ἐς  
 λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ πόλις, καὶ τινὰς  
 αὐτῶν ἔπεισαν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι · ἐπλήρωσαν γὰρ ὅμως  
 5 τριάκοντα [προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν]. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννή- 2  
 σιοι μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας δηώσαντες τὴν γῆν ἀπέπλευσαν.

Kr. as an unnecessary repetition, are added in order that πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν may appear as the natural result of the advantage won. The indecision of Alcidas appears here, as in l. 9, in an unfavourable light. — τρισκαίδεκα δὲ ναῦς: cf. viii. 22. 5 τρισκαίδεκα ναυσίν. — 8. ὅθενπερ ἀνηγάγοντο: cf. c. 76. 7.

10. ὄντας: agreeing κατὰ ξύνεσιν with πόλιν. See on c. 2. 2. — ὡς λέγεται: shows the prudence of the historian, who is not sure of the matter, and the special mention of Brasidas indicates the interest everywhere manifested by Thuc. in the Spartan leader. See on c. 69. 7; ii. 25. 7. — 11. ἰσοψήφου οὐκ ὄντος: sc. as ξύμβουλος of the ναύαρχος. Cf. c. 69. 7; 76. 6. — τὴν Λευκίμνην: the S.E. promontory of Corcyra, now *Leukimo*. Cf. i. 30. 2.

80. At nightfall news comes of the approach of an Athenian fleet of sixty ships, under the command of Eury-medon.

1. ὁ δῆμος ἦσαν: collective noun with pl. verb, as in c. 75. 20; v. 82. 5. G. 900.; H. 609. — 3. τοῖς ἄλλοις: the ἰκέται of c. 75. 22, who were brought back to the Heraeum (c. 79. 4), formed only a part of the aristocratic party, the ὀλίγοι of c. 74. 6. — καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔπεισαν: with better success than before, c. 75. § 3. — 4. ὅμως: i.e. in spite of the sad experiences of c. 77, 78. — 5. [προσδεχόμενοι τὸν ἐπίπλουν]: these words which are wanting in most Mss., and found on the margin of a few, state correctly the motive of ἐπλήρωσαν... τριάκοντα, but were doubtless added by an attentive reader from the preceding περιδεὴς γενόμενος μὴ ἐπιπλεύσωσιν.

6. μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας: μέσον (neut.) with the gen. of a subst. seems to be found only here and vii. 52. 9 in Thuc.; for μέσος is an adj. in iv. 96. 2 μέχρι μέσου τοῦ στρατοπέδου, vi. 101. 7 διὰ μέσου τοῦ ἔλους, just as in ii. 83. 20 κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν, v. 9. 22 κατὰ



καὶ ὑπὸ νύκτα αὐτοῖς ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν ἐξήκοντα νῆες Ἀθη-  
 ναίων προσπλέουσai ἀπὸ Λευκάδος, ἃς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυν-  
 θανόμενοι τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὰς μετ' Ἀλκίδου ναῦς ἐπὶ Κέρ-  
 10 κυραν μελλούσας πλεῖν ἀπέστειλαν καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα τὸν  
 81 Θουκλέους στρατηγόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς νυ- 1  
 κτὸς εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐκομίζοντο ἐπ' οἴκου παρὰ τὴν γῆν,

μέσον τὸ σπάτευμα. As a noun, it is freq. in Xenophon. Kühn. 403, a γ. See on c. 78. 5. — 7. ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν: i.e. by the φρυκτωροί appointed for the purpose (viii. 102. 2). See on c. 22. 34, and ii. 94. 1. This verb is found only here. — 8. ἀπὸ Λευκάδος: from its position more naturally connected, as Cl. and Bm. explain, with προσπλέουσai than with ἐφρυκτωρήθησαν, but most edit. construe with the latter, on the ground, as some express it, that if the Athenian fleet had been already under way from Leucas it would have been at Corcyra before the Peloponnesian fleet could have escaped, or, as others, that the Athenian fleet would have got so far north by the time Alcidas reached Leucas that his fleet, even if it had sailed round Leucas, could hardly have been seen by Eurymedon's ships (c. 81. 4). For Steup's view, see App. It seems reasonable to infer from this passage that the number, as well as the approach, of the fleet was signalled, though ἐξήκοντα may be only an anticipatory explanation of the author. — 10. μελλούσας πλεῖν: pred., so that πυνθανόμενοι has the double const. of the simple obj. acc. and of the supplem. partic. Between the coming of the first information and of the second

there was prob. a slight interval; for the Peloponnesians doubtless decided upon the voyage to Corcyra (c. 69. § 2) only after the murder of Pithias (see on c. 75. 2), while the Athenians, as B. Schmidt (p. 77) rightly observes, had already learned of the outbreak of the στάσις from the Attic trireme mentioned in c. 70. 7, 28, which must have returned immediately thereafter to Athens. It is to be noticed that, although in c. 72. § 1 mention is made of precautions taken in consequence of the στάσις, here still the announcement of the outbreak is spoken of. This inconsistency would doubtless have been removed could the historian have revised his work. — Εὐρυμέδοντα: first mentioned here, but after this time freq. in active service until his death in Sicily, vii. 52. 11.

81. *Hereupon the Peloponnesians sail homewards, and the democratic party in Corcyra, falling upon its defenceless enemies, perpetrates with all the horrors of hate and revenge a terrible butchery among them.*

1. τῆς νυκτός εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος: the sarcastic tone noted at c. 29. 2; 31. 11, is perhaps observable here also. To flee with fifty-three ships at the approach of sixty is not very creditable. — τῆς νυκτός, παρὰ τὴν γῆν: these two circumstances may account

καὶ ὑπερενεγκόντες τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν τὰς ναῦς, ὅπως  
μὴ περιπλέοντες ὀφθῶσιν, ἀποκομίζονται. Κερκυραῖοι 2  
5 δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὰς τε Ἀττικὰς ναῦς προσπλεύσας τὰς τε  
τῶν πολεμίων οἰχομένας, λαβόντες τοὺς τε Μεσσηνίους  
ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγον πρότερον ἔξω ὄντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς  
περιπλεῦσαι κελεύσαντες ἃς ἐπλήρωσαν ἐς τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν  
λιμένα, ἐν ὧσ' περιεκομίζοντο, τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἴ τινα λά-

for Alcidas not having been seen by Eurymedon, even if the Athenian fleet when announced was advancing from Leucas. See B. Schmidt, p. 78.

—3. ὑπερενεγκόντες . . . τὰς ναῦς: sc. with the aid of ὅλκοι, such as are mentioned c. 15. 7. τὸν ἰσθμὸν is governed by ὑπερ-, τὰς ναῦς by the verb. Kühn. 411, 7. Cf. iv. 8. 8; viii. 7. 7. This isthmus (cf. iv. 8. 8), which then connected the island with the mainland, had been previously cut through by the Corinthians (Strab. p. 452 c). But the canal (ὁ Διόρυκτος, Polyb. v. 12) became filled with sand (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iv. 1. 2, 5), and remained so until the Romans again opened it for a short time. Liv. xxxiii. 17. See Oberhummer, *Akarnanien im Alterthum*, p. 7 ff., and Partsch, *Die Insel Leukas*, p. 2 ff. (Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsheft 95). — ὅπως . . . ὀφθῶσιν: see App. on c. 80. 8. — 4. ἀποκομίζονται: sc. to Cyllene or Gytheum; and thus ended the activity of the Peloponnesian fleet for this year.

6. λαβόντες: bracketed by Cl., following Kr., on the ground that it was prob. a gloss of εἴ τινα λάβοιεν that crept into the text. But it is better to retain it, with St., for even though ii. 67. 21 οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἐκόμισαν ἐς τὰς

Ἀθήνας may not be quite parallel; since there λαβόντες means *having received*, yet cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1379 ἀγειν ταύτην λαβών, *Lysist.* 1115, 1128; *Thesm.* 212; *Ran.* 888. — τοὺς Μεσσηνίους: i.e. the 500 whom Nicostratus had brought with him, c. 75. 3. The object in bringing them into the city was doubtless merely the intimidation of the oligarchs; that they participated directly in the butchery that followed, as Cl. thought, seems probable neither from Thuc.'s narrative nor in itself. See B. Schmidt, p. 78. — 8. ἃς ἐπλήρωσαν: cf. c. 80. 4. — ἐς τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα: the ships had been therefore in the harbour near the agora (c. 72. 10), which was esp. exposed to the attacks of enemies from without, since its entrance was not narrow like that of the Hyllaic harbour. They were ordered round to the Hyllaic harbour in order that the oligarchs on them might be cut off from their friends in the neighbourhood of the agora (c. 72. 9) and in the Heraeum. The matter is intelligible only if a νεώριον be assumed also for the Hyllaic harbour. See on c. 74. 6. — 9. ἐν ὧσ': *while*, as in viii. 61. 5; 87. 23. — εἴ τινα λάβοιεν: the oligarchs perhaps tried to conceal



10 βοιεν, ἀπέκτεινον. καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὅσους ἔπεισαν ἐσ-  
βῆναι ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπεχρῶντο, ἐς τὸ Ἡραιόν τε ἐλθόν-  
τες τῶν ἱκετῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν  
ἔπεισαν καὶ κατέγνωσαν πάντων θάνατον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ 3  
τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν, ὡς ἑώρων τὰ γιγνό-  
15 μενα, διέφθειρον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγχοντο, οἱ δ' ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐδύναντο ἀνη-

themselves. — 10. ἐκ τῶν νεῶν : these words, which belong to ἐκβιβάζοντες, imply that it was those that had remained in the city who were killed before this. — ὅσους ἔπεισαν : cf. c. 80. 4. — 11. ἀπεχρῶντο : for which the most and best Mss. have ἀπεχώρησαν, is sufficiently protected by the remark of ancient grammarians (Suidas, Zonaras, and in Bekker's *Anecd.* p. 423 *Θουκυδίδης ἀπεχρῶντο ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνήρου*), and is indispensable to the sense; for those on the ships were certainly killed immediately, not, as Kr. thinks, first tried along with the fifty ἱκέται. Besides, τε introduces the next clause (ἐς τὸ Ἡραιόν τε) as the *third* act in this drama of horrors. ἀποχρῆσθαι meaning *to kill* is supported only by a citation from Aristophanes in Suidas (s.v. ἀπεχρήσαντο) and Pollux ix. 153 (τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπεχρήσαντο). But the analogy of διαχρῆσθαι (c. 36. 15; i. 126. 38, where some Mss. have ἀπεχρήσαντο; vi. 61. 17; Antiph. i. 23; Hdt. i. 24. 12; 110. 18) and καταχρῆσθαι (Hdt. i. 82. 42; 117. 5; iii. 36. 28; iv. 146. 7; vi. 135. 9, and late writers) is in its favour. The strong expression doubtless indicates the feeling of horror of the historian. The portion of the demos to be un-

derstood as subj. of ἀπεχρῶντο was of course different from that implied in ἀπέκτεινον. See B. Schmidt, p. 79. — 11. ἐς τὸ Ἡραιόν τε : cf. c. 79. 4. The particle is similarly placed also in vii. 84. 15 ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα τε. Kühn. 520, n. 5. — 13. ἔπεισαν καὶ κατέγνωσαν : aors. to indicate summary process. That the sentence was immediately executed is plain from the following ὡς ἑώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα (partic. impf.). In all the rest of the description of the horrors, the impf. (ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπεχρῶντο, ἀπήγχοντο, ἀνηλοῦντο, ἐφόνεον, etc.) prevails, and hence in l. 15 διέφθειρον (three Mss.) is to be preferred to διέφθειραν, which most Mss. have, since there is no sufficient reason for the change of tense.

14. ὡς ἑώρων τὰ γιγνόμενα : these words, which are suspected by Müller-Strübing, p. 602 f., are quite in order, if, with B. Schmidt, p. 42 and 78 f., a high site be assumed for the Heraeum. — 15. αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ : emphatic combination. Cf. c. 98. 11; ii. 25. 18; v. 22. 2; 83. 4. See Herbst, *Gegen Cobet*, p. 58 ff. — 16. ἀνηλοῦντο : = σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀνήλουν. Cf. iv. 48. 17. ἀναλοῦν, which Thuc. prefers to ἀναλίσκειν, is, like ἀποχρῆσθαι, unusual in this sense. Cf. Aesch. *Agam.* 570;

λοῦντο. ἡμέρας τε ἑπτά, ἃς ἀφικόμενος ὁ Εὐρυμέδων 4  
 ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶ παρέμεινε, Κερκυραῖοι σφῶν αὐτῶν  
 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφόνεον, τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν  
 20 ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν, ἀπέθανον δέ  
 τινες καὶ ἰδίας ἐχθρας ἔνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφί-  
 σιν ὀφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων. πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατ- 5  
 ἔστη θανάτου, καὶ οἶον φιλεῖ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γίγνεσθαι,  
 οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ ξυνέβη καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω. καὶ γὰρ πατὴρ

Soph. *O. T.* 1174; Eur. *El.* 681. From c. 75. 23 ὁ δὲ δῆμος δέσας μή τι νεωτερίσωσιν κτέ., it may be inferred that the *ικέται* had arms.

17. ὁ Εὐρυμέδων: seems to have arrived during the first act of the horrors here related (l. 7 τὰς ναῦς . . . ἀπέκτεινον); hence the butchery of the oligarchs might be reckoned from his coming. Nicostratus prob. left Corcyra before the seven days ended (cf. c. 75. 9, and see on l. 6). — 19. ἐφόνεον: *slaughtered*, as in i. 50. 3; vii. 29. 20; 85. 8; viii. 95. 29. It is classed by Rutherford (*New Phryn.* p. 15) among the old Ionisms that survived in Tragedy. It occurs, in this sense, also in legal language in Plato (*Legg.* 871 d; 873 e), and is freq. in late writers. — τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν . . . καταλύουσιν: i.e. λόγῳ μὲν αἰτιώμενοι τοὺς τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντας. The following clause, if regular, would have been ἔργῳ δὲ ἀποκτείνοντες καὶ τινὰς κτέ., but there is a transition to the finite verb, owing to the moral significance of the individual occurrences. For similar change of const., cf. c. 87. § 1; ii. 47. § 3; vii. 47. § 2. "Though they asserted that they wished to bring to trial only the

subverters of the democracy, yet many were killed also from other motives." καταλύειν τὸν δῆμον also v. 76. 5; viii. 54. 17; 86. 8; καταλύειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν, viii. 47. 17. καταλύειν is the technical word for this idea in Attic. Cf. Ar. *Eccles.* 453; Andoc. i. 95; Lys. xiii. 4; Dem. xviii. 182. — 22. ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων: sc. τὰ χρήματα, τῶν δανεισαμένων, Schol. So also most editt. explain, doubtless correctly, since thus the baseness of the motive is made manifest. Bm. renders *by their captors*.

πᾶσά τε ἰδέα: as in c. 83. 1; 98. 15; 112. 23; ii. 19. 1; 77. 7; vii. 29. 26. For τε in a *résumé*, see on c. 40. 16. — 23. ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ: "in times like those just described." ὁ τοιοῦτος as in iv. 56. 4; vii. 81. 13. See on c. 43. 12. — 24. οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ: as in vii. 87. 14, 25, for the fuller form οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὃ τι οὐ. Cf. ii. 62. 13. H. 1003 a; Kr. *Spr.* 51, 10, 11; Kühn. 555, 5. See on c. 39. 38. — καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω: in this hyperbolical expression the adv. has the force of an adj., as in Ar. *Thesm.* 705 δεινὰ πράγματ' ἐστὶ καὶ περαιτέρω, Av. 416 ἄπιστα καὶ πέρα κλύειν, Soph. *Epig.* (ap. Stob. *Flor.* 73, 51) ὦ πᾶν σὺ τολμήσασα καὶ πέρα γυνή. Cf. Sall.



25 παῖδα ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπеспῶντο καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκτείνοντο, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ περιοικοδομηθέντες ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ ἀπέθανον.

82 Οὕτως ὥμῃ ᾗ στάσις προυχώρησε, καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ ὕστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν οὐσῶν ἐκασταχοῦ τοῖς τε τῶν δήμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 5 ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν οὐδ' ἐτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτούς, πολεμουμένων δὲ καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα

*Jug.* 44 cuncta fuere et alia amplius. — 25. πρὸς αὐτοῖς: see on c. 70. 18. — 26. περιοικοδομηθέντες: = ἀποικοδομηθέντες (i. 134. 13; vii. 73. 8). Found only here in Thuc. Cf. *Hdt.* vii. 60. 11; *Xen. Cyrop.* i. 4. 11. — ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ἱερῷ: see on c. 70. 16. The site of this sanctuary is unknown. See B. Schmidt, p. 33.

82, 83. *General reflections on the fearful results of party struggles, which the war produced everywhere in the Hellenic world.*

1. οὕτως ὥμῃ: pred. to προυχώρησε, as in i. 23. 4 μέγα to προύβη. — ἡ στάσις: Kr.'s restoration of the art., which could easily have been lost after ὥμῃ, seems necessary, since the reference is to the sedition just described. — ἔδοξε μᾶλλον: Schol. μᾶλλον ὥμῃ ἔδοξεν ἥπερ ἐγένετο. — 2. ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ: see on c. 17. 2. — 3. ὡς εἰπεῖν: so always in Thuc., not ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, as in Plato and the orators. GMT. 777, 1; H. 956. See on i. 1. 9. Cf. i. 138. 18; vii. 49. 18. — τὸ Ἑλληνικόν: as in c. 57. 11; i. 1. 6; 6. 23, including all Hellenic states, even those outside of Greece proper. —

ἐκινήθη: as in iv. 76. 21, of profound political disturbance. See on κίνησις, i. 1. 8. — διαφορῶν οὐσῶν . . . τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους: "since everywhere the chiefs of the democracy and of the oligarchy were struggling, the one to bring in the Athenians, the other the Lacedaemonians." Jow. ἐπάγεσθαι in loose connexion with διαφορῶν οὐσῶν expresses the result. This verb is regularly used of inviting strangers into one's country. See on i. 3. 8. — 5. καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ . . . ἐπορίζοντο: and while, in time of peace, they would have no pretext, and were not even ready to call them in, being at war, those on either side who wished a revolution easily procured allies both to harass their enemies and to acquire for themselves power from the same source. See App. — 6. οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων: gen. abs. without expressed subj., as often in Thuc. when it can be easily supplied from the context. GMT. 848; H. 972 a. See on c. 34. 17. — ἐτοίμων: for omission of ὄντων, cf. v. 64. 18, and see on c. 69. 4. — 7. πολεμουμένων δέ: corresponds to ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ. Instead of a

ἐκατέροις τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς  
 ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσῃ ραδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεω-  
 10 τερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορίζοντο. καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ 2  
 καὶ χαλεπὰ κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ  
 αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾗ,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαιτέρα καὶ τοῖς εἵδεσι διηλλαγμένα,

gen. abs. answering to οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων . . . οὐδ' ἐτοίμων, the const. changes to a finite verb, ἐπορίζοντο. St. compares vi. 69. 9. Kr. Spr. 69, 16, 4. — καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα: depends on αἱ ἐπαγωγαί, but is thus emphatically placed as containing the main idea and in order that the ξυμμαχία may appear as the natural result of the state of war (πολεμουμένων). ξυμμαχία, "help of allies," as i. 32. 2; 42. 12; vi. 73. 5. — 8. ἐκατέροις: (i.e. the democrats and the oligarchs) restricted by τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις, and having therefore the force of ἐκατέρων. But Steup, who considers the Athenians and Lacedaemonians to be the subj. of πολεμουμένων, holds that ἐκατέροις also refers to those states. In that case, ἐκατέροις would be dat. of agent with ἐπορίζοντο (see on c. 64. 15) and τοῖς . . . βουλομένοις dat. of advantage. — τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει καὶ . . . προσποιήσῃ: the two substs. with common art. closely connected. See on c. 2. 6; 56. 7. The dats. express purpose, as πλεονεξία, i. 39; ὠφελία, i. 38; i. 123. 10; ξυμμαχία, vi. 33. 9. προσποίησις from the mid: προσποιεῖσθαι, which is used esp. of the acquisition of allies (i. 8. 16; ii. 30. 6; iv. 77. 13). The verbal subst. governs σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. Kr. Spr. 48, 12, 4; Kühn. 424, 1. Cf. i. 63. 9;

73. 1. — 9. αἱ ἐπαγωγαί: the unusual subst. used on account of ἐπάγεσθαι above. See on c. 100. 6. Cf. v. 82. 24 ἐπαγωγή τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

10. καὶ ἐπέπεσε κτέ.: and so befell, etc., i.e. after outside help was called in. — 11. κατὰ στάσιν: see on c. 2. 10; 68. 17. — γιγνόμενα μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα: = οἷα γίγνεται καὶ αἰεὶ ἔσται. Cf. Dio C.'s imitation (xxxvi. 20) οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἂν παύσαιτό ποτε ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾗ, Tac. Hist. iv. 74 vitia erunt, donec homines. For other passages expressing the same sentiment, see notes of Pp. and Bl. Steup thinks the simple γιγνόμενα with αἰεὶ ἐσόμενα κτέ. strange, and suggests that ἐσόμενα may be an interpolation, comparing iv. 132. 2 βουλόμενοι μὲν καὶ αἰεὶ, παρεστηκὸς κτέ. — 12. τῶν ἀνθρώπων: so with two Mss. (Vat. and H.) for ἀνθρώπων of the rest. Cf. i. 20. 2; 77. 15; 140. 2; ii. 61. 19, etc. But the art. is wanting in i. 41. 11; iv. 97. 13; v. 111. 12, and even in the imitation of Dio C. just quoted. — 13. μᾶλλον: in a higher degree, referring to χαλεπά. Supply γιγνόμενα. For adv. and adj. (ἡσυχαιτέρα) thus co-ord. as preds. to verb, see on c. 4. 4. Cf. Xen. Anab. iv. 7. 23 ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον. — καὶ ἡσυχαιτέρα: for καί, cf. iv. 63. 10



ὥς ἂν ἕκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται. ἐν  
 15 μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν αἱ τε πόλεις καὶ  
 οἱ ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους τὰς γνώμας ἔχουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ἀκου-  
 σίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ὑφελὼν τὴν εὐπο-  
 ρίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίαιος διδάσκαλος καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
 παρόντα τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ. ἐστασίαζέ τε οὖν 3

τὸν εὖ καὶ κακῶς δρῶντα. — τοῖς εἵδεσι :  
*in their manifestations.* — διηλλαγ-  
 μένα : pass. only here in Thuc. Bl.  
 cites Dion. H. xxiii. 17 ταῖς φωναῖς  
 αὐτῶν διηλλαγμένας. For the act. in  
 same sense, see on c. 10. 5. — 14. ὥς :  
*according as.* Cf. c. 45. 18. — τῶν  
 ξυντυχιῶν : *of conditions of life, cir-*  
*cumstances,* as in c. 45. 18. — ἐφι-  
 στῶνται : *present themselves, occur.*  
 Schol. πίπτωσι. Cf. Soph. O. R. 776  
 πρὶν μοι τύχῃ τοιάδ' ἐπέστη, Eur. Hipp.  
 819 ὦ τύχα, ὥς μοι βαρεῖα καὶ δόμοις  
 ἐπεστάθης, Med. 331 ὅπως ἂν παραστῶ-  
 σιν τύχαι. — ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ κτέ. :  
*in proof of the asserted influence of*  
*changed circumstances.* — 15. ἀγα-  
 θοῖς πράγμασιν : *rebus secundis;*  
 the phrase is prob. not found else-  
 where. — 16. τὰς γνώμας : *convictions,*  
 as in i. 140. 4. See Introd. to Book I.  
 p. 32. — ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν :  
 “to fall under the dominion of impe-  
 rious necessities, in which free choice  
 is impossible.” Cf. i. 18 βίαιος διδά-  
 σκαλος, and see on i. 84. 24. — 17.  
 ὑφελὼν : see on c. 13. 32. — τὴν εὐπο-  
 ρίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν : *the comfort-*  
*able provision of daily life.* As τοῦ  
 καθ' ἡμέραν is unusual for τῶν καθ'  
 ἡμέραν, Kr. would insert, with the  
 Schol., βίου before βίαιος. — 18. βίαιος  
 διδάσκαλος : Bl. compares, for the  
 sentiment, Theophyl. Hist. i. 15 (p.

63 Bk.) ὁ πόλεμος . . . τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων  
 κακῶν ἀρχηγέτης καὶ διδάσκαλος αὐτο-  
 δίδακτος. — πρὸς τὰ παρόντα : instead  
 of the dat. Cf. viii. 57. 11 ἐπανισοῦν  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Cf. i.  
 140. 4; vi. 34. 47. — 19. τὰς ὀργὰς :  
*dispositions, the old, chiefly poetic*  
*sense.* Schol. νῦν ὀργὰς τὰς γνώμας  
 καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἐκάλεσεν. Cf. i. 130.  
 11; 140. 3; viii. 83. 16; Hdt. iii. 131. 3;  
 vi. 128. 5; Theog. 963. See Diener, *De*  
*Serm. Thuc.* p. 15 ff.; C. F. Smith,  
*Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xxii. p. xix.

ἐστασίαζέ τε οὖν κτέ. : οὖν resump-  
 tive and τε correl. to following καί.  
*Therefore both the cities were disturbed*  
*by factions, and those which revolted*  
*later, through hearing of what had*  
*been done before, went much further*  
*still in the extravagance of their revo-*  
*lutionary spirit, both in the over-*  
*ingenuity of their enterprises and the*  
*strangeness of their revenges.* With  
 the sentiment, cf. Eur. Hipp. 939 ὁ δ'  
 ὕστερος τοῦ πρόσθεν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν παν-  
 οὔργος ἔσται. — ἐστασίαζε τὰ τῶν πό-  
 λεων : cf. Dem. xix. 320 ἐστασίαζε τὰ  
 τῶν Θεταλῶν. τὰ τῶν πόλεων is a peri-  
 phrasis for αἱ πόλεις. See on c. 59. 7.  
 Steup would have expected here  
 ἐστασίαζε τὰ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πολλῶν,  
 or ἐστασίαζε τὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ πολὺ  
 (cf. i. 2. ὕστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν ὥς εἰπεῖν τὸ  
 Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη). Hampke conjec-

20 τὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που πύσται τῶν  
 προγενομένων πολὺν ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦ-  
 σθαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει καὶ  
 τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀτοπία. καὶ τὴν εἰωθυίαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνο- 4  
 μάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαίῳσει. τόλμα μὲν  
 25 γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ  
 προμηθῆς δειλία εὐπρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου  
 πρόσχημα, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν· τὸ  
 δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὁξὺ ἀνδρὸς μοίρα προσετέθη, ἀσφαλεία δὲ

tured (*Ztschr. f. d. Gymnasialw.* xxxii. p. 396 f.) τὰ τῶν πολλῶν. — 20. τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που: αἱ πόλεις αἱ ὕστερον τῶν ἄλλων στασιάζουσαι, Schol. — 21. πολὺ: Schol. κατὰ πολὺ. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4. 33 πολὺν περιῆσαν. Kr. *Spr.* 48, 15, 13. For the text, see App. — 22. τὰς διανοίας: see Introd. to Book I. p. 32. — περιτεχνήσει: κακουργία, περινοία, Schol. Only here in Thuc.; elsewhere only in Dio C. (xlv. 19; liii. 11). See on c. 43. 9. — 23. ἀτοπία: τῷ ἀήθει, τῇ δεινότητι, Schol.

ἀξίωσιν: value, or generally received meaning; the objective meaning, as opp. to τῇ δικαίῳσει, subjective interpretation. This meaning of ἀξίωσις seems to be rare. Bl. cites Dion. H. *Ant.* vi. 73 τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῶν δικαίων ἀναστρέφοντες, Heliod. *Aeth.* viii. 4 ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀξίωσις. — 24. ἐς τὰ ἔργα: in relation to things, belonging to ἀξίωσιν. ὀνόματα and ἔργα in the same relation also vi. 78. 19. — τῇ δικαίῳσει: "as they thought fit." τῇ ἐαυτῶν δικαίᾳ κρίσει, Schol. The noun is Thucydidean (i. 141. 6; iv. 86. 21; v. 17. 11). See on i. 141. 6. As to Thuc.'s fondness for verbal nouns in -σις, see on c. 23. 27. — 25. ἐνομίσθη:

single characteristic examples are expressed by (empirical) aors. (cf. προσετέθη in l. 28; ἐγένετο, l. 37); general conduct by impfs. (cf. ἐπηνεῖτο in l. 35; ἐκρατύνοντο, l. 40, etc.). — φιλέταιρος: i.e. ready to sacrifice one's self for one's friends; the political signification of ἐταῖροι, as it appears below in ἐταιρία and ἐταιρικόν, being esp. prominent. Found only here in Thuc. — 26. εὐπρεπής: fair-seeming. Cf. c. 11. 10; 38. 12; i. 39. 6. — τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα: cf. Plato *Rep.* 560 d σωφροσύνην ἀνανδρίαν καλοῦντές τε καὶ προπηλακίζοντες. — 27. καὶ τὸ . . . ἀργόν: for the sentiment, cf. Eur. *Oed.* (frg. 556) πότερα γενέσθαι δῆτα χρησιμώτερον συνετὸν ἄτολμον ἢ θρασύν τε κάμαθῇ; — ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν: cf. vii. 67. 18 ἀργότεραι ἐς τὸ δρᾶν τι. — τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὁξὺ ἀνδρὸς μοίρα προσετέθη: inconsiderate rashness was held to be the part of a man. For ἐμπλήκτως, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1358; Plato *Gorg.* 482 a. ἀνδρὸς μοίρα προσετέθη = ἐν ἀνδρὸς μοίρα (or ἐν μέρει, Dem. ii. 14; iii. 31) ἐτέθη. — 28. ἀσφαλεία δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι . . . εὐλογος: prudent reflexion a specious pretext for yielding, lit. in security



τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὖλογος. καὶ 5  
 30 ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων πιστὸς αἰεὶ, ὁ δ' ἀντιλέγων αὐτῷ ὑπο-  
 πτος. ἐπιβουλεύσας δέ τις τυχὼν ξυνετὸς καὶ ὑπονοήσας  
 ἔτι δεινότερος· προβουλεύσας δὲ ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτῶν δε-  
 ῆσει, τῆς τε ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπε-  
 πληγμένος. ἀπλῶς τε ὁ φθάσας τὸν μέλλοντα κακὸν τι  
 35 δρᾶν ἐπηνείτο, καὶ ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον.  
 καὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον 6

to take further thought, a specious pretext for turning away. So St. explains; but see App. ἐνομίσθη is to be supplied here, as well as with the following predicates (πιστός and ὑποπτος). · See on c. 107. 25. ἀσφαλεῖς adv., as in c. 56. 20. ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, *further deliberate, reflect*. ἐπι- as in ἐπιγινῶναι, c. 57. 6; i. 70. 8; ii. 65. 48. See on ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν, i. 123. 3. ἀποτροπή not act., as in c. 45. 31, but belonging rather to the mid. ἀποτρέπεσθαι (ii. 40. 17; iv. 59. 7; viii. 10. 10), as ἀποστροφή (iv. 76. 25) to ἀποστρέφεισθαι, ἐπαγωγή (l. 9; 100. 6) to ἐπάγεσθαι, ἀποκομιδὴ (i. 137. 26) to ἀποκομίζεσθαι, ξυναλλαγή (l. 45) to ξυναλλάσσεισθαι. (St.)

30. ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων πιστὸς αἰεὶ: *the hot-headed man was always trusted*. Rauchenstein (*Philol.* xxxv. p. 590) conjectures ὁ μὲν πάντ' ἐπαινῶν, Hampke *ibid.* p. 398 ὁ μὲν χαλεπὰ ἐπαινῶν. — 31. ἐπιβουλεύσας τυχὼν: ἐπιβουλεύσας is subord. to τυχὼν (for which St. and Widmann read τυχὼν τε, after Dion. H. p. 889), *if one had succeeded in any plot*. For the paronomasia, ἐπιβουλεύσας, προβουλεύσας, see on c. 39. 10; i. 33. 26. — ὑπονοήσας ἔτι δεινότερος: *if any one had sus-*

*pected a plot* (he was considered) *still more clever*. τις is understood with ὑπονοήσας as with προβουλεύσας in the next line. δεινότερος = ξυνετώτερος. — 32. αὐτῶν: i.e. τοῦ τε ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ ὑπονοεῖν. — 33. τῆς τε ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆς κτέ.: sc. because he took no part in the plots of his faction against their opponents. — ἐκπεπληγμένος: *smitten with fear of*, pass. with acc. as in v. 10. 30; vi. 11. 14; 33. 16. All other examples of this const. seem to be Ionic or Tragic. Cf. Hdt. ix. 82. 11; Soph. *Aj.* 33; *El.* 1045; *Phil.* 1026. See *Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xxii. p. xviii. — 34. ἀπλῶς τε: Haase's conjecture (*Lucubr.* p. 75) for ἀπλῶς δέ. See on c. 40. 16; iv. 64. 11; vi. 37. 18. — τὸν μέλλοντα κακὸν τι δρᾶν: refers, as τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον in the next clause, to an associate, not an opponent. — 35. ὁ ἐπικελεύσας τὸν μὴ διανοούμενον: with both parties. κακὸν τι δρᾶν is understood. Kr. *Spr.* 55, 4, 11. ἐπικελεύσας, as Xen. *Cyrop.* iii. 3. 41, a strengthened κελεύσας, ἐπι- having the same force as in ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, l. 29. Cf. ἐπιδιώκειν, c. 33. 14; ἐπιχρῆσθαι, i. 41. 4.

36. τὸ ξυγγενὲς . . . ἐγένετο: *the tie of blood was weaker than that of party*.

ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν ·  
οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελία αἱ τοιαῦται  
ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξία. καὶ τὰς  
40 ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θεῷ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρα-  
τύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομήσαι. τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναν- 7  
τίων καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐνεδέχοντο ἔργων φυλακῇ, εἰ πρού-  
χοιεν, καὶ οὐ γενναιότητι. ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαί τέ τινα περὶ  
πλείονος ἦν ἢ αὐτὸν μὴ προπαθεῖν. καὶ ὄρκοι εἴ ποὺ ἄρα  
45 γένοιτο ξυναλλαγῆς, ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον ἑκα-

τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ, as in viii. 48. 18. — 37. διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι : (sc. τὸ ἐται-  
ρικόν) i.e. because restrained by no  
scruples. On account of the harshness  
of the ellipsis, Badham conjectured,  
and v. H. writes, ἀνετοιμότερον. If  
any change is to be made, Steup  
would rather insert τὸ ἐταιρικόν after  
ἐτοιμότερον. — 38. οὐ γὰρ . . . πλεον-  
εξία : for such associations were not  
formed in accordance with the estab-  
lished laws for the (public) good, but  
contrary to the established laws for  
private advantage. — ὠφελία : cor-  
rectly restored by St., for ὠφελίας of  
the Mss., since it is evidently opp. to  
πλεονεξία, as μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων  
to παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας. The emen-  
dation is supported not only by Val-  
la's rendering of the passage, non  
enim huiusmodi conventus  
per leges ob utilitatem, sed  
contra leges ob avaritiam fie-  
bant, but by Dion. H.'s paraphrase  
(p. 891), οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ταῖς κατὰ νόμον  
ὠφελίαις αἱ τῶν ἐταιριῶν ἐγίγνοντο σύν-  
οδοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τι  
πλεονεκτεῖν. ὠφελία and πλεονεξία are  
dats. of purpose. See on l. 8. —  
39. ξύνοδοι : Schol. συστάσεις καὶ ἐται-

ρίαι. Cf. Plut. Ages. 32 ἐμνήθη συνω-  
μοσία καὶ σύνοδος ἀνδρῶν Σπαρτιατῶν  
ἐπὶ πράγμασι νεωτέροις εἰς οἰκίαν κρύφα  
συνερχομένων. — 40. ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς :  
i.e. ἐς ἀλλήλους. G. 996 ; H. 686 b. —  
οὐ τῷ θεῷ νόμῳ : on the decay of awe  
of the divine as a symptom of demor-  
alization in society, see Introd. to  
Book I. p. 28. — ἐκρατύνοντό : see on  
c. 18. 7.

41. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων . . . γενναιό-  
τητι : i.e. fair words (here definite  
proposals) were not relied on ; they  
were accepted, if the momentary  
superiority of opponents (εἰ προύχοιεν,  
sc. οἱ ἐναντίοι) made this necessary,  
but only guardedly, not in a spirit of  
generous confidence. For ἀπό with  
the pass., see on c. 36. 24. Steup  
considers the subj. of προύχοιεν to be  
the same as that of ἐνεδέχοντο, com-  
paring c. 83. 6 κρείσσους δὲ ὄντες κτέ.  
— 42. ἔργων φυλακῇ : cf. τῶν ἔργων  
τῆς ἐπιμελείας, c. 46. 19 ; ἔργῳ φυλασ-  
σομένη, vi. 40. 17. — 43. γενναιότητι :  
like τὸ γενναῖον, c. 83. 2. — ἀντι-  
τιμωρήσασθαι : though the simple  
verb expresses the idea of retaliation,  
this is intensified by ἀντι-. — 45. ξυν-  
αλλαγῆς : so far removed from ὄρκοι



τέρῳ διδόμενοι ἴσχυον οὐκ ἐχόντων ἄλλοθεν δύναμιν·  
 ἐν δὲ τῷ παρατυχόντι ὁ φθάσας θαρσῆσαι, εἰ ἴδοι ἄφρα-  
 κτον, ἥδιον διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐτιμωρεῖτο ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προφα-  
 νοῦς, καὶ τό τε ἀσφαλὲς ἐλογίζετο καὶ ὅτι ἀπάτη περιγε-  
 50 νόμενος ξυνέσεως ἀγώνισμα προσελάμβανε. ῥᾶον δ' οἱ

that the connexion is rather loose, *with a view to reconciliation*. — **πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον**: *in view of their perplexity*; more expressive than *κατά τι ἄπορον*, i. 136. 6. *πρὸς* as in *πρὸς τὸ παρόν*, c. 40. 35; ii. 22. 1; v. 9. 14. — **ἐκατέρῳ διδόμενοι**: for the dat. of agent with pass., see on c. 64. 15. — **46. οὐκ ἐχόντων**: without expressed subj. as in l. 6 above, but *αὐτῶν* is easily supplied from *ἐκατέρῳ*, as *they had no power from any other source*. Hampke (*ibid.* p. 400) refers *οὐκ ἐχόντων* to *δρκοι*, *having authority for no other reason*, sc. than their present helplessness. Steup, not satisfied with any interpretation that has been offered, suggests that the words have crept into the text from a marginal explanation of *πρὸς τὸ ἄπορον ἐκατέρῳ διδόμενοι*. — **47. ἐν τῷ παρατυχόντι**: as in v. 38. 3, “in any event that might chance.” *παρα-* with the force of *αἰεί*, of what presents itself from time to time; hence the sing. Cf. i. 122. 6 *πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον*. — **ὁ φθάσας θαρσῆσαι**: *he who first made bold*, i.e. without the help of oaths. As Thuc. nowhere else construes the inf. with *φθάνειν*, *θαρσῆσαι* was rather to be expected. Cf. c. 23. 21; 83. 11; 89. 11; 112. 5; ii. 91. 5; iv. 4. 11; v. 3. 5, 8; 10. 13; vi. 61. 11; 97. 11; vii. 6. 16; 42. 19; viii. 12. 3; 92. 3. The const. with inf. is rare in Attic, more freq. in late writers. Kr. *Spr.* 56,

5, 5. The inf. is doubtless used here to avoid the concurrence of two participles. — **ἄφρακτον**: (sc. *τὸν ἐναντιον*) *unguarded, off his guard*. Cf. c. 39. 8; vi. 33. 14. — **48. διὰ τὴν πίστιν**: i.e. because his enemy relied on the oath, and so was *ἄφρακτος*. — **ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς**: adv., as in i. 35. 17; 66. 7; ii. 93. 15; v. 9. 13. The phrase seems to be peculiar to Thuc. Cf. *ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς*, c. 43. 10; 109. 10. — **49. καὶ τό τε ἀσφαλὲς ἐλογίζετο . . . προσελάμβανε**: *and he reckoned not only the safety (of such a course), but also that proving superior by means of deceit he was winning besides the prize of shrewdness*. *λογίζεσθαι* as in i. 76. 13; ii. 89. 24. — **50. ξυνέσεως ἀγώνισμα**: cf. c. 37. 27 *ξυνέσεως ἀγών*. — **ῥᾶον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ . . . ἀγαθοί**: “men in general, when dishonest, more easily gain credit for cleverness, than, when simple, for goodness.” *ῥᾶον κέκληνται*, lit. *are more readily called*. This is the view of Arn., Jow., and St. But Cl. and Steup follow Kr. in rendering, *prefer to be called*, which makes *τῷ μὲν αἰσχύνονται . . . ἀγάλλονται* a mere repetition. The pf. *κέκληνται* as in ii. 37. 4; v. 9. 35. GMT. 49 a; H. 849. Steup brackets *δντες*, on the ground that predicates follow *καλεῖσθαι* without *ὦν*, and sees in it a marginal explanation of some one who mistook *κακοῦργοι* as equiv. to *κακοῦργοι δντες*.

πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι ὄντες δεξιοὶ κέκληνται ἢ ἀμαθεῖς ἀγα-  
 θοί, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἰσχύνονται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται. πάν- 8  
 των δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχὴ ἢ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτι-  
 μίαν· ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθισταμένων  
 55 τὸ πρόθυμον. οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες μετ' ὀνό-  
 ματος ἐκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλήθους τε ἰσονομίας πολι-  
 τικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν  
 κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἄθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπον  
 ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ

—51. κακοῦργοι ὄντες δέξιοι . . . ἀμα-  
 θεῖς ἀγαθοί: observe the chiasmus. —  
 52. τῷ μὲν . . . ἀγάλλονται: chiastic  
 with regard to the preceding. "They  
 are ashamed of simple goodness, but  
 glory in clever dishonesty." Jow.  
*Cf.* Plut. *de Garrul.* 4 ἡδὶόν γε τοῖς  
 πονηροῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν ἐπιδεξίους, ἢ χρηστοῖς  
 ἀδολέσχαις. For the order ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ,  
 see on c. 61. 6.

53. αἴτιον: used as pred. subst.,  
 as often, without regard to gender of  
 subj. See on i. 11. 1. G. 925; H. 617.  
 Madvig (*Adv.* i. p. 317) and Hampke  
 (*ibid.* p. 400 f.) would bracket αἴτιον,  
 Hude (p. 113 sq.) both αἴτιον and ἢ.  
 H. Weil (*Rev. de Philol. N. S.* ii. p. 92)  
 conjectures πάντων δ' αὐτῶν ἀρχὴ ἢ διὰ  
 πλεονεξία καὶ φιλοτιμία. — ἀρχή: Schol.  
 ἢ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ βούλεσθαι ἄρχειν. *Cf.*  
 gloria = gloriae cupiditas. As  
 to the order, ἀρχὴ ἢ διὰ πλεονεξίαν, *cf.*  
 i. 41. 15 φιλονικίας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα,  
 75. 1 προθυμίας ἔνεκα τῆς τότε, 77. 9  
 δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν. — 54. ἐκ δ'  
 αὐτῶν: i.e. τῆς πλεονεξίας καὶ φιλοτι-  
 μίας. — καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθιστα-  
 μένων: with indef. pers. subj. (as in  
 l. 6). *When men were once embarked*  
*in strife.* — 55. τὸ πρόθυμον: sc. ἦν,

*sprang zealous party-spirit.* — οἱ γὰρ  
 . . . προστάντες: aor., *those who had*  
*become leaders in the cities.* — μετ'  
 ὀνόματος εὐπρεποῦς: Sallust's (*Cat.*  
 38) *honestis nominibus.* — 56.  
 πλήθους τε . . . προτιμήσει: explana-  
 tion of μετ' ὀνόματος . . . εὐπρεποῦς,  
 the dat. προτιμήσει being a variation  
 of μετά with the gen. The one party  
 laid stress on the designation πλήθους  
 ἰσονομία πολιτική (*the political equality*  
*of the many*), rather than the objec-  
 tionable δημοκρατία, — the other on  
 ἀριστοκρατία σώφρων (*a moderate aris-*  
*tocracy*), rather than the hated ὀλι-  
 γαρχία. On the ἰσονομία πολιτική, see  
 Schoemann, *Antiq. Jur.* p. 95; Nie-  
 buhr, *Hist. of Rome*, i. p. 315. —  
 57. ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος: the ὀλι-  
 γοι were given to boasting of their  
 σωφροσύνη. *Cf.* c. 65. 16; viii. 53. 21;  
 64. 21. — τὰ μὲν κοινὰ . . . ἐποιοῦντο:  
*in name devoted to the public in-*  
*terests they made them prizes* (for  
 which they strove). τὰ κοινὰ, as in  
 i. 120. 4; 141. 31, obj. of θεραπεύ-  
 οντες, as well as of ἄθλα ἐποιοῦντο. —  
 59. ἀγωνιζόμενοι . . . μείζους: for the  
 sentiment, *cf.* Sall. *Jug.* 42. 4. — περι-  
 γίγνεσθαι: for the inf. dependent on



60 δεινότατα, ἐπεξῆσαν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους, οὐ  
μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ πόλει ξυμφόρου προτιθέντες,  
ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐκατέροις που αἰεὶ ἡδονὴν ἔχον ὀρίζοντες, καὶ ἡ  
μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως ἢ χειρὶ κτώμενοι τὸ  
κρατεῖν ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν ἐκπιμπλά-  
65 ναι. ὥστε εὐσεβεία μὲν οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον, εὐπρεπεία  
δὲ λόγου, οἷς ξυμβαίῃ ἐπιφθόνως τι διαπράξασθαι, ἄμει-

ἀγωνιζόμενοι, see on c. 38. 10. — 60. ἐπεξῆσαν τὰς τιμωρίας: pursued revenges. Cf. c. 40. 28; v. 100. 5. Hampke's conjecture (*ibid.* p. 401 f.) ἐπεξήνεγκαν, increased, seems unnecessary. — ἔτι μείζους: pred., still greater, sc. than the δεινότατα τολμήματα. — οὐ μέχρι . . . προτιθέντες: not stretching their revenges up to the limits of right and the advantage of the state, i.e. not setting this limit to them. So Cl. explains, retaining the Vulg. But the signification of προτιθέναι which he gives seems to be without parallel. The ordinary meaning of προτιθέντες, when referring to punishments, i.e. proponentes, does not suit the verb ἐπεξῆσαν. The reading προστιθέντες (Dion. H.) though slightly supported, is adopted by Kr., St., and Bm., and gives the best sense, — inflicting punishments (or revenges). Cf. c. 39. 38. — 62. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐκατέροις που αἰεὶ ἡδονὴν ἔχον ὀρίζοντες: limiting them according to what at any time afforded pleasure to either party. ἔχον = παρέχον. See on c. 53. 12; i. 97. 13. — 63. μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως: καταψηφιζόμενοι ἀδίκως, Schol. For the order of the words, cf. ii. 39. 20 μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεῖον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας. See on

c. 23. 27; 46. 18. ψήφου ἀδίκου is subjective (not as c. 16. 2 ἀσθενέας obj.) gen. Cf. i. 87. 17 ἡ διαγνώμη αὐτῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. A fraudulent count is prob. not meant, but a vote influenced by hate and thirst for revenge. — ἢ χειρὶ κτώμενοι τὸ κρατεῖν: the combination of a prepositional phrase with a partic. const. is freq. Cf. c. 25. 9; 42. 23; i. 39. 2; ii. 89. 22. — χειρί: by force, only here. Cf. ii. 13. 19 διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν. — 64. ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν: were ready, i.e. unscrupulous as to the means employed (ἢ μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως ἢ χειρὶ). — τὴν αὐτίκα φιλονικίαν: also i. 41. 15. — ἐκπιμπλάναι: explore, as ἀποπλῆσαι, vii. 68. 5. — 65. ὥστε . . . ἄμεινον ἤκουον: εὐπρεπεία δὲ λόγου, as antithesis to εὐσεβεία μὲν, is the ground of ἄμεινον ἤκουον. "On piety neither side placed any value, but by fair pretences those had a better name who succeeded in accomplishing some odious purpose." Many editors construe εὐπρεπεία λόγου with the rel. clause (see on c. 39. 5; i. 5. 11). — ἐνόμιζον: = ἐχρῶντο, with dat. also i. 77. 26; ii. 38. 3; Hdt. ii. 50. 14. Kühn. 425, 5. — 66. ἐπιφθόνως: as in i. 75. 3; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5. 37. — ἄμεινον ἤκουον: i.e. were more praised

νον ἤκουον. τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων  
 ἢ ὅτι οὐ ξυνηγωνίζοντο ἢ φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι διεφθεί-  
 83 ροντο. οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας διὰ τὰς 1  
 στάσεις τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, καὶ τὸ εὐήθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον  
 πλείστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη, τὸ δὲ ἀντι-  
 τετάχθαι ἀλλήλοις τῇ γνώμῃ ἀπίστως ἐπὶ πολὺ διήνεγ-  
 5 κεν · οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων οὔτε λόγος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ὄρ- 2

for plausibility of speech than for piety. — 67. τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν : οἱ μηδετέρῳ μέρει προστιθέμενοι, Schol. Cf. viii. 75. 4 οἱ διὰ μέσου, iv. 83. 9 ἐτοῖμος ὢν Βρασίδα μέσῳ δικαστῇ ἐπιτρέπειν, Dio C. xliv. 29 καὶ οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν στασιάζειν παράγεται. — 68. ὅτι οὐ ξυνηγωνίζοντο : i.e. because they did not furnish the aid demanded. — φθόνῳ τοῦ περιεῖναι : = ὅτι ἐφθονοῦντο διὰ τὸ περιεῖναι. Kr. compares Eur. I. T. 352

οἱ δυστυχεῖς γὰρ τοῖσιν εὐτυχεστέροις αὐτοὶ κακῶς πράξαντες οὐ φρονοῦσιν εὔ.

— διεφθείροντο : for the pl. verb with neut. pl. subj., see G. 899, 2 ; H. 604 a ; Kr. Spr. 63, 2, 1 ; Kühn. 365 a. Cf. iv. 88. 6 ; vii. 57. 64.

83. 1. πᾶσα ἰδέα : see on c. 81. 22. — κακοτροπίας : of wickedness, i.e. baseness of the whole mode of thought and conduct (i.e. τρόποι, ii. 36. 16 ; 39. 21 ; 41. 7). The word occurs elsewhere only in Dio C., Jos., and other late writers. — 2. τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ : cf. c. 82. 3. — καὶ τὸ εὐήθες . . . ἠφανίσθη : and simplicity, of which nobility partakes most largely, was laughed at and disappeared. τὸ εὐήθες as εὐήθεια, c. 45. 30. This passage is cited by

grammarians (Photius, Thomas Mag., Moeris) as furnishing a characteristic example of the original meaning of the word. — τὸ γενναῖον : cf. c. 82. 43 γενναϊότητι. — 3. πλείστον μετέχει : cf. i. 84. 12 αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει. — τὸ δὲ ἀντιτετάχθαι . . . διήνεγκεν : but to be in mind distrustfully arrayed against each other prevailed far and wide. Cf. c. 82. 41 ff. — ἀντιτετάχθαι : as in war, v. 55. 7. — 4. ἐπὶ πολὺ : of space, as in i. 62. 24 ; ii. 75. 8 ; v. 73. 25 ; vi. 37. 18 ; 70. 12 ; viii. 10. 9. — διήνεγκε : Schol. κρεῖττον ἐγένετο.

5. οὐ γὰρ ἦν . . . φοβερός : “for there was no word binding enough, no oath terrible enough, to bring about an adjustment.” Lit. for there was, that could bring about an adjustment, neither binding word nor fearful oath. ὁ διαλύσων (qui dirimeret) is construed by most editt. as pred. (see Kr. Spr. 50, 4, 4). But Steup objects that the implication would then be, that there was not indeed λόγος ἐχυρὸς or ὄρκος φοβερός, but something else, ὁ διαλύσων. He makes therefore διαλίσων attrib., and the complete subj. ὁ διαλύσων . . . φοβερός. Cf. ii. 62. 13 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὔτε βασιλεὺς κωλύσει οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος. —



κος φοβερός, κρείσσους δὲ ὄντες ἅπαντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαίου μὴ παθεῖν μᾶλλον προεσκόπουν ἢ πιστεῦσαι ἐδύναντο. καὶ οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην ὥς τὰ 3 πλείω περιεγίγνοντο· τῷ γὰρ δεδιέναι τό τε αὐτῶν ἐν-  
10 δεές καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνετόν, μὴ λόγοις τε ἥσους ὧσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης φθάσωσι προεπιβουλευόμενοι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρουν. οἱ 4

6. κρείσσους δὲ ὄντες . . . μᾶλλον προεσκόπουν ἢ κτέ. : *all men when stronger (than their enemies), by consideration of the hopelessness of security (in word and oath), rather made provision not to suffer, than were able to trust others.* This seems to be the meaning of this much discussed passage. κρείσσους ὄντες = εἰ προύχοιεν; c. 82. 42. ἐς, “with reference to.” St.’s explanation (*Rh. Mus.* xv. p. 475), adopted by Cl., is: “all men found more strength in calculations providing against the unexpected than in pledges of security (such as promises and oaths), and looked rather to suffering no ill, than were able to trust others.” With this view, τοῦ βεβαίου, depending on κρείσσους, = ἢ τῷ βεβαίῳ. Cf. vi. 1. 1 μέλζονι παρασκευῇ τῆς μετὰ Λάχης, and Xen. *Anab.* ii. 5. 13. Dobree supplies τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ ὅρκου with κρείσσους (cf. c. 84. 12 κρείσσων τοῦ δικαίου), which Kr. rightly thinks harsh. The explanation of the Schol. is, ῥέποντες δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς λογισμοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐλπίζειν τινὰ πίστιν καὶ βεβαιότητα (“the thoughts of all men tended to despair of security”), which Bl., Jow., and Hude prefer. Dio C.’s imitation of the passage (frg. 49) is

viz. κρείττους ἐς τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ προδήλου (i.e. ἢ ἐς τὸ πρόδηλον) τῷ λογισμῷ γιγνόμενοι.

8. οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην : *those inferior in intellect.* Cf. c. 37. 17. — ὥς τὰ πλείω : = ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον, c. 37. 18. — 9. τὸ ἐνδεές : Schol. τὴν ἔλλειψιν τῆς γνώμης. — 10. μὴ . . . φθάσωσι προεπιβουλευόμενοι : *exegetical explanation of τό τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεές κτέ.* — 11. ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν : *in consequence of their versatility.* ἐκ as in i. 2. 17; 75. 7. τὸ πολύτροπον as πολυτροπία, Hdt. ii. 121. ε 12. Cf. πολύτροπος, Hom. α 1. As noun not found elsewhere. αὐτῶν, i.e. τῶν ἐναντίων. — φθάσωσι προεπιβουλευόμενοι : the pres. partic. with φθάνειν as in vi. 99. 12, elsewhere in Thuc. always the aor. partic. (c. 23. 21; 89. 11; 112. 5; ii. 91. 5; iv. 4. 11; 104. 20; v. 3. 5; 10. 13; vi. 61. 11; 97. 11; 101. 34; vii. 6. 16; 23. 3; 25. 45; 42. 19; viii. 12. 3; 17. 7; 95. 20; 100. 3), except possibly viii. 92. 4, where Vat. has the pf. See Gildersleeve, *Amer. J. of Ph.* xii. p. 76.

12. οἱ δέ : *their opponents*, already characterized as οἱ ξυνετώτεροι. — 13. καταφρονούντες : *in causal relation to ἀφρακτοί, arrogantly presuming.* Schol. διὰ καταφρόνησιν πεποιθότες.

δὲ καταφρονούντες καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲν  
σφᾶς δεῖν λαμβάνειν ἃ γνώμῃ ἔξεστιν ἄφρακτοι μᾶλλον  
15 διεφθείροντο.

**84** [Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν προε- 1  
τολμήθη, καὶ ὅποσα ὕβρει μὲν ἀρχόμενοι τὸ πλεόν ἢ  
σωφροσύνη ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν παρασχόντων οἱ ἀντ-

On καταφρονούντες depend both καὶ προαισθέσθαι and ἔργῳ οὐδὲν δεῖν λαμβάνειν. Kr. Spr. 65, 11, 7; Kühn. 473, 1. Cf. Hdt. i. 66. 6 καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι, Xen. Hell. iv. 5. 12 κατεφρόνουν διὰ τὰς ἔμ-προσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφίσιν. — προαισθέσθαι: Cl. adopted from Vat. and Aug. προαίσθεσθαι (as pres.). But since the only mark of distinction from the aor. is the accent, as to which the better Mss.\* agree hardly anywhere, it is best to consider this aor. here, as well as in ii. 93. 17; v. 26. 29; vi. 40. 9; vii. 75. 8. See Steup, App. on ii. 93. 17; St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 66. — 14. ἄφρακτοι: see on c. 82. 47. — μᾶλλον: i.e. in greater numbers. Cf. ii. 7. 15. Junghahn (N. Jahrb. cxix. p. 367 f.) unnecessarily objects to the statement in § 3, 4 that in the στάσεις inferior intellects generally got the better of the cleverer sort. Steup infers from the striking transitions and repetitions of c. 82 and 83 (cf. e.g. c. 83. § 1 f. with c. 82. § 7), that these two chapters are composed of reflexions written at several different times.

**84.** Reflexions of a later moralist on the contents of the two preceding chapters.

(As to the authenticity of the chapter, see App.)

1. δ' οὖν: acc. to Thuc.'s usage, resumptive after a digression. See on i. 3. 19. — αὐτῶν: referring with emphasis to the ills described in the two preceding chapters, or perhaps, as Arn. explains, to τὰ ἔργα in c. 83. 12. See on i. 1. 10. — προετολμήθη: cf. c. 82. 2 ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο. The word is not found elsewhere except in late authors. Cf. Dio C. xlvii. 4; Herodian vi. 7. See Steph. Thes. s.v. — 2. καὶ ὅποσα κτέ.: explanatory of τὰ πολλά, both whatsoever —. 'The three principal causes of the crimes committed in civil disturbances: 1st, the desire of vengeance for oppression and insolence in the ruling party; 2nd, the thirst of plunder, which urges the needy to covet the property of the rich; 3rd, the mere bitterness of party spirit, which men contract by being habitually opposed to one another.' Arn. The const. is, ὅποσα . . . δράσειαν . . . γιγνώσκοιεν . . . ἐπέλθοιεν. After καὶ ὅποσα ὕβρει the natural const. would have been καὶ ὅποσα πένιαι, but the insertion of μὲν causes the slight change. — ὕβρει μὲν . . . παρασχόντων: "ruled more with insolence than with moderation by those who had now afforded them opportunity for revenge." With τὴν τιμωρίαν παρασχεῖν, cf. δίκην παρασχεῖν, Hes. Op. 710; Eur. Andr. 1107; Phoen.



αμυνόμενοι δράσειαν, πενίας δὲ τῆς εἰωθυίας ἀπαλλα-  
 5 ξείοντές τινες, μάλιστα δ' ἂν διὰ πάθους ἐπιθυμοῦντες  
 τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν παρὰ δίκην γιγνώσκοιεν, οἳ τε μὴ  
 ἐπὶ πλεονεξία, ἀπὸ ἴσου δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιόντες ἀπαιδευ-  
 σία ὀργῆς πλείστον ἐκφερόμενοι ὡμῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως  
 ἐπέλθοιεν. ξυνταραχθέντος τε τοῦ βίου ἐς τὸν καιρὸν 2  
 10 τοῦτον τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα ἢ ἀνθρωπεία  
 φύσις, εἰωθυία καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν, ἀσμένῃ

1654. — 4. δράσειαν : the opt. may be explained as that of general rel. cond. (*all that men would naturally have done who*). GMT. 532; H. 914, v 2. Cf. vii. 71. 22 ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ μέγα στρατόπεδον πολυειδῆ ἀναγκάζοιτο φθέγγεσθαι. If this explanation be adopted, the ἂν of l. 5 must be construed not with γιγνώσκοιεν, but with the partic. ἐπιθυμοῦντες, forming with it a sort of parenthesis, as Kr. explains, μάλιστα δ' ἂν διὰ πάθους ἐπεθύμουν τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν, and *who would be above all men passionately covetous of their neighbour's goods*. Or ἂν may be taken with γιγνώσκοιεν and supplied with δράσειαν and ἐπέλθοιεν. It might indeed have easily dropped out after δράσειαν. — ἀπαλλαξείοντες : found only here and i. 95. 24. — 5. διὰ πάθους : *in passion*, a use of the word which seems not to occur elsewhere before Aristotle. Nor does it seem appropriate to the context. Why should avarice of all the desires be esp. mentioned as passionate? For the const., cf. δι' ὀργῆς, viii. 43. 24. — 6. γιγνώσκοιεν : *determine on, purpose*. Cf. i. 70. 7, 27. — οἳ τε : the particle introduces, acc. to Thuc.'s usage, the *third* member.

— 7. ἀπὸ ἴσου δὲ μάλιστα ἐπιόντες : *i.e.* 'those who enter into revolution on an equality with their adversaries — not as oppressed men thirsting for vengeance, nor as needy men desiring plunder — and whose cruelties are owing merely to the fury of party spirit which they acquire in the course of the contest.' Arn. — ἀπαιδευσία ὀργῆς πλείστον ἐκφερόμενοι : *carried away for the most part by the ungovernableness of their passions*. Cf. Eur. (apud Stob. Flor. 20. 12) πόλλ' ἔστιν ὀργῆς ἐξ ἀπαιδεύτου κακά, Jos. Antiq. xvii. 11. 3 ἀπαιδευσία τοῦ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις, xix. 2. 2 ἀπαιδευτον τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπαφίει. See on ἀπαιδευσία γνώμης, c. 42. 6.

9. ἐς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον : *at this crisis*. For similar use of ἐς, cf. iv. 89. 6; vi. 16. 33. Or can the sense be, *to this point, degree*? — 10. καὶ τῶν νόμων κρατήσασα : *having got a complete mastery over the laws, i.e.* no longer regarding them. For partic. in different cases thus co-ord., see on c. 66. 12; i. 65. 2. Kr. Spr. 56, 14, 2. — 11. εἰωθυία καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀδικεῖν : cf. Dio C. lii. 34. 6 ἢ φύσις καὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον πολλοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν ἐξάγει, 34. 7 ὁ νόμος . . . οὐ δύνα-

ἐδήλωσεν ἀκρατῆς μὲν ὀργῆς οὔσα, κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, πολεμία δὲ τοῦ προύχοντος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ τε ὀσίου τὸ τιμωρεῖσθαι προυτίθεσαν τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸ  
 15 κερδαίνειν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ βλάπτουσιν ἰσχὺν εἶχε τὸ φθονεῖν. ἀξιοῦσί τε τοὺς κοινούς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ ἄνθρωποι νόμους, ἀφ' ὧν ἅπασιν ἐλπίς ὑπόκειται σφαλεῖσι καὶ αὐτοὺς διασώζεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλων τιμωρίαις προκαταλύειν καὶ μὴ ὑπολείπεσθαι, εἴ ποτε ἄρα τις κινδυνεύσας τινὸς  
 20 δεήσεται αὐτῶν.]

85 Οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι τοιαύταις 1

ται τῆς φύσεως αἰεὶ κρατεῖν. — ἀσμένῃ ἐδήλωσεν . . . τοῦ δικαίου : *took delight in showing that its passions were ungovernable, that it was stronger than justice.* Cf. c. 45. § 7. Bl. cites, as imitations of this passage, Jos. *Antiq.* xvii. 8. 1 (of Herod) ἀνὴρ ὧμὸς μὲν εἰς πάντας ὁμοίως, καὶ ὀργῆς μὲν ἥσων, κρείσσων δὲ τοῦ δικαίου, xix. 2. 2 κρείσσων μὲν τοῦ δικαίου γενόμενος, ἥσων δὲ τοῦ κατ' ἰδίαν ἡδονῇ, and xviii. 8. 8. But, as St. says, this imitation is uncertain, since such use of κρείσσων is freq. — 13. πολεμία δὲ τοῦ προύχοντος : cf. ii. 35. 16 τῷ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν, Hdt. vii. 236. 7 τοῦ τε εὐτυχέειν φθονέουσι καὶ τὸ κρέσσον στυγέουσι. — 14. προυτίθεσαν : for the const., see on c. 39. 20. — 15. ἐν ᾧ . . . τὸ φθονεῖν : *when* (lit. in a case where) *envy had not its fatal power.* ἐν ᾧ μὴ = εἰ μὴ ἐν τούτῳ. Cl. renders, “in which case envy would have had not its fatal effect.” But with this view, though the omission of ἂν would give no trouble (cf. vi. 55. 18; viii. 86. 22), it requires a strained interpretation to justify μὴ.

16. ἀξιοῦσί τε κτέ. : Arn. well ex-

presses the sense, “Men in their violence set the example of doing away with those common laws of humanity which all parties alike might have appealed to in their adversity, and by their own previous conduct put themselves out of the pale of these laws, when they themselves might have occasion to solicit their protection.” ἀξιοῦσι, *presume*, as in i. 42. 2; 74. 12; iv. 66. 9; vii. 63. 21. — 17. ἐλπίς ὑπόκειται : cf. vi. 87. 18 ὑπεῖναι ἐλπίδα, Dem. xix. 24 πάντα [τὰλλ'] οἶμαι τότε δευτέρ' ἦν τῶν ὑποκειμένων προσδοκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων. — σφαλεῖσι : *in case they should be unfortunate.* — 18. αὐτούς : after preceding dat. G. 928, 1; H. 941; Kühn. 475, 2 a. See on i. 31. 10. — 19. ὑπολείπεσθαι : *mid., to let them stand, i.e. the laws.* — εἴ ποτε ἄρα : *if ever perchance.*

85. Eurymedon leaves Corcyra. Those of the oligarchical party in Corcyra who had escaped establish themselves first on the mainland opposite, then on Mount Istone, and harass their opponents.

1. οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι :



ὄργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ  
 Εὐρυμέδων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν ταῖς ναυσίν.  
 ὕστερον δὲ οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων (διεσώθησαν 2  
 5 γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους) τείχη τε λαβόντες, ἃ ἦν ἐν  
 τῇ ἡπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 ὀρμώμενοι ἐλήζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον,  
 καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐπρεσβεύοντο δὲ 3  
 καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόρινθον περὶ καθόδου· καὶ  
 10 ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπράσσετο, ὕστερον χρόνῳ πλοῖα καὶ

opp. to οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων in  
 l. 4. But since these fugitives were  
 such as the result of the events  
 described in c. 81, to which events  
 also, in explanation of their exist-  
 ence, the parenthesis διεσώθησαν . . .  
 ἐς πεντακοσίους refers back, Steup  
 suspects κατὰ τὴν πόλιν to be an in-  
 terpolation. — **τοιαύταις ὄργαῖς ταῖς  
 πρώταις** : i.e. outbreaks of party pas-  
 sion. *τοιαύταις*, pred. referring to  
 c. 81. Cf. vi. 44. 1 *τοσαύτη ἡ πρώτη*  
*πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον διέπλει*. — **2. ταῖς  
 πρώταις** : usually understood as con-  
 trasted with the cruelties described  
 in iv. 46 ff. But Cl. and Jow. think  
 it more natural to consider the words  
 a repetition of c. 82. 2 *ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ*  
*(i.e. ἡ στάσις) ἐγένετο*, supplying *πασῶν*.  
 St. takes *ταῖς πρώταις* as opp. to *ὕστε-*  
*ρον* in l. 4. But *ὕστερον* prob. refers  
 only to the departure of Eurymedon  
 with his ships, after which the fugi-  
 tives could make their venture. Be-  
 sides, this seizure by the oligarchs of  
 a point on the mainland does not  
 come under the notion of the *ὄργαί*  
 above. — **3. ἀπέπλευσαν** : sc. after  
 remaining seven days, c. 81. 17.

**4. διεσώθησαν** : sc. *ναυσὶ ἐς τὴν ἡπει-*

*ρον*. — **5. ἐς πεντακοσίους** : see on c.  
 20. 11. — **6. τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς** :  
 i.e. the territory belonging to Cor-  
 cyra on the mainland opposite. —  
**7. ἐλήζοντο** : (not *ἐληζον*) with Bk.  
 and most Mss., all of which have the  
 mid. in i. 5. 15; 24. 14; v. 56. 12; 115.  
 7; and only in iv. 41. 8 all have the  
 active. See on iv. 41. 8. — **8. καὶ λι-  
 μὸς ἰσχυρὸς κτέ.** : cf. iv. 2. 12. Müller-  
 Strübing's objections to this state-  
 ment are refuted by B. Schmidt,  
 p. 80 f.

**9. περὶ καθόδου** : of fugitives, as in  
 v. 16. 18; viii. 47. 3. — **10. οὐδὲν αὐ-  
 τοῖς ἐπράσσετο** : dat. of agent, as in  
 ii. 101. 17. See on c. 64. 15. *οὐδὲν*  
*πράσσεσθαι* in this sense also v. 46. 31;  
 50. 26. — **ὕστερον χρόνῳ** : denotes al-  
 ways a considerable interval. See on  
 i. 8. 17. The conjectures of Köhler,  
*Hermes* xxvi. p. 45 ff., that the fugi-  
 tives did not cross over to Coreyra  
 till 425 B.C., and that in the winter  
 of 426–25 they took part in the Am-  
 philochian war, are very improbable.  
 In the first case, Thuc. would hardly  
 have mentioned the crossing over to  
 the island until iv. 2; in the second,  
 he could surely not have passed over

ἐπικούρους παρασκευασάμενοι διέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, ἑξακόσιοι μάλιστα οἱ πάντες, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐμπρήσαντες, 4 ὅπως ἀπόγνοια ἦ τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰστώνην τεῖχος ἐνοικοδομησάμε-  
15 νοι ἔφθειρον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκράτουν.

86 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀθηναῖοι εἴ- 1  
κοσι ναῦς ἔστειλαν ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ Λάχητα τὸν Μελα-

the matter in complete silence here, and still less in the detailed account of the Amphilochean war (c. 105 ff.). Köhler bases his assumption, that the 500 Corcyraeans belonged to those who were conquered by the Athenians in the Amphilochean war, forming part of the 3000 Ambracian hoplites of c. 105. § 1, on the very fragmentary remains of a popular decree, in which the word *Κερκυραίων* occurs. But it is quite possible, of course, that in this decree *Κερκυραίων* had a very different application from the one which Köhler assumes. — *πλοῖα*: i.e. transports, not warships. — 11. *ἐπικούρους*: see on c. 18. 3. — 12. *ἑξακόσιοι*: compared with *ἐς πεντακοσίους*, l. 5, this number seems rather small. — *οἱ πάντες*: in all. See on i. 60. 6; vii. 1. 31. Kr. Spr. 50, 11, 13.

13. *ἀπόγνοια*: not found elsewhere. — *ἄλλο τι ἢ*: as in v. 87. 2. After the negative *ἀπόγνοια* there is the same ellipse of *ποιεῖν* as with *οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ*, ii. 16. 10; iv. 14. 18; vii. 75. 25; viii. 5. 1. See on c. 39. 10. — *κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς*: the words *τῆς γῆς* are bracketed by Kr., as borrowed from *τῆς γῆς ἐκράτουν*, l. 15, with the approval of B. Schmidt, p. 81, who thinks that Thuc. could not have used

*κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς* in two different senses in the same sentence. But *τῆς γῆς* may be understood in both places of the open country as opp. to the *πόλις*. For the oligarchical Corcyraeans it sufficed for the time to establish themselves on the island and to get the upper hand in the open field; hence we need not think here, with the Schol., of the whole of Corcyra. *κρατεῖν τῆς γῆς* occurs also in c. 6. 8; 18. 13; i. 111. 5; iv. 46. 6; vi. 23. 7; 37. 19; vii. 4. 31. Cf. also l. 6 above, and c. 115. 9 *τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἐκράτουν*. — 14. *τὴν Ἰστώνην*: also iv. 46. 5. The situation is uncertain. See App. — *τεῖχος ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι*: Cf. iv. 46. 4 *τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει . . . καθιδρυμένους*. — 15. *ἔφθειρον . . . καὶ . . . ἐκράτουν*: the impfs. represent the action as in progress. This state of affairs is to be regarded as lasting until the further events related in iv. 46. Cf. also iv. 2. § 3.

86. *At the request of the Leontines the Athenians send to aid them against the Syracusans a fleet of twenty ships, which take their station at Rhegium.*

2. *ἐς Σικελίαν*: first fateful participation of Athens in Sicilian quarrels. — *Λάχητα*: from this his first appearance, in constant activity (c. 90. 8; 103. 12; 115. 7; iv. 118. 45;



νώπου στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν καὶ Χαροιάδην τὸν Εὐφιλλήτου.  
οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι καὶ Λεοντῖνοι ἐς πόλεμον ἀλλήλοις 2  
5 καθέσταναν. ξύμμαχοι δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν  
πλὴν Καμαριναίων αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἵπερ καὶ  
πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ  
πολέμου ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ μέντοι ξυνεπολέμη-  
σάν γε, τοῖς δὲ Λεοντίνοις αἱ Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις καὶ  
10 Καμάρινα· τῆς δὲ Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν Συρακοσίων ἦσαν,  
Ῥηγῖνοι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς Λεοντίνων. ἐς οὖν τὰς Ἀθή- 3  
νας πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι κατὰ τε πα-  
λαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν πείθουσι τοὺς  
Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων

v. 19. 9; 24. 6; 43. 9) until his death at Mantinea 418 B.C. (cf. v. 61. 2; 74. 10). He is one of the speakers in Plato's *Laches*.—3. **Χαροιάδην**: killed in this campaign in Sicily, c. 90. 7.

6. αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις: for particulars of these, as well as of the Χαλκιδικαὶ πόλεις (l. 9), cf. vi. 3-5.—7. πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων . . . ξυμμαχίαν: see on ii. 7. 9.—τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου: at the very beginning of the war, to be construed with ἐτάχθησαν. See on c. 63. 8. πρῶτον is often joined with ἀρχομένου to emphasize the moment of beginning. See on i. 103. 16.—8. οὐ μέντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε: referring to πρὸς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν. They had joined the alliance, but, in spite of the great things expected from them (ii. 7. § 2), had so far taken no active part in the war.—10. **Καμάρινα**: founded 599 B.C. by the Syracusans, who afterwards expelled the inhabitants for revolting. Later Hippocrates, the tyrant of Gela,

having received the place as the ransom of some Syracusan captives, colonized it anew. But the inhabitants having been again driven out by Gelo, the city was colonized for the third time by the Geloans. See vi. 5. § 3.—**Συρακοσίων, Λεοντίνων**: it is not necessary to understand ξύμμαχοι. Cf. v. 84. 13 οὐδετέρων ὄντες.—11. κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές: since both were Chalcidians. Cf. vi. 44. 19.

12. οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι: including the Leontines themselves. At the head of this embassy was the celebrated rhetorician Gorgias. Diod. xii. 53; [Plato] *Hipp. Maj.* 282 b. See on c. 38. 31.—κατὰ τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν κτέ.: belongs to πείθουσι πέμψαι.—κατὰ παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν: in *C. I. A.* i. 33 (cf. Kirchhoff iv. p. 13) and iv. 33 a, there are fragments of treaties of alliance concluded under the archon Apseudes (433-32 B.C.) between Athens and the Rhegians and Leontines; probably there were still older treaties than these.—13. Ἴωνες:

15 τῆς τε γῆς εἵργοντο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἔπεμψαν 4  
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει, βουλόμενοι  
δὲ μήτε σῖτον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἄγεσθαι αὐτόθεν,  
πρόπειράν τε ποιούμενοι, εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη τὰ ἐν τῇ  
Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχέτρια γενέσθαι. καταστάντες οὖν 5  
20 ἐς Ῥήγιον τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ τῶν  
ξυμμάχων, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

87 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἡ νόσος τὸ δεύ- 1  
τερον ἐπέπεσε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκλιποῦσα μὲν οὐδένα  
χρόνον τὸ παντάπασιν, ἐγένετο δέ τις ὅμως διοκωχή.  
παρέμεινε δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕστερον οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐνιαυτοῦ, τὸ 2  
5 δὲ πρότερον καὶ δύο ἔτη, ὥστε Ἀθηναίων γε μὴ εἶναι ὃ τι

like the Athenians. Cf. iv. 61. 10; Strabo, p. 446 f. — 15. τῆς γῆς εἵργοντο: cf. c. 6. 7; 115. 10; i. 141. 16; ii. 85. 4.

16. τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει: on the pretext of relationship. Cf. iv. 61. 10; vi. 6. 5; 76. 10. — 18. πρόπειράν τε ποιούμενοι: the natural const. would have been πρόπειράν τε ποιείσθαι, but the sent. continues as if τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὔτε βουλόμενοι had gone before. (St.) See on c. 67. 24. πρόπειρα, a first trial, only here in Thuc. Cf. Hdt. ix. 48. 10 ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τὴν πρόπειραν ποιουμένους. — σφίσι: belongs to ὑποχέτρια. — δυνατὰ εἴη: as δυνατὰ εἶναι in viii. 106. 22, in personal const. with τὰ πράγματα.

19. καταστάντες ἐς Ῥήγιον: when they had arrived at Rhegium. Cf. iv. 14. 23 καταστάντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, iv. 75. 8 ἔνθα οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Σαμίων καταστάντες. See on i. 49. 10. They made Rhegium their base of operations. Cf. c. 88. 13; 115. 5. — 20. τὸν

πόλεμον ἐποιοῦντο κτέ.: for further account of events in Sicily, see c. 88, 90, 99, 103, 115.

87. In the winter of 427–6 the plague breaks out a second time in Athens, and at the same time numerous earthquakes occur at various places.

(On the contents of this chapter, cf. Diod. xii. 58.)

1. ἡ νόσος: i.e. that described ii. 47 ff. — 2. ἐπέπεσε: as in ii. 48. 14. — ἐκλιποῦσα: eclipsing, as of the sun, ii. 28. 2; of the moon, vii. 50. 27. — 3. τὸ παντάπασιν: found with the art. only here, but protected by τὸ παράπαν, vi. 80. 4. — ἐγένετο δέ: for like change to finite verb, cf. c. 81. 20; i. 53. 8; 57. 10; ii. 47. 12; vii. 13. 10; 15. 15; 47. 8. — διοκωχή: Schol. διάλειψις, ἀναβολή, intermission, pause. It is not found elsewhere before Dio C. (xxxix. 47; xli. 25; xlvii. 27). On the form, see St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 43 sq. See on c. 4. 12.

5. ὥστε . . . τὴν δύναμιν: as was



μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσε τὴν δύναμιν. τετρακοσίων γὰρ ὀπλιτῶν 3  
καὶ τετρακισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν τά-  
ξεων καὶ τριακοσίων ἱππέων, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου ὄχλου ἀνέξεύ-  
ρετος ἀριθμός. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τότε σεισμοὶ 4  
10 τῆς γῆς ἐν τε Ἀθῆναις καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς καὶ  
μάλιστα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τῷ Βοιωτίῳ.

recognized by Ullrich (*Beitr.* p. 90 ff.), these words could not have been written after the end of the Peloponnesian war. The reference, in explanation of this remark, to the losses of Athenian men-at-arms caused by the plague (§ 3) by no means justifies taking *δύναμις* here in a narrower sense than *power* (*cf.* i. 118. 13; iv. 108. 20; v. 14. 14; vii. 28. 17); for the remaining bases of Athenian power (money, ships, allies) suffered little or nothing from the plague. But if *δύναμις* does mean here *power*, there can be no doubt that this sent. was written without a knowledge of the later events of the war, esp. of the unhappy issue of the Sicilian expedition. Regarding this expedition, *cf.* vi. 43; 44. § 1; 94. § 4; vii. 16. § 2; 20. § 2; 42. § 1; 75. § 5; 87. § 4, 6; viii. i. § 2. Moreover, the remark is a general one, and not confined to the war which began in the spring of 431 B.C. — Ἀθηναίων γε: placed first with esp. emphasis because, as stated ii. 54. 19, no place in Greece had suffered so much as Athens.

6. τετρακοσίων γὰρ κτέ.: Diod. xii. 58 gives the numbers as follows, στρατιωτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακοσίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων

ἐλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους. But in the absence of further proof, Thuc.'s statement is to be preferred. — 7. ἐκ τῶν τάξεων: = ἐκ καταλόγου (vi. 43. 9; vii. 16. 7; 20. 8), *i.e.* all the men liable to military service of the three upper census-classes. — 8. τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου: *i.e.* θῆτες, μέτοικοι, and δοῦλοι. — ἀνέξεύρετος: *not to be found out*, because there were no lists. *Cf.* Arist. de Mundo ii. 8. The word seems not to occur elsewhere except in late authors.

9. ἐγένοντο: often used of natural phenomena. See on i. 54. 6. — οἱ πολλοὶ τότε σεισμοί: the art. because the reference is to events well known. Acc. to c. 89, the earthquakes continued till the summer of 426 B.C. *Cf.* i. 23. 12 σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἳ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον. — 10. καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ: this reading of Vat. and Laur. is to be preferred, with earlier editt. and Hude, to καὶ Εὐβοίᾳ of most of the better Mss., since in an enumeration of the places visited by earthquakes a hint of the political connexion between Athens and Euboea would be out of place. — 11. τῷ Βοιωτίῳ: as opp. to the Arcadian Orchomenos, v. 61. 13.

88 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥηγῖνοι τοῦ 1  
 αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τριάκοντα ναυσὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς  
 Αἰόλου νήσους καλουμένας· θέρους γὰρ δι' ἀνδρίαν  
 ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐπιστρατεύειν. νέμονται δὲ Λιπαραῖοι αὐτάς, 2  
 5 Κνιδίων ἄποικοι ὄντες. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων οὐ  
 μεγάλη, καλεῖται δὲ Λιπάρα· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ ταύτης  
 ὀρμώμενοι γεωργοῦσι, Διδύμην καὶ Στρογγύλην καὶ Ἱεράν.  
 νομίζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐκείνη ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ ὥς ὁ 3  
 Ἡφαιστος χαλκεύει, ὅτι τὴν νύκτα φαίνεται πῦρ ἀναδι-  
 10 δοῦσα πολὺ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καπνόν. κεῖνται δὲ αἱ νῆσοι  
 αὗται κατὰ τὴν Σικελῶν καὶ Μεσσηνίων γῆν, ξύμμαχοι

88. *The Attic fleet sails from Rhegium on an expedition against the Aeolian islands.*

1. καὶ οἱ μὲν κτέ.: the anticipated δέ clause seems not to have been expressed in what follows. H. 1046, 1 b. — 2. τριάκοντα ναυσί: the Rhegians had doubtless added ten to the Attic twenty. Cf. c. 86. 1. — 3. Αἰόλου νήσους: as in c. 115. 5. Cf. Strabo 275 c αἱ Λιπαραίων νῆσοι ἄς Αἰόλου τινὲς προσαγορεύουσι, Plin. *N. H.* iii. 8. 92 Aeoliae, appellatae eadem Liparaeorum, Hephaestides a Graecis, a nostris Volcaniae. The islands are now called the Liparian or Aeolian. — καλουμένας: for this position of the attrib. partic., see on c. 54. 19. — 4. ἀδύνατα ἦν: as to the use of the neut. pl. of the adj., see on c. 16. 10; i. 7. 2.

νέμονται: implies possession or occupation of the soil in any way. See on i. 2. 6. Here = γεωργεῖν, not οἰκεῖν. — 5. Κνιδίων ἄποικοι: cf. also Paus. x. 11. 3; Diod. v. 9. — 6. καλεῖται δέ: paratactic connexion, as ἐπικείται

δέ, iv. 53. 6. Kühn. 518, 7. — Λιπάρα: from the adj. λιπαρά, with change of accent. — 7. Διδύμην κτέ.: to the four islands here named, Strabo and Pliny add three others, Erikussa or Erikodes, Phoenikussa or Phoenikodes, and Euonymos. Modern geographers mention eleven or twelve. See Holm, *Gesch. Siciliens*, i. p. 37 ff., 348 ff. — Ἱεράν: acc. to Diod. v. 7. 1, the full name seems to have been Ἱερὰ Ἡφαίστου. Strabo, *l.c.*, calls it Thermessa, but remarks, ἣν νῦν Ἱεράν Ἡφαίστου καλοῦσι, and Pliny, iii. 8. 93, says, antea Therasia appellata, nunc Hiera.

8. ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ: before the conj. See on i. 77. 4. Kr. *Spr.* 54, 17, 7; Kühn. 606, 6. — ὥς: note the unusual const. after νομίζω. Kr. *Spr.* 65, 1, 4; Kühn. 550, n. 1. Cf. ἐλπίζειν ὥς, v. 9. 8; οἰεσθαι ὥς, Xen. *Mem.* iii. 3. 14. — 9. ἀναδιδοῦσα: sending up. See on c. 58. 18. Cf. Diod. v. 7 αἷται δὲ (i.e. αἱ νῆσοι) πᾶσαι πυρὸς ἐσχήκασιν ἀναφυσήματα μεγάλα, ὧν κρατῆρες γεγενημένοι καὶ τὰ στόματα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν εἰσὶ φανερά. — 11. κατὰ: over against.



δ' ἦσαν Συρακοσίων. τεμόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν γῆν, 4  
ὥς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον. καὶ ὁ  
χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα  
15 τῷδε οὖν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

89 \* Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ 1  
οἱ ξύμμαχοι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἦλθον ὥς ἐς τὴν  
Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλοῦντες Ἀγιδος τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἡγουμένου,  
Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, σεισμῶν δὲ γενομένων πολλῶν  
5 ἀπετράποντο πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐσβολή. καὶ περὶ 2  
τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, τῶν σεισμῶν κατεχόντων, τῆς  
Εὐβοίας ἐν Ὀροβίαις ἡ θάλασσα ἐπανελθοῦσα ἀπὸ τῆς  
τότε οὔσης γῆς καὶ κυματωθεῖσα ἐπῆλθε τῆς πόλεως

*Cf.* i. 46. 8; 48. 12; ii. 30. 8. — **Μεσσηνίων**: since the territory of Messene included also a part of the north coast, which was mostly occupied by native Sicels. — **ξύμμαχοι Συρακοσίων**: since they were Dorians, being descendants of the Cnidians. *Cf.* c. 86. 6.

13. **προσεχώρουν**: *sc.* οἱ Λιπαραῖοι. *Cf.* c. 7. 12; 91. 8. — **ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον**: *cf.* c. 86. 20. — 14. **τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα**: so, acc. to the best Mss., instead of ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ. The former is the regular order; only in ii. 70. 22, where, however, ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα does not precede, all Mss. offer ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε. See on viii. 60. 17.

#### SIXTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

c. 89—116.

89. *The proposed invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians is prevented by earthquakes. Other remarkable natural phenomena connected therewith.*

3. Ἀγιδος: his father Archidamus,

the leader of the three first, ἐσβολαί (c. i. 3; ii. 10. 9; 47. 5), had died prob. not long before. See on c. 26. 7. — 4. **σεισμῶν πολλῶν**: *cf.* c. 87. 9. — 5. **ἀπετράποντο πάλιν**: *turned back*, as v. 13. 4 ἀπετράποντο ἐπ' οἴκου. *Cf.* vi. 95. 2.

6. **κατεχόντων**: *prevailing*, abs., as i. 10. 5; ii. 19. — **τῆς Εὐβοίας**: position as in c. 19. 6. — 7. **ἐν Ὀροβίαις**: on the northwest coast of the island, still recognizable in the village Rovias. See Bursian ii. p. 411. — **ἐπανελθοῦσα**: with the Schol. against all the Mss., which have ἐπελθοῦσα. *Cf.* κύματος ἐπαναχώρησις, l. 16. See App. Arn. gives the sense of the passage correctly: 'The sea first retired from what was then the line of the coast, and afterwards rising in a heap or head of water it invaded a part of the city.' For a similar description, see Plin. *Epist.* vi. 20. 9, and concerning the earthquake at Lisbon, Schaefer, *Gesch. v. Portugal* v. p. 246. — 8. **κυματωθεῖσα**: prob. coined by Thuc.

μέρος τι, καὶ τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε, τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε, καὶ  
 10 θάλασσα νῦν ἐστὶ πρότερον οὔσα γῇ· καὶ ἀνθρώπους  
 διέφθειρεν ὅσοι μὴ ἐδύναντο φθῆναι πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα  
 ἀναδραμόντες. καὶ περὶ Ἀταλάντην τὴν ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς 3  
 Ὀπουντίοις νῆσον παραπλησία γίγνεται ἐπὶ κλυσις, καὶ  
 τοῦ τε φρουρίου τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρείλε καὶ δύο νεῶν  
 15 ἀνειλκυσμένων τὴν ἑτέραν κατέαξεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν 4  
 Πεπαρήθῳ κύματος ἐπαναχώρησις τις, οὐ μέντοι ἐπέκλυσέ  
 γε· καὶ σεισμὸς τοῦ τείχους τι κατέβαλε καὶ τὸ πρυ-  
 τανεῖον καὶ ἄλλας οἰκίας ὀλίγας. αἴτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω 5  
 τοῦ τοιούτου, ἧ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο, κατὰ  
 20 τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐξαπίνης πάλιν

and occurring elsewhere only in late writers. — 9. τὸ μὲν κατέκλυσε, τὸ δ' ὑπενόστησε : *one part of the tide made a (permanent) inundation, the other receded.* ὑπενόσσειν only here in Thuc., as in Hdt. i. 191. 14 ; unusual in Attic. — 11. διέφθειρεν : *sc. ἡ θάλασσα.* — τὰ μετέωρα : see on c. 72. 7.

12. Ἀταλάντην : this had been fortified by the Athenians (ii. 32. 1), ἐρήμη πρότερον οὔσα. See Bursian i. p. 191. — ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς : as in ii. 32. 3. — 13. παραπλησία γίγνεται ἐπὶ κλυσις κτέ. : on the occurrence, see Lolling, *Mitt. Arch. Inst. Athen.* i. p. 253 f. The passage is treated inexactly by Sen. *Nat. Qu.* vi. 24. — 14. τοῦ φρουρίου : part. gen., as in v. 2. 14. G. 1091 ; H. 736 ; Kühn. 416, 1, n. 2. — 15. ἀνειλκυσμένων : *drawn up on shore*, because not at the moment in use. Cf. vii. 24. 11. — κατέαξεν : of ships also iv. 11. 20.

16. Πεπαρήθῳ : northeast of Euboea. See Bursian ii. p. 387. — κύματος ἐπαναχώρησις : *return of a*

wave. ἐπαναχώρησις, corresponding to ἐπανελθοῦσα above, seems to occur elsewhere only in Diod. *Excerpt.* 510, 31 ; the verb is found in i. 131. 5. κύμα is used in a collective sense. See on κέραμος c. 74. 4. — ἐπέκλυσε : more definite expression for ἐπῆλθε (8), with τὸ κύμα as subj. — 18. αἴτιον νομίζω : with inf., without art. as obj., as i. 23. 23 τὴν ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγοῦμαι ἀναγκάσαι. — 19. τοῦ τοιούτου : *i.e.* the recoil of the sea followed by an inundation. — κατὰ τοῦτο : after ἧ=ταύτη, *at this point.* — 20. ἀποστέλλειν τε . . . καὶ . . . τὴν ἐπὶ κλυσιν ποιεῖν : Jowett's explanation is doubtless correct. 'Thuc. is pointing out the connexion between the earthquake and the inundation. Where the earthquake was most violent, there the inundation was greatest. But the effect was indirect, being immediately caused by the recoil of the sea after the earthquake was over ; hence τὴν θάλασσαν, and not, as we might expect,



ἐπισπωμένην βιαιότερον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν · ἄνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι.

**90** Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐπολέμουν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, ὥς 1  
ἐκάστοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικε-  
λιῶται ἐπ' ἀλλήλους στρατεύοντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν  
τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμμάχοις · ἃ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἢ

τὸν σεισμόν, is the subj. of ποιεῖν. ἀποστέλλειν, either active or neuter.' ἀποστέλλειν and ποιεῖν are impf. infis. See App. — 21. βιαιότερον : with the masc. ending of the positive, as δυσ-εσβολώτατος, c. 101. 9 ; ἀπορώτερος, v. 110. 2. ἐννομωτέρου παιδιᾶς, Plato *Rep.* 424 e. Kühn.<sup>3</sup> 152 N. — ἄνευ σεισμοῦ : after ἦ . . . ἐγένετο (19), = εἰ μὴ σεισμός ἐγένετο. — 22. ἂν : belongs to ξυμβῆναι. The independent const. would have been ἂν ξυνέβη. — ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι : the pleonasm as in i. 56. 1 ; ii. 8. 12 ; viii. 73. 2.

**90.** In Sicily Messene is forced to join the Athenian alliance.

1. καὶ ἄλλοι κτέ. : if the text is in order, καὶ ἄλλοι must be regarded as the antithesis to καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμμάχοις, and as referring to the Sicels (see on c. 103. 2). But supposing that Thuc. really intended to speak of the Sicels, it would be strange that he should have designated these so vaguely. Besides, a consideration of the especial warlike undertakings of the Sicels—and only of these could one think, since below it is said, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμμάχοις (cf. c. 103. 3)—would be quite out of place. Against Pp.'s conjecture (approved by Cl. and others), καὶ ἄλλα, it may be urged that, aside from the fact

that τὰ ἄλλα ξυνεπολέμει in i. 65. 10 is not sufficient support for such a const. as ἄλλα πολεμεῖν, even in Pp.'s text the subj. of the following rel. clause (ἃ δὲ . . . ἀντιπόλεμοι) does not agree with that of the first clause ; whereas only with identity of subj. could the antithesis between less important and more important events have been emphasized in the manner assumed by Pp. As it seems, in the traditional text two separate sentences of Thucydides are united in one, namely, ἐπολέμουν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, ὥς ἐκάστοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμμάχοις and ἐπολέμουν μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται ἐπ' ἀλλήλους στρατεύοντες ("there warred indeed in Sicily also the Siceliots themselves, fighting against one another"). The latter sent., which, though shorter, is clearer, and with which ἃ δὲ κτέ. more naturally connects, seems to be the author's later conception. — 2. ξυνέβαινεν : sc. πολεμεῖν. Kr. *Spr.* 55, 4, 11. — αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται ἐπ' ἀλλήλους στρατεύοντες : there is no account of such conflicts in Thuc., not even in iv. 25. 53 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ "Ἕλληνες ἄνευ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ γῆν ἐστράτευον ἐπ' ἀλλήλους. — 4. λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια : that Thuc. did not communicate all even of the former

5 μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπραξαν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους οἱ ἀντιπόλεμοι, τούτων μνησθήσομαι. Χα- 2  
 ροιάδου γὰρ ἤδη τοῦ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ τεθνηκότος  
 ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων πολέμῳ Λάχης ἄπασαν ἔχων τῶν νεῶν  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐστράτευσε μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπὶ Μυλὰς  
 10 τὰς τῶν Μεσσηνίων. ἔτυχον δὲ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν ταῖς Μυλαῖς  
 τῶν Μεσσηνίων φρουροῦσαι καὶ τινα καὶ ἐνέδραν πε-  
 ποιημέναι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ 3  
 ξύμμαχοι τοὺς τε ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τρέπουσι καὶ διαφθεί-  
 ρουσι πολλούς, καὶ τῷ ἐρύματι προσβαλόντες ἠνάγκασαν  
 15 ὁμολογίᾳ τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην  
 ξυστρατεῦσαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπελθόντων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι 4  
 τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων προσεχώρησάν καὶ

events in Sicily, in which the Athenians took part, but only certain selected ones, may be inferred from his remark about the death of Charoeades (7).—5. πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ ἀντιπόλεμοι: in spite of this announcement there is neither in this chapter, nor in c. 99, an account of these undertakings. — 6. ἀντιπόλεμοι: rightly restored by St. (for ἀντιπολέμοι of the Mss.) acc. to the statement of Pollux i. 150 τὸ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων ὄνομα, εἰ καὶ Θουκυδίδης αὐτῷ κέχρηται, σκληρόν ἐστι. In Hdt. (iv. 134. 7; 140. 10; vii. 236. 17; viii. 68. β 2) this form has been generally adopted (by Stein in the last two places).

Χαροιάδου: cf. c. 86. 3.—7. τεθνηκότος: prob. his death did not seem to Thuc. important enough to be stated among the events of the winter of 426–7, where it belonged. See on l. 4.—8. πολέμῳ: in war. Cf.

περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ, ii. 13. 59; περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ, ii. 65. 61; περιγίγνεται τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Κορινθίων, i. 55. 11, and, on the other hand, τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρώτων ἀποθανόντων, ii. 34. 2.—9. μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων: as c. 86. 20.—Μυλὰς: on the northern coast, now Milazzo.—10. φυλαί: borrowed by the military from the civil classification, as also, in Athens and Syracuse, φυλή occurs for τάξις (vi. 98. 17; 100. 6). — 12. τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν: of disembarked troops also c. 91. 10; 94. 2; viii. 23. 20, etc.

14. τῷ ἐρύματι: Schol. τῷ φρουρίῳ. Cf. iv. 31. 13; 35. 3; v. 4. 14; vi. 94. 7.—15. ὁμολογίᾳ: by capitulation, as i. 29. 22; 107. 10; 114. 15; 117. 13, etc.

16. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι: the position is rather unusual. But compare the similar arrangement in ii. 86. 12; iv. 135. 1; v. 47. 1; vi. 6. 13.—17. καὶ αὐτοί: also themselves, as before the garrison of Mylae. Cf. c. 61. 2;



αὐτοί, ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστὰ παρα-  
σχόμενοι.

91 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα μὲν 1  
ναῦς ἔστειλαν περὶ Πελοπόννησον, ὧν ἐστρατήγει Δη-  
μοσθένης τε ὁ Ἀλκισθένους καὶ Προκλῆς ὁ Θεοδώρου,  
ἑξήκοντα δὲ ἐς Μῆλον καὶ δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας· ἐστρατήγει  
5 δὲ αὐτῶν Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου. τοὺς γὰρ Μηλίους ὄντας 2  
νησιώτας καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ὑπακούειν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ αὐτῶν  
ξυμμαχικὸν ἰέναι ἐβούλοντο προσαγαγέσθαι. ὥς δὲ αὐ- 3  
τοῖς δηουμένης τῆς γῆς οὐ προσεχώρουν, ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς  
Μήλου αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς Γραϊκῆς,

i. 50. 18; 51. 6. — 18. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
πιστὰ παρασχόμενοι: *arranging other  
matters in a trustworthy manner, i.e.  
satisfactory to the Athenians.* πιστὰ  
is not a subst. (*pledges*), but pred. to  
τὰ ἄλλα. Cf. i. 32. 8 καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύ-  
οντες ἐχυρὰ ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν  
ἡμᾶς. The further occurrences in Sic-  
ily are related in c. 99, 103, and 115.

91. *Operations of the Athenians on  
the Peloponnesian coast and against  
the island of Melos. Invasion of  
Boeotia and victory at Tanagra.  
Devastation of the coast of eastern  
Locris.*

2. ναῦς ἔστειλαν περὶ Πελοπόννη-  
σον: cf. c. 3. 10; 7. 3; 16. 12. The  
operations of this fleet are narrated  
c. 99 ff. — Δημοσθένης: from this his  
first appearance until his death in  
Sicily (vii. 82, 86), one of the most  
active and enterprising generals of  
the war. See Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*,  
iii. p. 137 ff.; Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* ii.  
p. 399 and 444. — 3. Προκλῆς: per-  
ishes this very summer in the cam-  
paign against the Aetolians, c. 98. 23.

— 5. Νικίας: already mentioned, c.  
51, and henceforth of predominant  
influence in Athenian home, as well  
as foreign, affairs, until he also per-  
ishes in the Sicilian expedition (vii.  
85, 86).

τοὺς Μηλίους: who, with the in-  
habitants of Thera, had, as Laconian  
colonists (v. 84. § 2), alone of all the  
Cyclades, held aloof from the Attic  
alliance. Cf. ii. 9. 19. — 6. ἐς τὸ  
αὐτῶν ξυμμαχικὸν ἰέναι: *to come into  
their alliance.* Cf. ἐς τὰς Ἀττικὰς  
σπονδὰς ἐσελθεῖν, v. 36. 13; ἐς τὰς  
σπονδὰς ἐσαγαγεῖν, v. 35. 24. αὐτῶν,  
for αὐτῶν of the Mss., is required both  
by its position and reference to the  
subj. of ἐβούλοντο. See on c. 22. 31. ἐς  
τὸ ξυμμαχικόν is found only here and  
viii. 9. 10; elsewhere κατὰ τὸ ξυμμα-  
χικόν. See on c. 3. 19. — 7. προσα-  
γαγέσθαι: *to bring over*, causative to  
προσχωρεῖν, in the same sense also  
ii. 30. 7; iv. 86. 3; vii. 7. 8.

9. τῆς Γραϊκῆς: so, with St., for  
the Vulg. τῆς πέραν γῆς, acc. to the  
correct reading, as testified by Steph.

10 ὑπὸ νύκτα δὲ σχόντες εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὀπλίται ἀπὸ  
 τῶν νεῶν πεζῇ ἐς Τάναγραν τῆς Βοιωτίας. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς 4  
 πόλεως πανδημεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἴππονίκου τε τοῦ Καλλίου  
 στρατηγοῦντος καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντος τοῦ Θουκλέους, ἀπὸ  
 σημείου ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ γῆν ἀπήντων. καὶ στρατοπε- 5  
 15 δευσάμενοι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ Τανάγρα ἐδῆουν  
 καὶ ἐνηυλίσαντο. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες τοὺς  
 ἐπεξελθόντας τῶν Ταναγραίων καὶ Θηβαίων τινὰς προσ-  
 βεβοηθηκότας καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαν-

Byz. (s.v. Ὠρωπός), of ii. 23. 12 τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραικὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι. For the assumption that ἡ πέραν γῆ was originally a local (Euboean), then a general designation for the territory of Oropos, there is no ground. — 10. **σχόντες**: *putting in*. See on c. 29. 5; vii. 1. 14. — **οἱ ὀπλίται ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν**: to be construed together. See on c. 90. 12. For the order of the words, cf. ii. 80. 16 τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἔκ τε Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος. — 11. **πεζῇ**: *i.e.* along the valley of the Asopus. — **ἐς Τάναγραν**: *into the territory of Tanagra*. See on l. 15; 102. 19; 106. 8; ii. 18. 2. — **οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηναῖοι**: proleptic, as c. 79. 4 τοὺς ἐκ τῆς νήσου. See on c. 5. 1. — 12. **Ἴππονίκου**: son of Callias, head of the well-known aristocratic and wealthy family, particulars of which are given by Boeckh, *P. E.* p. 623 ff., and Welzel, *Kallias* (Gymn.-Progr. Breslau, 1888). His daughter Hipparete was the wife of Alcibiades. — 13. **Εὐρυμέδοντος**: see on c. 80. 10. — **ἀπὸ σημείου**: implying that the action was concerted. Cf. ii. 90. 18.

15. **ἐν τῇ Τανάγρα**: *i.e.* in the territory of Tanagra. Cl. wrote ἐν τῇ

Ταναγραία, on the ground that, with ἐδῆουν καὶ ἐνηυλίσαντο, ἐν with the name of the city is inadmissible. But the Vulg., which corresponds exactly to ἐς Τάναγραν above (11), is sufficiently supported by such passages as ii. 31. 6 τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾷ ἐν Μεγάροις ὄντας, iv. 5. 4 ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὢν, v. 55. 1 καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν. Cf. also c. 67. 13; i. 100. 15; iv. 118. 16; v. 58. 7; vii. 1. 18. — 16. **τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μάχῃ**: the adj. is always fem. in Thuc., and most freq. signifies the following *day*, though ἡμέρα is never expressed. It accords best with the context to construe it independently here, and not with μάχῃ. But see on i. 44. 4 and Herbst, *Gegen Cobet*, p. 34. — **μάχῃ κρατήσαντες**: κρατεῖν takes the acc. in Thuc. when joined with μάχῃ or μαχόμενος (c. 103. 15; i. 108. 18; ii. 39. 14; iv. 67. 29), or, more rarely, when the connexion clearly implies this (c. 99. 3; ii. 39. 18); otherwise always with the gen. See on i. 108. 19. — 18. **καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες**: the first καὶ does not connect what follows with κρατήσαντες, *when they had con-*



τες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς.  
 20 καὶ παραπλεύσας ὁ Νικίας ταῖς ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶ τῆς  
 Λοκρίδος τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἔτεμε καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπ' οἶκου.  
 92 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἡράκλειαν  
 τὴν ἐν Τραχινίοις ἀποικίαν καθίσταντο ἀπὸ τοιαύδε

*quered*, but the two co-ord. λαβόντες and στήσαντες (*both . . . and*). That the Athenians did not retire without the usual tokens of victory is emphasized. — ὄπλα λαβόντες: *sc.* of the slain or of those who had lost their arms, as in c. 103. 15; vii. 45. 5. — 20. παραπλεύσας . . . ἔτεμε: *cf.* c. 7. 6 παραπλεύσαι αἱ νῆες τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἐπόρθησαν. *παραπλεύσας*, sailing along the coast. See on c. 7. 6. — τῆς Λοκρίδος: *i.e.* Eastern Locris. The terms Λοκροί and Λοκρίς seem to refer in Thuc., without further designation, to the Eastern or Opuntian and Epicnemidian Locrians, unless the context fixes the reference to the Ozolian or Epizephyrian Locrians. See on ii. 9. 8.

92. *The Lacedaemonians, for the protection of the Trachinians and Dorians, re-found the Trachinian Heraclea in the territory of Malis.*

1. τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον: as viii. 78. 1. Cl. wrote, with Vat., τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον (*cf.* viii. 63. 9). The episode in this and the following chapter, which interrupts the narrative begun at c. 91, is inserted here because the re-settlement of Heraclea occurred without doubt immediately after the withdrawal of Nicias from the Locrian coast. — 2. τὴν ἐν Τραχινίοις ἀποικίαν καθίσταντο: Τραχινίοις seems to be the correct form. *Cf.* τὰς ἐν

Παρρασίοις πόλεις, v. 33. 11; ἐν Βοιωτοῖς or ἐν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς, c. 87. 10; i. 107. 18; iv. 89. 3; 108. 24; ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσιν, i. 65. 9; ii. 101. 25. Most, and nearly all good, Mss. have Τραχινίαις, which Bernhardt (*Syntax*, p. 64) considers a secondary form of Τραχίς, and Cl. as a local name borrowed from the Τραχίνιαι πέτραι ("precipitate cliffs"), at whose foot the old Trachis lay (see Hdt. vii. 198. 7; Bursian i. p. 94). But neither view is probable. The reading of Laur., Τραχινίαι, would be acceptable in itself (*cf.* Diod. xv. 57. 2); only it would be difficult to explain how the vulg. originated from it. Against the conjectures Τραχινίαι ἐς and Τραχίνι ἐς, Pp. rightly objects that one would expect as obj. of ἐς ἀποικίαν καθίσταντο, not Ἡράκλειαν, but Τραχίνα, the name of the old city, as well as of the district. The fact that all the Mss. agree in ἐν Τραχίνι in the four other passages where the name of the city occurs (Ἡράκλεια ἢ ἐν Τραχίνι, c. 100. 8; iv. 78. 3; v. 12. 4; Ἡρακλεῶται οἱ ἐν Τραχίνι, v. 51. 1), does not exclude the assumption here of a slightly different designation of the city. — ἀποικίαν καθίσταντο: *established as their colony.* *Cf.* the pass. καθίστασθαι, l. 14; 93. 3; v. 51. 6. On the significance of the whole enterprise, see Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. p. 135. — καθίσταντο: the intro-

γνώμης · Μηλιῆς οἱ ξύμπαντες εἰσὶ μὲν τρία μέρη, Παρ- 2  
 ἄλριοι, Ἰερῆς, Τραχίνιοι · τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχίνιοι πολέμα  
 5 ἐφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ Οἰταίων ὁμόρων ὄντων, τὸ πρῶτον μελ-  
 λήσαντες Ἀθηναίοις προσθεῖναι σφᾶς αὐτούς, δείσαντες  
 δὲ μὴ οὐ σφίσι πιστοὶ ᾧσι, πέμπουσιν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα,  
 ἐλόμενοι πρεσβευτὴν Τεισαμενόν. ξυνεπρεσβεύοντο δὲ 3  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ Δωριῆς ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,  
 10 τῶν αὐτῶν δεόμενοι · ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Οἰταίων καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ἐφθείροντο. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνώμην 4  
 εἶχον τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν, τοῖς τε Τραχινίοις βουλό-  
 μενοι καὶ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τιμωρεῖν. καὶ ἅμα τοῦ πρὸς  
 Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθί-  
 15 στασθαι · ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ ναυτικὸν παρασκευα-

ductory impf. of the whole; the details follow, from § 5 on, in aors. See on c. 107. 15.—ἀπὸ τοιαύδε: the following clause, as usual in Thuc., is without γάρ. See on i. 89. 2.

3. Μηλιῆς οἱ ξύμπαντες κτέ.: of the Malians all together there are three parts. Cf. Caes. B. G. i. 1. 1. The natural position of μὲν would be after Μηλιῆς. — 4. Ἰερῆς: both name and place uncertain. See Bursian i. p. 95 f. Steph. Byz. mentions Ἰρά, with the gentile noun Ἰριεύς, as a πόλις Μαλιέων. — 5. Οἰταίων: here, l. 10, and viii. 3. 4, as well as Hdt. vii. 217. 4; Xen. Hell. i. 2. 18, etc., mentioned as an independent mountain tribe. See Niebuhr, Vortr. ii. A. L. u. V.-K. p. 173, and Weil, Hermes vii. p. 380 ff. — τὸ πρῶτον μελλήσαντες: having been at first about —. — 6. προσθεῖναι σφᾶς αὐτούς: with the dat. also viii. 46. 29; 50. 16. — 8. Τεισαμενόν: not Τισαμενόν of the Mss., acc. to the con-

stant usage of inscriptions. See St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 38; Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 41. On the accent, see Goettling, p. 199.

9. Δωριῆς: applied to both district and inhabitants; hence the appos. ἡ μητρόπολις, as in i. 107. 4. Cf. Hdt. viii. 31. 7. ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων distinguishes the Dorians here meant from the Δωριῆς Καρσὶ πρόσκοι (ii. 9. 16), and from the Dorians as a race.

11. γνώμην εἶχον: determined, with the inf., as in c. 31. 11; ii. 86. 17, 19; iv. 125. 20; viii. 44. 2. — 13. καὶ ἅμα . . . καθίστασθαι: and at the same time the city seemed to be conveniently situated for the war against Athens. — τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου: governed by καλῶς καθίστασθαι. Cf. i. 36. 11; 75. 3. See on 17 below. — 14. ἡ πόλις: i.e. the colony to be planted; hence the inf. pres. pass., as in c. 93. 3. Cf. also v. 51. 5 εὐθὺς καθισταμένη τῇ πόλει. — 15. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ . . . χρησίμως ἔξειν: the two



σθῆναι ἄν, ὥστ' ἐκ βραχείος τὴν διάβασιν γίνεσθαι, τῆς  
 τε ἐπὶ Θράκης παρόδου χρησίμως ἔξειν. τό τε ξύμπαν  
 ὥρμηντο τὸ χωρίον κτίζειν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς 5  
 τὸν θεὸν ἐπήρουντο, κελεύοντος δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς οἰκή-  
 20 τορας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλ-  
 λήνων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκέλευον ἔπεσθαι πλὴν Ἰώνων  
 καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἔστιν ὧν ἄλλων ἔθνων. οἰκισταὶ δὲ τρεῖς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγήσαντο, Λέων καὶ Ἀλκίδας καὶ Δα-

reasons explanatory of τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθη-  
 ναίους καλῶς καθιστασθαι, co-ordinated  
 by τε, τε, to which is added, by  
 way of summing up, τό τε ξύμπαν . . .  
 κτίζειν. — ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ: *against*  
*Euboea*. For the force of the prep.,  
 see on c. 13. 18. Cf. c. 93. 2, 7; v.  
 51. 4. — 16. ὥστε . . . γίνεσθαι: *cf.*  
 c. 93. 3. — τῆς ἐπὶ Θράκης παρόδου:  
 const. with χρησίμως ἔξειν. G. 1092,  
 H. 757 a; Kühn. 419, 5. See on i.  
 22. 13. ἡ πάροδος, *the march along*  
*the coast*, as iv. 82. 3. Cf. iv. 78.  
 § 1; v. 12. § 1. The minds of the  
 Lacedaemonians were already turned,  
 for Athens's hurt, toward Thrace.  
 Cf. iv. 78 ff. — 17. τό τε ξύμπαν: see  
 on c. 40. 16. — 18. ὥρμηντο: *were*  
*eager*. Cf. ii. 59. 6; iv. 27. 21; 29.  
 8; v. 29. 21; vi. 6. 3; viii. 73. 15.

ἐν Δελφοῖς: as to the influence of  
 the Delphic oracle on Hellenic colo-  
 nization, see Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*,  
 ii. p. 37 ff. — 19. κελεύοντος: *sc. αὐτοῦ*.  
 The subj. is not expressed, as in viii.  
 6. 23. See on i. 2. 8. Jow. calls atten-  
 tion to the fact that 'in this instance  
 the god is stated to give his sanction  
 to an enterprise which ends in com-  
 plete failure.' — τοὺς οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν  
 τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων: *the settlers who*

*belonged to themselves and to the Pe-  
 rioeci*. Cf. c. 93. 12 οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, and c. 109. 12 μετὰ  
 τῶν ξυστρατῆγων Ἀκαρνάνων. — 20. τῶν  
 περιοίκων: *i.e.* the old inhabitants,  
 chiefly of Achaean stock, who had  
 been reduced to a condition of de-  
 pendence (not slavery) by the Dorians.  
 See Müller, *Dor.* Book III. p. 16 ff.  
 Cf. i. 101. 6. — 21. τὸν βουλόμενον  
 ἐκέλευον ἔπεσθαι: *cf.* i. 26. 3. — πλὴν  
 Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν: the Ionians were  
 excepted on account of the difference  
 of race, but the Achaeans, in spite of  
 their federal relations (see on ii. 9. 7),  
 from political aversion. See Curtius,  
*Pelop.* i. p. 415. The same will apply  
 also to the ἄλλα ἔθνη that are not  
 named. — 22. ἔστιν ὧν: G. 1029;  
 H. 998. Cf. vi. 88. 34; vii. 11. 7. —  
 ἔθνων: used even of small states, but  
 always with regard to race individu-  
 ality. Cf. vi. 6. 1; vii. 58. 8. In  
 Xen. *Hell.* i. 2. 18 those inhabitants  
 of the new city who had previously  
 occupied the district are called Ἀχαιοί  
 in contrast with the ἔποικοι. — τρεῖς:  
 the number *three*, as often in impor-  
 tant undertakings of the Lacedaemo-  
 nians, c. 100. 3; iv. 132. 13; v. 12. 2.  
 — 23. Ἀλκίδας: without doubt the

μάγων. καταστάντες δὲ ἐτείχισαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ καινῆς, 6  
 25 ἢ νῦν Ἡράκλεια καλεῖται, ἀπέχουσα Θερμοπυλῶν στα-  
 δίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης εἴκοσι,  
 νεώριά τε παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ εἶρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θερμο-  
 πύλας κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στενόν, ὅπως εὐφύλακτα αὐτοῖς εἶη.  
 93 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ξυνοικιζομένης 1  
 τὸ πρῶτον ἔδεισάν τε καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ  
 μάλιστα καθίστασθαι, ὅτι βραχύς ἐστιν ὁ διάπλους πρὸς  
 τὸ Κήναιον τῆς Εὐβοίας. ἔπειτα μέντοι παρὰ δόξαν  
 5 αὐτοῖς ἀπέβη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεινὸν οὐδέν.

nauarch already mentioned, c. 16, 26, 31, 76, 80. § 2.

24. **καταστάντες**: *having established themselves*, abs. with ἐτείχισαν τὴν πόλιν, as with ἐμάχοντο, i. 49. 10; with ἐπολέμουν, i. 59. 7; v. 4. 15. See on c. 86. 19. — **ἐκ καινῆς**: *anew*. Cf. ἐκ νέης, Hdt. i. 60. 6. For similar ellipses, see on i. 14. 15. Kr. Spr. 43, 3, 8. The new town was built on the site of the old. Cf. Strabo ix. 4. 13 Ἡράκλεια ἢ Τραχὶν καλουμένη πρότερον, Λακεδαιμονίων κτίσμα. Acc. to tradition, Trachis had been founded by Heracles, hence the new name. — 25. **ἀπέχουσα**: the partic. construed with the rel., rather than with the main clause. — 27. **εἶρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας**: *they closed the side toward* (the approach from) *Thermopylae*, i.e. they repaired the old fortifications, which, acc. to Hdt. vii. 176. 19 ff., the Phocians had built as a protection against the Thessalians, and which Leonidas used in his struggle with the Persians (Hdt. vii. 208, 223, 225). *εἰργειν*, which usually has a personal obj. in Thuc., is here construed as in c. 18. 21; viii.

40. 6; Hom. η 88. τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας as τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, c. 51. 13. See App. — 28. **εὐφύλακτα**: cf. viii. 55. 8 εὐφυλακτότερα. For the use of the neut. pl. of the adj., see on c. 16. 10; i. 7. 2.

93. *The new colony falls into a decline, owing to the hostility of its neighbours and the bad administration of the Lacedaemonians.*

1. **ξυνοικιζομένης**: rare use of the compound instead of the simple οἰκίζομένης. Bl. compares Eur. *Hec.* 1138 f.,

ἔδεισα μὴ σοὶ πολέμιος ληφθεὶς ὁ παῖς  
 Τροίαν ἀθροῖσαι καὶ ξυνοικίσαι πάλιν.

Cl. thinks that the compound is used on account of the various nationalities represented, c. 92. § 5. — 3. **καθίστασθαι**: cf. c. 92. 14. — **βραχύς ἐστιν** . . . **Εὐβοίας**: cf. c. 92. 16. — 4. **τὸ Κήναιον**: the N. W. promontory of the island. See Bursian ii. p. 401. — 5. **ἀπέβη**: only here impers., elsewhere with general subj., as οὐδὲν ἀπέβαινεν αὐτοῖς ὧν προσεδέχοντο, c. 26. 15. Cf. iv. 104. 10. Here the subj. to



αἴτιον δὲ ἦν · οἳ τε Θεσσαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτῃ 2  
χωρίων καὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο, φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι  
μεγάλη ἰσχὺ παροικῶσιν, ἔφθειρον καὶ διὰ παντός ἐπο-  
λέμουν ἀνθρώποις νεοκαταστάτοις, ἕως ἐξετρύχωσαν  
10 γενομένους τὸ πρῶτον καὶ πάνυ πολλούς (πᾶς γάρ τις

be understood from the context is τὸ  
τὴν πόλιν καθίστασθαι. — ἀπ' αὐτῆς :  
i.e. τῆς πόλεως ταύτης.

6. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν · οἳ τε Θεσσαλοὶ κτέ. :  
instead of a ὅτι clause, as in ii. 65.  
31, or a partic. sent., as in iv. 26. 14 ;  
viii. 9. 12, the explanatory clause is  
added without connective, as in ii.  
50. 7 after τεκμήριον δέ. Cf. Dem.  
viii. 32 αἴτιον δὲ τούτων, παρεσκευάκα-  
σιν ὑμᾶς, xviii. 108 τὸ αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς  
πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν. Hence it is  
not necessary, with Cobet *ad Hyper.*<sup>2</sup>  
p. 43, to write οἱ γάρ for οἳ τε, nor  
indeed to bracket ἦν. For the ana-  
logy of the elliptical const. of τεκμή-  
ριον or μαρτύριον δέ (see on i. 8. 3) is  
not necessarily to be transferred to  
αἴτιον, which Thuc. construes with ἦν  
in i. 11. 1 ; ii. 65. 31 ; iv. 26. 14, and  
with ἐγένετο in viii. 9. 11, although  
the verb is omitted in c. 82. 53. —  
οἳ τε Θεσσαλοὶ : to τε answers irregu-  
larly οὐ μέντοι ἦκιστα in l. 12. Thuc.  
had in mind from the start, doubt-  
less, the two chief points of the  
αἴτιον, — hostile neighbours and the  
bad administration of the Lacedae-  
monian governors. Between τε and  
καί, there is, therefore, no connexion.  
— ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων :  
who were predominant in that region.  
With this unusual expression, cf.  
Plato *Rep.* 328 c εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔτι ἐν  
δυνάμει ἦν τοῦ ῥαδίως πορεύεσθαι πρὸς  
τὸ ἄστυ. — 7. καὶ ὧν . . . ἐκτίζετο : sc.

ἡ πόλις, this clause also explanatory  
of οἱ Θεσσαλοί, and against whose  
territory it was being founded. Kr.  
took καὶ ὧν, with the Schol., in the  
sense of κακεῖνοι ὧν, i.e. as a second  
subject. But acc. to v. 51. 1 ff., there  
can be no doubt that, along with the  
Aenianians, Dolopians, and Malians,  
the Thessalians also considered them-  
selves threatened by the new city :  
Ἑρακλεώταις μάχῃ ἐγένετο πρὸς Αἰνιᾶνας  
καὶ Δόλοπας καὶ Μηλιᾶς καὶ Θεσσαλῶν  
τινας · προσοικούντα γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα  
τῇ πόλει πολέμια ἦν · οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλῃ  
τινὶ γῇ ἢ τῇ τούτων τὸ χωρίον ἐτει-  
χίσθη. Besides, after emphasizing  
the predominant position of the  
Thessalians in those regions, there  
would be little reason in referring  
still to the hostility of the little  
tribes of Aenianians, Dolopians, Ma-  
lians, Oetaeans (v. 51. 2 ; viii. 3. 4 ff.),  
even though these tribes, as is clear  
from ii. 101. § 2, were not all actually  
ὑπήκοοι to the Thessalians. — ἐπὶ τῇ  
γῇ : see on c. 92. 15. — 8. παροικῶσιν :  
sc. οἱ Ἑρακλεῶται. — διὰ παντός : con-  
tinually, of time as usual. See on  
i. 38. 2. — 9. νεοκαταστάτοις : not  
found elsewhere except in late writers  
Cf. νεόκτιστος, c. 100. 9. — ἐξετρύχω-  
σαν : as in vii. 48. 11 ; elsewhere only  
in late writers. The simple verb oc-  
curs in i. 126. 24 ; iv. 60. 13 ; vii. 28.  
23. — 10. καὶ πάνυ πολλούς : Diod.,  
xii. 59, gives the number as 4000.

Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκίζόντων θαρσαλέως ἦει, βέβαιον νο-  
 μίζων τὴν πόλιν)· οὐ μέντοι ἦκιστα οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν 3  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφικνούμενοι τὰ πράγματά τε  
 ἔφθειρον καὶ ἐς ὀλιγάνθρωπίαν κατέστησαν, ἐκφοβήσαν-  
 15 τες τοὺς πολλοὺς χαλεπῶς τε καὶ ἔστιν ἃ οὐ καλῶς ἐξη-  
 γούμενοι, ὥστε ῥᾶον ἤδη αὐτῶν οἱ πρόσοικοι ἐπεκράτουν.

94 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον 1  
 ὃν ἐν τῇ Μήλῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατείχοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν τριάκοντα νεῶν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὄντες  
 πρῶτον ἐν Ἑλλομενῷ τῆς Λευκαδίας φρουροὺς τινας λο-

Peloponnesians and 6000 other Hel-  
 lenes. — πᾶς τις : see on c. 13. 33. —

11. Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκίζόντων : "since  
 the Lacedaemonians were the colo-  
 nizers."

12. οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν τῶν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων : for the expression, see  
 on c. 92. 19; for the matter, cf. v.  
 51. § 2; 52. § 1. St. compares these  
 governors with the ἐπιδημιουργοί,  
 whom Potidaea received from her  
 mother-city, Corinth, i. 56. 8. — 13.  
 ἀφικνούμενοι : placed after in apposi-  
 tion, as i. 95. 11 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν  
 ἀφικνουμένων. — 14. κατέστησαν : sc.  
 τὴν πόλιν. — 15. χαλεπῶς . . . οὐ κα-  
 λῶς : cf. the example of Hegesippidas,  
 v. 52. § 1. χαλεπῶς, oppressively, as  
 in c. 46. 22. For ἔστιν ἃ, see on c.  
 92. 22. ἃ is cognate acc., as in c. 55.  
 13. — ἐξηγούμενοι : abs., exercising  
 supremacy, as in i. 76. 3; 95. 26; ii.  
 65. 17.

94. Demosthenes with thirty ships  
 first attacks Leucas; but is persuaded  
 by the Messenians to turn against  
 Aetolia.

(On this and the following chap-  
 ters, cf. Diod. xii. 60.)

1. καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον κτέ.:  
 this reference to c. 91. § 3 is the more  
 necessary because the episode of the  
 two preceding chaps. (see on c. 92. 1)  
 has reached a point of time consider-  
 ably in advance. — 2. κατείχοντο :  
 as in ii. 86. 2, and referring to the  
 vain attempt of c. 91. § 2, 3. — οἱ ἀπὸ  
 τῶν τριάκοντα νεῶν : see on c. 90. 12.  
 — 3. τῶν τριάκοντα νεῶν : cf. c. 91. 1.  
 — περὶ Πελοπόννησον ὄντες : placed  
 after the noun, without article. Cf.  
 i. 51. 11; ii. 31. 4; 100. 8. G. 968. —  
 4. ἐν Ἑλλομενῷ : so, not Ἑλλομένῳ  
 with the Mss., acc. to the analogy of  
 Ὀρχομενός. See St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 33 f.  
 Acc. to Dodwell, *Classical Tour*, ii.  
 p. 49, this place still retains its ancient  
 name (Llomeno, identical with Ἑλ-  
 λόμενος), and is situated on the east  
 coast of Leucadia, a little inland.  
 But as the name occurs nowhere else  
 in the ancient writers, Forchham-  
 mer (*Hellenica*, p. 102) conjectures  
 ἐν Κλυμένῳ, the real name being pre-  
 served in Klimeno, situated on a bay  
 on the east coast of S. Maura. So  
 also Leake; and Kiepert has adopted  
 this form. But see Bursian i. p. 117.



5 χήσαντες διέφθειραν, ἔπειτα ὕστερον ἐπὶ Λευκάδα μεί-  
 ζονι στόλῳ ἦλθον, Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε πᾶσιν, οἱ πανδημεὶ πλήν  
 Οἰνιαδῶν ξυνέσποντο, καὶ Ζακυνθίοις καὶ Κεφαλλῆσι  
 καὶ Κερκυραίων πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσὶ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λευκά- 2  
 διοι τῆς τε ἔξω γῆς δηγουμένης καὶ τῆς ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ,  
 10 ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ Λευκάς ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 πλήθει βιαζόμενοι ἡσύχαζον· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἡξίου  
 Δημοσθένην τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποτειχίζειν  
 αὐτούς, νομίζοντες ῥαδίως τ' αὖ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι πόλεώς  
 τε αἰεὶ σφίσι πολεμίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. Δημοσθένης δ' ἀνα- 3  
 15 πείθεται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ὥς  
 καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιᾷς τοσαύτης ξυνειλεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς  
 ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὔσι, καὶ ἣν κρατήσῃ

—τῆς Λευκαδίας: Thuc. uses the form *Λευκαδία* of the territory of the Leucadians, which, acc. to what follows, included, besides the peninsula (see on c. 81. 3), also a part of the neighbouring mainland. Cf. iv. 42. 17; viii. 13. 3. — φρουρούς τινας: cf. c. 7. 16; iv. 42. 17. — λοχήσαντες διέφθειραν: as in i. 65. 10. — 5. ἔπειτα ὕστερον: as in ii. 9. 7; v. 61. 15; vi. 66. 14; 88. 54; vii. 82. 7. — ἐπὶ Λευκάδα: against the city of *Leucas*, which was situated on the peninsula near the isthmus (cf. l. 10). — 6. Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε πᾶσιν: as to the omission of the art., see on c. 66. 3; ii. 9. § 2. — πλήν Οἰνιαδῶν: cf. ii. 102. 10.

9. ἔξω: sc. τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ. See on c. 81. 3. — 10. τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: this sanctuary was on the promontory of *Leucatas*, the southernmost point of the peninsula. — 11. πλήθει βιαζόμενοι: forced by superior numbers, the cause of ἡσύχαζον. — 12.

Δημοσθένην: see on c. 91. 2. — ἀποτειχίζειν αὐτούς: to wall them off, i.e. τοὺς Λευκαδίουσ. That a complete circumvallation is meant (cf. i. 65. 2; vii. 1. 4; viii. 26. 20), is clear from c. 95. 12 διὰ τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν.

14. ἀναπείθεται: stronger term than the simple verb. Cf. c. 70. 23, and see on i. 84. 10. — 15. ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων: sc. τῶν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ. Cf. c. 107. 5; ii. 25. 22; iv. 9. 8; v. 35. 31. — ὥς καλὸν αὐτῷ: sc. ἐστίν. Cf. Plato *Rep.* p. 327 c ἣν πείσωμεν ὑμᾶς ὥς χρὴ ἡμᾶς ἀφείναι. πείθειν with inf. means persuade to do something; with ὥς, convince, induce to believe, that. Kr. *Spr.* 65, 1, 4. — 16. ξυνειλεγμένης: note the force of the perf. partic., already collected, and not just with a view to the ἐπιθέσθαι. GMT. 142. — 17. Ναυπάκτῳ τε . . . οὔσι, καὶ . . . προσποιήσιν: the two motives (co-ord. by τε, καὶ) for the attack on the Aetolians

αὐτῶν, ῥαδίως καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἡπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ Ἀθη-  
ναίοις προσποιήσιν. τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τὸ 4  
20 τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτει-  
χίστους, καὶ ταύτας διὰ πολλοῦ, καὶ σκευῇ ψιλῇ χρώμε-  
νον οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον, πρὶν ξυμβοηθῆσαι, κατα-  
στραφῆναι. ἐπιχειρεῖν δ' ἐκέλευον πρῶτον μὲν Ἀποδω- 5  
τοῖς, ἔπειτα δὲ Ὀφιονεῦσι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Εὐρυτάσιν,  
25 ὅπερ μέγιστον μέρος ἐστὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, ἀγνωστότατοι  
δὲ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὠμοφάγοι εἰσίν, ὡς λέγονται· τού-  
των γὰρ ληφθέντων ῥαδίως καὶ τᾶλλα προσχωρήσιν.  
95 ὁ δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθεὶς καὶ μάλιστα 1

stand in different grammatical relations to the main clause. For similar irregularities of const., cf. i. 129. 5; ii. 5. 21; iv. 3. 19, and see on i. 16. 2. *προσποιήσιν* and the following inf. depend on *ἀναπέθεται*, or some verb like *ἔλεγον* to be supplied from it. Kr. Spr. 65, 11, 7; Kühn. 593, N. 1. — 18. τὸ ἄλλο ἡπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ: i.e. all the Lacedaemonian allies on this coast, as the Ambraciots, Oeniadae, Leucadians, etc.

20. κατὰ κώμας: cf. i. 5. 7; io. 12. — 21. διὰ πολλοῦ: far apart. Cf. διὰ τοσούτου, ii. 29. 17; δι' ὀλίγου, ii. 89. 41; δι' ἐλάσσονος, vi. 75. 3; vii. 4. 19. οὔσας is omitted, as ὦν in ii. 29. 19 βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν κράτει. — σκευῇ: as in i. 8. 6, the equipment, dress, etc., of individuals. See on i. 2. 12. — 22. οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον: χαλεπὸν pred. without ὅν, as is often the case with adjs. after ὁρᾶν. Cf. ii. 45. 2; iv. 24. 8; 25. 14; viii. 16. 8. — χαλεπὸν καταστραφῆναι: the less usual pass. inf. after an adj., as ἀπρεπῇ λεχθῆναι, ii. 36. 19; λόγον προσήκοντα

ῥηθῆναι, Plato Legg. 751 b; κάλλιστος ὀφθῆναι, Plut. Dem. 16. See on c. 40. 8.

23. Ἀποδωτοῖς: the accent acc. to Steph. Byz. s.v. See St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 34. The Aetolian tribes here named dwelt in the so-called Αἰτωλία ἐπικτητος, above Naupactus. — 25. ὅπερ: assimilated to the pred. H. 631; Kr. Spr. 61, 7, 8. — ἀγνωστότατοι γλῶσσαν: because they had remained semi-barbarians (οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν διάλεκτον εὐκόλον γνωσθῆναι, Schol.). Cf. Polyb. xviii. 5 Αἰτωλῶν οὐκ εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες οἱ πλεῖστοι. — 26. ὠμοφάγοι: Niebuhr (Vortr. etc. p. 138) refers this to the custom of eating flesh smoked or dried. Regarding the Aetolians, cf. also i. 5. § 3. — 27. ῥαδίως . . . προσχωρήσιν: as viii. 25. 28. The inf. depends on ἔλεγον to be supplied from ἐκέλευον. See on προσποιήσιν above.

95. Having been joined by the Messenians, Cephallenians, and Zacynthians, Demosthenes advances into the interior.

1. τῶν Μεσσηνίων χάριτι πεισθεὶς:



νομίσας ἄνευ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως τοῖς ἡπει-  
 ρώταις ξυμμάχοις μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν δύνασθαι ἂν  
 κατὰ γῆν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς διὰ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν  
 5 ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων τὸν Παρνασσόν,  
 ἕως καταβαίῃ ἐς Φωκέας, οἱ προθύμως ἐδόκουν κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἀθηναίων αἰεὶ ποτε φιλίαν ξυστρατεύειν ἢ καὶ βία προσ-  
 αχθῆναι (καὶ Φωκεῦσιν ἤδη ὁμορος ἢ Βοιωτία ἐστίν),

induced by regard for the Messenians, as vi. 11. 10 without *πεισθελς*. — 2. τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ξυμμάχοις : *with the continental allies*. Cf. i. 35. 21 ἡπειρώτιδος τῆς ξυμμαχίας διδομένης, and see on c. 103. 2. — 3. μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν : *in agreement (alliance) with the Aetolians*. Cf. c. 66. 7; vi. 86. 8. Dem. thought that the alliance of the Aetolians with Athens would enable him, with an army composed solely of continental allies, to attack Boeotia from the west. With this view, the sent. offers no difficulty, and hence there is no occasion for bracketing, with St., μετὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, the most important words of the whole sent. — 4. ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς : Demosthenes here first conceives the plan of attacking in the rear the most hated enemy of Athens, Boeotia. This plan is not now executed, owing to the failure of the attempt to subdue the Aetolians (c. 95. § 2-98), but is revived in another form in the eighth year of the war (iv. 76 f.), though without success (iv. 89). The goal (Boeotia) being named, the proposed route, through Locris, Doris, and along the northern slopes of Parnassus, is given in detail (though not accomplished), without doubt in order that the ex-

cellence of Demosthenes's plan might be recognized. — διὰ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν : these Locrians were at that time allies of Athens. Cf. l. 17; 97. 7; 101. 2. See on ii. 9. 8. — 5. Κυτίνιον : at the northern outlet of the pass leading from the plain of Amphissa in Locris into the valley of the river Pindus. See Bursian i. p. 155; Lolling, *Mitt. d. arch. Inst. in Athen* ix. p. 313 ff. — 6. ἕως καταβαίῃ : *donec descenderet*. For the opt., see GMT. 613, 4; H. 921 b. — κατὰ τὴν φιλίαν : the Phocians, though mentioned among the Lacedaemonian allies, ii. 9. 8, seem to have continued to favour the Athenians. — 7. αἰεὶ ποτε : expresses forcibly the continual existence of a state of things, esp. of a friendly or hostile relation. See on i. 13. 16; ii. 102. 10. — ξυστρατεύειν ἢ καὶ βία προσαχθῆναι : the pres. of a relation confidently looked forward to as enduring, as l. 20, ὠφελία ἐδόκουν εἶναι, the aor. with ἂν of a case possible, but hardly to be expected. So Cl. and Steup explain, but it would seem better to write, with St., ξυστρατεύσειν. See *Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 11. — 8. ἤδη : local, as in ii. 96. 17; viii. 101. 15; Eur. *Hipp.* 1200 πρὸς πόντον ἤδη κειμένη Σαρωνικόν.

ἄρας οὖν ξύμπαντι τῷ στρατεύματι ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος  
 10 ἀκόντων Ἀκαρνάνων παρέπλευσεν ἐς Σόλλιον. κοινώσας 2  
 δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν, ὥς οὐ προσεδέξαντο διὰ  
 τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν, αὐτὸς τῇ λοιπῇ στρα-  
 τιᾷ, Κεφαλλῆσι καὶ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ Ζακυνθίοις καὶ Ἀθη-  
 ναίων τριακοσίοις τοῖς ἐπιβάταις τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν  
 15 (αἱ γὰρ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν Κερκυραίων ἀπῆλθον νῆες)  
 ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰτωλούς. ὥρμητο δὲ ἐξ Οἰνεῶνος 3  
 τῆς Λοκρίδος. οἱ δὲ Ὀζόλαι οὗτοι Λοκροὶ ξύμμαχοι  
 ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς πανστρατιᾷ ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς Ἀθη-  
 ναίοις ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν· ὄντες γὰρ ὅμοροι τοῖς Αἰ-  
 20 τωλοῖς καὶ ὁμόσκευοι μεγάλη ὠφελία ἐδόκουν εἶναι  
 ξυστρατεύοντες μάχης τε ἐμπειρίᾳ τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ χω-  
 96 ρίων. αὐλίσάμενος δὲ τῷ στρατῷ ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Νε- 1  
 μείου τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐν ᾧ Ἡσίοδος ὁ ποιητὴς λέγεται ὑπὸ

Kühn. 499, 2. — 9. οὖν : resumes the narrative after the explanation and parenthesis. Cf. vi. 64. 13; vii. 6. 7; 42. 24. — 10. Σόλλιον : cf. ii. 30. 2. See Bursian i. p. 115.

11. οὐ προσεδέξαντο : *did not approve*. Cf. c. 15. 2; ii. 70. 10. — 12. τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν : see on c. 94. 12. For the adv. qualifying the subst., see G. 952, 1; H. 600; Kühn. 461, 6; Kr. Spr. 50, 8, 4. Cf. i. 137. 29; v. 35. 6; 50. 17; vii. 34. 26; 44. 42. — 14. τριακοσίοις τοῖς ἐπιβάταις : on thirty triremes (c. 94. 3), as iv. 76. 2; 101. 13 there are 400 on forty. 'In the Peloponnesian war only ten heavy-armed epibatae used to be put on board of a trireme.' Boeckh, *P. E.* p. 384. See on i. 49. 4. — 15. τῶν Κερκυραίων : cf. c. 94. 8.

16. Οἰνεῶνος : northeast of Naupactus, on or near the coast. Steph.

Byz. Οἰνεῶν, Λοκρίδος λιμὴν. Cf. c. 98. 17; 102. 4. See Bursian i. p. 148. — 17. ξύμμαχοι : cf. l. 3; ii. 9. 8. — 18. ἔδει αὐτοὺς κτέ. : *i.e.* acc. to agreement. Cf. c. 2. 7; ii. 5. 1; 92. 24; 95. 16; vi. 56. 11. — 19. ὅμοροι καὶ ὁμόσκευοι : connected as in ii. 96. 7. — 21. μάχης : *manner of fighting*, as in iv. 34. 15.

96. *All the Aetolian peoples unite to repel the invasion.*

1. αὐλίσάμενος : doubtless after the first day's march. The temple of Nemean Zeus, in whose neighbourhood the troops first rested, was situated in Locris (possibly in the territory of Oeneon, Bursian i. p. 148), so that the enumeration of the days (l. 5 ff.) begins from the advance into Aetolia. — ἐν τοῦ Διὸς . . . τῷ ἱερῷ : for the order, see on c. 70. 16. — 2. λέγεται : for the particulars of



τῶν ταύτῃ ἀποθανεῖν, χρησθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοῦτο  
παθεῖν, ἅμα τῇ ἕκῃ ἄρας ἐπορεύετο ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν.  
5 καὶ αἰρεῖ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ποτιδανίαν καὶ τῇ δευ- 2  
τέρᾳ Κροκύλειον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ Τείχιον, ἔμενέ τε αὐτοῦ  
καὶ τὴν λείαν ἐς Εὐπάλιον τῆς Λοκρίδος ἀπέπεμψε·  
τὴν γὰρ γνώμην εἶχε τᾶλλα καταστρεψάμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ  
'Οφιονέας, εἰ μὴ βούλονται ξυγχωρεῖν, ἐς Ναύπακτον ἐπ-  
10 αναχωρήσας στρατεῦσαι ὕστερον. τοὺς δὲ Αἰτωλοὺς οὐκ 3  
ἐλάνθανεν αὕτη ἢ παρασκευὴ οὔτε ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπε-  
βουλεύετο, ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ στρατὸς ἐσεβεβλήκει, πολλῇ χειρὶ

the tradition, cf. Plut. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 19. See O. Friedl, *Die Sage vom Tode Hesiods* (*Fleckeisens Jahrbh.*, Suppl. Bd. x. p. 233 ff.). — ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ: const. with ἀποθανεῖν. Cf. c. 90. 8; i. 9. 10. — 3. χρησθέν: neut. pass. partic. in acc. abs. GMT. 851; II. 973; Kr. *Spr.* 56, 9, 5. Cf. i. 140. 13; vii. 18. 14. The cause of this mention is doubtless Thuc.'s critical interest in oracles which admitted of different interpretations. Cf. ii. 17. 11; 54. 6. This verb, in the sense *give an oracle*, occurs in Thuc. only in aor., act. five times, pass. once; to *consult an oracle*, once (χρώμενος, i. 126. 9). This use of the word seems to be mainly Ionic and poetic. See Diener, *De Serm. Thuc. etc.* p. 42. — τοῦτο παθεῖν: for the aor. inf. with χρησθέν, cf. Hdt. vii. 220. 10 ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης . . . , ἣ Λακεδαίμονα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἣ τὸν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι.

5. Ποτιδανίαν, Κροκύλειον, Τείχιον: places of the Apodotians, whose situations cannot be definitely fixed (Bursian i. p. 142), any more than

the Locrian Εὐπάλιον mentioned in l. 7 and c. 102. 4 (Bursian i. p. 148).

— 8. τὴν γνώμην εἶχε: see on c. 92. 11.

— τᾶλλα: for which a less general expression might have been expected, must be understood prob. only of the territory of the Apodotians (c. 94. 23). — οὕτως: resumes emphatically τᾶλλα καταστρεψάμενος. H. 976 b; Kühn. 486, n. 5. Cf. i. 37. 4. The goal of the expedition was the distant Ophioreans (c. 94. 24), but his purpose was, after first subduing the intervening country, to advance from Naupactus with fresh forces.

11. οὔτε ὅτε . . . , ἐπειδὴ τε κτέ.: the sent. has an anacoluthon, for instead of a second dependent temporal clause introduced by οὔτε, an independent and positive clause follows. See on c. 39. 14. — ἐπεβουλεύετο: pass. with ἡ παρασκευή, as subj. (cf. vi. 88. 43); often with pers. subj., as in c. 109. 21. — 12. χειρὶ: in the sense of a military force only here in Thuc. but freq. in Hdt. Cf. also Aesch. *Suppl.* 958; Eur. *Heracl.* 337; *El.* 629. It occurs also in Xen.

ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες, ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι Ὀφιονέων οἱ πρὸς  
τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον καθήκοντες, Βωμιῆς καὶ Καλλιῆς,  
**97** ἐβοήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει τοιόνδε τι οἱ Μεσσήνιοι <sup>1</sup>  
παρήνουν, ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον· ἀναδιδάσκοντες αὐτὸν τῶν  
Αἰτωλῶν ὡς εἴη ῥαδία ἢ αἵρεσις, ἰέναι ἐκέλευον ὅτι τά-  
χιστα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας καὶ μὴ μένειν ἕως ἂν ξύμπαντες  
<sup>5</sup> ἄθροισθέντες ἀντιτάξωνται, τὴν δ' ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ πειρά-  
σθαι αἰρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε πεισθεὶς καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπί- <sup>2</sup>  
σας, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἡναντιοῦτο, τοὺς Λοκροὺς οὐκ  
ἀναμείνας οὓς αὐτῷ ἔδει προσβοηθῆσαι (ψιλῶν γὰρ ἀκον-  
τιστῶν ἐνδεῆς ἦν μάλιστα) ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Αἰγιτίου, καὶ κατὰ

*Oec.* 21. 8, and late writers. — 13. πρὸς  
τὸν Μηλιακὸν κόλπον: towards the  
Malian gulf. — 14. Βωμιῆς καὶ Καλ-  
λιῆς: for the little that is known of  
the seats of these peoples, see Bur-  
sian i. p. 141 f.

**97.** *Pressing forward without wait-  
ing for the Locrians, Demosthenes is  
attacked at Aegitium by the Aetolians  
with superior numbers.*

1. τοιόνδε τι: without following  
γάρ, as in ii. 75. 23; viii. 50. 5. See  
on c. 92. 2. In such connexions,  
Thuc. uses also the simple τοιόνδε,  
τόδε and τάδε. See on ii. 75. 23. —  
2. ὅπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον: cf. c. 94. § 3 ff.  
Steup removes the colon after τὸ  
πρῶτον, on the ground that the  
words ἀναδιδάσκοντες . . . αἵρεσις are  
confusing if connected with what  
follows rather than with τὸ πρῶτον.  
— ἀναδιδάσκοντες: = διδάσκοντες,  
teaching, as in i. 32. 4; viii. 86. 4, not  
teaching otherwise or better. Noth-  
ing indicates that Dem. had held a  
different opinion with regard to an  
attack upon the Aetolians. — τῶν  
Αἰτωλῶν . . . αἵρεσις: cf. c. 94. § 4.

— τῶν Αἰτωλῶν: emphatic position  
before the conj. See on c. 88. 8. —

4. τὰς κώμας: cf. c. 94. 20. — 5. τὴν  
ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ: the first village in his  
way. κώμην can be supplied the more  
easily, since καὶ μὴ μένειν . . . ἀντιτάξων-  
ται is only inserted as an explanation  
of ὅτι τάχιστα. For the expression  
τὴν ἐν ποσὶν, cf. Hdt. iii. 79. 7 ἔκτεινον  
πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινό-  
μενον, Soph. Ant. 1327 βράχιστα γὰρ  
κράτιστα τὰν ποσὶν κακά, Eur. Alc.  
739 τοὺν ποσὶν γὰρ οἰστέον κακόν, also  
Androm. 397; Pind. Pyth. 8. 33. It  
is used also by Dio C. and Lucian.

6. τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας: confident on  
account of his good fortune. The  
dat. with ἐλπίζειν gives the ground of  
the hope, as in c. 98. 27; ii. 89. 24  
with φοβεῖσθαι; iv. 85. 9; vii. 63. 13  
with θαυμάζειν, and freq. with πιστεύ-  
ειν (c. 46. 1, etc.). — 7. τοὺς Λοκροὺς:  
cf. c. 95. 17. — 8. ψιλῶν ἀκοντιστῶν:  
of this kind of ψιλοὶ consisted, acc. to  
the following account, the army of  
the Aetolians. Cf. c. 94. 21 σκευῇ  
ψιλῇ χρώμενον. — 9. Αἰγιτίου: in the  
territory of the Apodotians. See



10 κράτος αἰρεῖ ἐπιών. ὑπέφυγον γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ  
 ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως· ἦν γὰρ  
 ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν χωρίων ἀπέχουσα τῆς θαλάσσης ὀγδοήκοντα  
 σταδίους μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ (βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἤδη 3  
 ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Λιγίτιον) προσέβαλλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ  
 15 τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καταθέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἄλλοι ἄλλο-  
 θεν καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐπίοι τὸ τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων στρατόπεδον, ὑπεχώρουν, ἀναχωροῦσι δὲ ἐπέ-  
 κειντο. καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοιαύτη ἡ μάχη, διώξεις τε  
 καὶ ὑπαγωγαί, ἐν οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ἦσους ἦσαν οἱ Ἀθη-  
 98 ναῖοι. μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἶχόν τε τὰ βέλη αὐ- 1

Bursian i. p. 142. — **κατὰ κράτος**: *by storm*, as in c. 18. 19; 103. 3, etc. See on i. 64. 14. — **10. ἐπιών**: *at the first onset*. — **ὑπέφυγον**: *had stolen away*. So, with v. H., for *ὑπέφευγον* of the Mss. After the impf., *καὶ ἐκάθηντο* would be unsuitable, since it denotes the holding, not the taking, of a position. — **οἱ ἄνθρωποι**: *i.e.* the inhabitants of Aegitium. — **12. ἐφ' ὑψηλῶν χωρίων**: *cf.* c. 105. 5. The pl. is doubtless to be explained by *κατὰ κώμας οἰκεῖν*, c. 94. 20 (*cf.* l. 4), *i.e.* the open place consisted of a number of villages scattered over the hills. Steup explains, *near, in the neighbourhood of, high points*, comparing *ἐπὶ Θράκης* (i. 56. 11, etc.) and v. 34. 7 *κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἡλείας*. Kr. would omit *χωρίων*. But for *χωρίον* in this sense, *cf.* v. 65. 2 *χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ δυσπρόσοδον*, *ibid.* 6 *χωρίον καρτερόν*, vii. 73. 9 *τὰ στενόπορα τῶν χωρίων*.

13. **βεβοηθηκότες ἦσαν**: on the periphrasis, see on c. 2. 8 and App. on i. 1. 5. — **14. ἐπὶ τὸ Λιγίτιον**: for

the const. *βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τόπον*, *carry aid to a place*, *cf.* iv. 8. 3; 72. 2; vi. 65. 20; Hdt. iv. 125. 18; *βοηθεῖν ἐς τόπον*, iv. 42. 15; vii. 18. 4; viii. 60. 15; Hdt. vi. 103. 2. *βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τινα* = *carry aid against one*, as c. 110. 8; i. 107. 21; 126. 22, etc. — **16. ὅτε μὲν ἐπίοι . . . ἐπέκειντο**: const. of sent. and tactics as in ii. 79. 24; vii. 79. 21. — **19. ὑπαγωγαί**: *ἀναχωρήσεις*, Schol. Only here in Thuc. For this signification, which seems not to occur elsewhere in the earlier Greek writers, *cf.* the use of the verb *ὑπάγειν* in iv. 126. 34; v. 10. 15; viii. 10. 8. — **οἷς ἀμφοτέροις**: neut. after two fem. substs., as in vi. 72. 20. *Cf.* Dem. xviii. 171; Sall. *Cat.* 5 *inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae utraque his artibus auxerat*. Kr. Spr. 58, 3, 5.

**98.** *Demosthenes is forced to retreat and suffers heavy losses in his flight. On that account he avoids returning to Athens for some time.*

**1. μέχρι**: here and c. 10. 12 with the impf., *so long as*; iv. 4. 3, with aor.

τοῖς καὶ οἰοί τε ἦσαν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον · τοξενόμε-  
 νοι γὰρ οἱ Αἰτωλοί, ἄνθρωποι ψιλοί, ἀνεστέλλοντο. ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ τοῦ τε τοξάρχου ἀποθανόντος οὔτοι διεσκεδάσθησαν  
 5 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεκμήκεσαν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ξυν-  
 εχόμενοι, οἳ τε Αἰτωλοὶ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον, οὕτω  
 δὴ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον, καὶ ἐσπίπτοντες ἔς τε χαράδρας  
 ἀνεκβάτους καὶ χωρία ὧν οὐκ ἦσαν ἔμπειροι διεφθεί-  
 ροντο · καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς τῶν ὁδῶν, Χρόμων ὁ  
 10 Μεσσήνιος, ἐτύγχανε τεθνηκώς. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ ἐσακοντί- 2  
 ζοντες πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τροπῇ κατὰ πόδας αἰ-  
 ροῦντες, ἄνθρωποι ποδώκεις καὶ ψιλοί, διέφθειρον, τοὺς

ind. of an historical, and i. 137. 13 with the aor. subjv. of a hypothetical, case. There are no other instances of the simple *μέχρι* as conj. in Thuc.; for *μέχρι οὗ*, however, see on c. 28. 15. — *αὐτοῖς*: on their side, dat. of interest in loose relation, as in l. 9; i. 6. 8; 48. 9. G. 1170; H. 771. Schol. *ἀντὶ τοῦ οἱ τοξόται αὐτῶν*. Riske's proposed change in the order, *καὶ αὐτοῖς . . . χρῆσθαι*, is unnecessary. — 2. οἱ δέ: *δέ* in apod. as in ii. 46. 6; 65. 19. G. 1422; H. 1046, 1 c; Kühn. 533, 1. See on i. 11. 6; 37. 20. — *τοξενόμενοι . . . ἀνεστέλλοντο*: i.e. so long as they were exposed to the arrows of the archers they were driven back. *ἀνεστέλλοντο*, as in vi. 70. 15. — 3. ἄνθρωποι ψιλοί: cf. c. 94. 21. The words are bracketed by v. H., as a gloss from l. 12 *ἄνθρωποι ποδώκεις καὶ ψιλοί*, on the ground that hoplites also could have been wounded with arrows, and that the archers were *ψιλοί* as well as the Aetolians. But hoplites, could, at any rate, protect themselves far better, and the *τοξόται*

are not reckoned among the *ψιλοί* also in iv. 36. 3; 94. 4; v. 47. 39; viii. 71. 18. — 4. οὔτοι: οἱ τοξόται. — 5. αὐτοί: the main body of the army, esp. the hoplites. — *καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ*: for quite a long time. *καί*, as in *καὶ μάλα* or *καὶ πάνν*. Cf. i. 91. 3 *καὶ σαφῶς*, quite positively. Kr. Spr. 69, 32, 18. *ἐπὶ πολὺ*, as c. 97. 18; i. 6. 12. — *τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ*: referring to the manner of fighting described in c. 97. § 3. — *ξυνεχόμενοι*: hard pressed, as in ii. 49. 24. — 6. οἳ τε Αἰτωλοί: *τε* introducing third cause. — *οὕτω δὴ*: introducing the decisive moment, as in i. 131. 8; ii. 12. 16; 19. 3. Cf. τότε δὴ, i. 49. 30; 58. 9. — 7. ἐσπίπτοντες . . . διεφθείροντο: cf. c. 112. 22. — *χαράδρας*: here, as in c. 25. 4; 107. 14; 112. 22, the deep beds of mountain streams, whether filled with water or not. — 10. ἐτύγχανε τεθνηκώς: i.e. in the preceding battle.

11. αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τροπῇ: see on αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, c. 81. 15. — *κατὰ πόδας αἰροῦντες*: Schol. *συντόμως*. Cf. iv. 126. 38; v. 64. 8; viii. 17. 15. — 12. πο-



δὲ πλείους τῶν ὁδῶν ἀμαρτάνοντας καὶ εἰς τὴν ὕλην  
 ἐσφερομένους, ὅθεν διέξοδοι οὐκ ἦσαν, πῦρ κομισάμενοι  
 15 περιεπίμπρασαν. πᾶσά τε ἰδέα κατέστη τῆς φυγῆς καὶ 3  
 τοῦ ὀλέθρου τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μόλις τε  
 ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Οἰνεῶνα τῆς Λοκρίδος, ὅθεν-  
 περ καὶ ὠρμήθησαν, οἱ περιγενόμενοι κατέφυγον. ἀπέ- 4  
 θανον δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 20 ὀπλίται περὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν. τοσοῦτοι μὲν  
 τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡλικία ἣ αὐτὴ οὔτοι βέλτιστοι δὴ ἄνδρες  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως διεφθάρη-  
 σαν. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἕτερος στρατηγὸς Προκλῆς. τοὺς  
 δὲ νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀνελόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν  
 25 καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς Ναύπακτον ὕστερον εἰς τὰς Ἀθή-

**δώκεις**: poetic word, found also in Plato *Rep.* 467 e; Xen. *Mem.* iii. 11. 8; *de Eq.* 3. 12. — **14. ἐσφερομένους**: *falling into*. Bk. proposed *ἐκφερομένους*, which Cobet (*Mnem. N. S.* viii. p. 144) approves as the proper expression for those who have lost their way.

**15. πᾶσα ἰδέα**: see on c. 81. 22. — **16. τῷ στρατοπέδῳ**: Reiske's emendation, for τῶν στρατοπέδων of all the Mss., restores the proper number (c. 97. 17) and case (c. 83. 2). — **17. τὸν Οἰνεῶνα**: cf. c. 95. 16. The masc., as τὸν Κρομμυῶνα in iv. 42. 22. See Götting, p. 266.

**20. τοσοῦτοι μὲν . . . διεφθάρησαν**: the removal of the colon before οὔτοι, as Haase suggested (*Lucubr.* p. 7), brings the two modifiers, of number and age, into a pred. relation to οὔτοι. "So many in number and all of the same age, these were the best men from the city of Athens that perished

in this war." ἡλικία ἣ αὐτή collective and pregnant in meaning = ἴσοι τὴν ἡλικίαν. Arn. prob. rightly infers from this remark, 'that the epibatae on this occasion were not taken solely from the class of the Thetes, but that some young men of higher families had been induced to serve on this expedition.' See on c. 16. 5. The emphasis laid by Thuc. upon the greatness of the Athenian loss makes strongly against the view of Sweboda (*Thuk. Quellenstud.* p. 50 ff.), approved by Köhler (*Hermes* xxvi. p. 46), that Thuc.'s account of the Aetolian campaign and its results is too favourable to Demosthenes. — **21. βέλτιστοι δὴ ἄνδρες**: since Thuc. gives no explanation of this high praise, it is left uncertain whether ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε refers to the ten years', or to the twenty-seven years', war.

**23. Προκλῆς**: cf. c. 91. 3. — **24. ὑποσπόνδους ἀνελόμενοι**: an acknowl-

νας ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκομίσθησαν. Δημοσθένης δὲ περὶ Ναύ-  
πακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπελείφθη, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις  
φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

99 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καὶ οἱ περὶ Σικε-  
λίαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐν ἀποβάσει  
τέ τιμι τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν ἐκράτησαν καὶ  
περιπόλιον αἰρούουσιν ὃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀληκι ποταμῷ.

100 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Αἰτωλοὶ προπέμψαντες πρό-  
τερον ἔς τε Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις,  
Τόλοφόν τε τὸν Ὀφιονέα καὶ Βοριάδην τὸν Εὐρυτᾶνα

edgment of defeat. In ii. 22. 15, the words ἀνέλονται αὐτοὺς ἀσπόνδους show that the defeat was not decisive. See on i. 63. 17. — 27. ὑπελείφθη: sc. until he returned to Athens with the booty from the Amphilochean campaign, c. 114. § 1. — τοῖς πεπραγμένοις . . . Ἀθηναίους: cf. c. 114. 7. For the causal dat., see on c. 97. 6.

99. *The Attic ships in the Sicilian waters make a landing in the territory of the Italian Locri.*

1. οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναῖοι: cf. c. 90. — 3. τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας: one of the few cases where κρατεῖν takes the acc. without μάχη. See on c. 91. 16. — 4. περιπόλιον: i.e. a fort for the protection of the plain, called φρούριον c. 115. 21. Cf. vi. 45. 6; vii. 48. 32. — τῷ Ἀληκι ποταμῷ: cf. Strabo, p. 260 c ὁ διορίζων τὴν Ῥηγίνην ἀπὸ τῆς Λοκρίδος.

100. *At the request of the Aetolians the Spartans send an army under Eurylochus against Naupactus.*

1. προπέμψαντες πρότερον: the pleonasm as in c. 53. 9; i. 23. 21; vi.

57. 10. The reference is generally explained to be to the time before the invasion of Dem., the hostility of the Aetolians to Naupactus being assumed to have been of long standing (cf. c. 94. 17). But Steup urges against this view the absence of any definite date, as well as of any statement as to the object of the embassy; further, that no one has explained how Corinthians, as well as Lacedaemonians, are the implied object of πείθουσιν, although the πέμψαι στρατιάν seems to have been the business of the Lacedaemonians alone (cf. l. 6 καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι κτέ.). He assumes, therefore, that the text is corrupt, and that originally perhaps it was said, that the Aetolians, before sending to Sparta, had already asked Corinth and some other state for help, viz.: Αἰτωλοί, προπέμψαντες πρότερον ἔς τε Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἀποστέλλαντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις κτέ. — 3. Τόλοφόν τε τὸν Ὀφιονέα κτέ.: sc. as the representatives of the chief tribes, c. 94. § 5. For the art. with these names, see on l. 11. —



καὶ Τείσανδρον τὸν Ἀποδωτόν, πείθουσιν ὥστε σφίσι  
 5 πέμψαι στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Ναύπακτον διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐπαγωγὴν. καὶ ἐξέπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸ φθι- 2  
 νόπωρον τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας τῶν ξυμμάχων (τούτων  
 ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν Τραχίνι πόλεως,  
 τότε νεοκτίστου οὔσης). Σπαρτιάτης δ' ἦρχεν Εὐρύλοχος  
 10 τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ ξυνηκολούθουν αὐτῷ Μακάριος καὶ  
 101 Μενεδαίος οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται. ξυλλεγέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύμα- 1  
 τος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Εὐρύλοχος Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀζό-  
 λαις· διὰ τούτων γὰρ ἡ ὁδὸς ἦν ἐς Ναύπακτον, καὶ ἅμα τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων ἐβούλετο ἀποστῆσαι αὐτούς. ξυνέπρασσον δὲ 2  
 5 μάλιστα αὐτῷ τῶν Λοκρῶν Ἀμφισσῆς, διὰ τὸ τῶν Φωκέων

4. Τείσανδρον: for the form, see St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 38; Meisterhans,<sup>2</sup> p. 41, 144. See on c. 92. 8. — πείθουσιν ὥστε: see on c. 31. 10. — 5. διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγὴν: on account of their bringing on the Athenians against the Aetolians. Cf. c. 94. § 3 ff.; 95. § 2; 97. § 1; 98. § 1. ἐπαγωγή is from the act. ἐπάγειν, not the mid. ἐπάγεσθαι. See on c. 82. 9.

6. περὶ τὸ φθινόπωρον: see on c. 18. 15; ii. 31. 1. — 8. ἐξ Ἡρακλείας . . . οὔσης: cf. c. 92 f. A mention of the Mantineans might have been expected here (cf. c. 107. 27; 108. 16; 109. 12; 111. 2, 14; 113. 4), esp. as there is no further mention of the 500 Heracleots. — τῆς ἐν Τραχίνι: see on c. 92. 2. — 9. νεοκτίστου: found only here in Thuc. Cf. Hdt. v. 24. 20; Pind. Nem. 9. 3. Cf. νεοκατάστατος, c. 93. 9. — 10. ξυνηκολούθουν: acc. to the law, ἄρχειν, εἴ τι ἐκείνος πάσχοι (iv. 38. 9), as it really happened in this case, c. 109. § 1. As to the usual number of three, see on c. 92. 22. — 11. Μενε-

δαίος: doubtless the correct form, restored by Dind. in Steph. Thes. (not Μενέδαιος, or Μενέδατος). It is Doric for Μενεδήιος. — οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται: for the art., cf. ll. 3, 4; 25. 2; 98. 9; i. 126. 41; iv. 132. 6; viii. 26. 8; 35. 2. Acc. to L. Herbst (Philol. xl. p. 281), the art. is used here on account of the antithesis between the leaders and an army composed only of allies. But that Thuc. should have stressed this antithesis in the case of the associates of Eurylochus more than of the chief commander, is not probable.

101. The army of Eurylochus collects at Delphi and compels most of the tribes of the Ozolian Locrians to join the expedition.

2. ἐς Δελφοὺς: at that time on the Lacedaemonian side. Cf. i. 118. § 3; 123. § 1 f.; ii. 54. § 4. — 3. διὰ τούτων: i.e. through their territory. Cf. c. 110. 4. — τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποστῆσαι: cf. c. 95. § 3.

5. τῶν Λοκρῶν: depends not upon μάλιστα, but upon Ἀμφισσῆς. Cf. i.

ἔχθος δεδιότες · καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι δόντες ὁμήρους καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεισαν δοῦναι φοβουμένους τὸν ἐπιόντα  
 στρατόν, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς Μυονέας  
 (ταύτη γὰρ δυσεσβολώτατος ἡ Λοκρίς), ἔπειτα Ἴπνέας καὶ  
 10 Μεσσαπίους καὶ Τριταιᾶς καὶ Χαλαίους καὶ Τολοφωνίους

27. 11 Παλῆς Κεφαλλήνων, v. 67. 7  
 Ἀρκάδων Ἑραιῆς. There is no ground  
 for the assumption that other Locrian  
 tribes besides the Amphissians had  
 from the beginning supported the  
 efforts of Eurylochus. One might  
 have expected, too, from the context,  
 to find the relation of the Amphis-  
 sians to the Locrians more sharply  
 emphasized; hence possibly the text  
 should read αὐτῶν τῶν Λοκρῶν. With  
 ξυνέπρασσον it would be easy to sup-  
 ply αὐτῶ. Cf. iv. 76. 13; 103. 9; v. 43.  
 21; viii. 60. 2. — διὰ τὸ τῶν Φωκέων  
 ἔχθος δεδιότες: i.e. because they feared,  
 if they did not join the expedition,  
 it would go hard with them, on ac-  
 count of their hostility to their Pho-  
 cian neighbours, who were in alliance  
 with Sparta. That the Phocians, as  
 a state, were in alliance with Sparta,  
 may be inferred from ii. 9. 8; iv. 118.  
 5, and from the whole manner of  
 Eurylochus's expedition against Nau-  
 pactus. The fact that Demosthenes,  
 acc. to c. 95. 6, had hoped that the  
 Phocians would join him, in an attack  
 upon Boeotia from the west, προθύμως  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων αἰεὶ ποτε φιλίαν, is  
 scarcely applicable in explanation of  
 the present passage, since in c. 95. 7  
 it is added ἡ καὶ βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι.  
 Besides, the state of affairs in those  
 regions at that time was not such as  
 to excite fear of the Athenians. —  
 6. καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι δόντες: see App.

—7. τοὺς ἄλλους φοβουμένους τὸν  
 ἐπιόντα στρατόν: the const. as in  
 i. 44. 15 τοῖς ἄλλοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν,  
 i. 91. 2 τῶν ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων. That  
 not all the rest of the Locrians are  
 meant, is clear from c. 102. § 1. —  
 ἔπεισαν δοῦναι: for the position, see  
 on c. 63. 8. —8. μὲν οὖν: in explana-  
 tion of τοὺς ἄλλους φοβουμένους unusual,  
 since no new finite verb follows. But  
 cf. iv. 104. 20. — Μυονέας: this form  
 is attested for Thuc. not only by  
 the Mss., but also by Paus. vi. 19. 5  
 and Steph. Byz. s.v. Μυονία. The  
 Delphian inscriptions have always  
 Μυανεύς. The forms Μυᾶνες (Paus.)  
 and Μύονες (Steph. Byz.) seem to be  
 due to misconceptions. See Ditten-  
 berger, *Sylloge Inscr.* no. 462 n. The  
 place is called Μυωνία in Paus. x. 38. 8,  
 but in Steph. Byz. Μυονία and Μύων.  
 As to its site, see Bursian i. p. 152.  
 —9. δυσεσβολώτατος: fem., see on  
 c. 89. 21. The Amphilocheians seem  
 to have given a first proof of their  
 zeal for their new allies by winning  
 over the inhabitants of the region  
 which in nature and situation was  
 most important for the proposed ex-  
 pedition of the Peloponnesians. —  
 ἔπειτα Ἴπνέας κτέ.: for the Locrian  
 tribes mentioned in the remainder of  
 the chapter, whose locality generally  
 cannot be exactly determined, see  
 Bursian i. p. 149 f. and 152. —10.  
 Μεσσαπίους: cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Χά-



καὶ Ἑσπίους καὶ Οἰανθέας. οὗτοι καὶ ξυνεστράτευον πάν-  
 τες. Ὀλπαῖοι δὲ ὁμήρους μὲν ἔδοσαν, ἡκολούθουν δὲ οὐ·  
 καὶ Ὑαῖοι οὐκ ἔδοσαν ὁμήρους, πρὶν αὐτῶν εἶλον κώμην  
 102 Πόλιν ὄνομα ἔχουσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο πάντα καὶ 1  
 τοὺς ὁμήρους κατέθετο ἐς Κυτίνιον τὸ Δωρικόν, ἐχώρει τῷ  
 στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον διὰ τῶν Λοκρῶν, καὶ πορευόμε-  
 νος Οἰνεῶνα αἰρεῖ αὐτῶν καὶ Εὐπάλιον· οὐ γὰρ προσ-  
 5 ἐχώρησαν. γενόμενοι δ' ἐν τῇ Ναυπακτίᾳ καὶ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ 2  
 ἅμα ἤδη προσβεβηθηκότες ἐδῆουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ προ-  
 ἄστειον ἀτείχιστον ὃν εἶλον· ἐπὶ τε Μολύκρειον ἐλθόν-

λαιον, where, citing the words from Μεσσαπίους to Οἰανθέας, the Mss. read Μεταπίους. But since several of the following names are unquestionably cited incorrectly in Steph., the preference can hardly be given here to the Mss. of Steph., as Niese claims in *Hermes* xiv. p. 427 f. — Τριταιᾶς : as Πλαταιᾶς, c. 52. 15. The Mss. of Thuc. have Τριταιέας, those of Steph. Byz. l.c. Τριταίους. St. read Τριτειέας, acc. to Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρίτεια, but in *Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 43 has declared for Meineke's conjecture Τριτέας, which is based on Hdt. viii. 33. 4 and Hesych. Τριτῆες γενεήν. The city seems to have been called Τρίτεια as well as Τρίτεια. — 12. Ὀλπαῖοι : these Locrians are prob. to be distinguished from the inhabitants of the Amphilo-chian Ὀλπαι or Ὀλπη, mentioned c. 105. 5 and freq. — 13. Ὑαῖοι : Steph. Byz. Ὑαία· πόλις Λοκρῶν Ὀζολῶν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὑαῖος.

102. The attack on Naupactus fails, because Demosthenes throws Acarnanian reinforcements into the town. Eurylochus then turns, at the

request of the Ambraciots, against the Amphilo-chian Argos.

2. κατέθετο : sc. Εὐρύλοχος, c. 101. 2. See on c. 28. 14. — Κυτίνιον : see on c. 95. 5 ; i. 107. 5. — 4. Οἰνεῶνα . . . καὶ Εὐπάλιον : the reverse of the geographical order. See on c. 29. 6. For the former place, see on c. 95. 16 ; 98. 17 ; for the latter, c. 96. 7. — αὐτῶν : for the part. gen., cf. 101. 5 τῶν Λοκρῶν, 86. 10 τῆς Ἰταλίας Λοκροὶ μὲν κτέ.

5. καὶ . . . προσβεβηθηκότες : supplementary addition to γενόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ναυπακτίᾳ (sc. οἱ ξὺν Εὐρυλόχῳ). The pf. partic. has reference to the union already effected before the entry into the territory of Naupactus. The undeniable harshness of the const. involved in joining by means of καὶ . . . ἅμα a second subject to one merely implied in an appositive partic. (γενόμενοι) would be removed by assuming, with Steup (*Quaest. Thuc.* p. 50 sq.), that αὐτοὶ has been lost before καὶ οἱ. Cf. iv. 90. 2 ; 131. 1. — 6. ἤδη προσβεβηθηκότες : cf. c. 6. 10. — 7. Μολύκρειον : cf. ii. 84. 28.

τες, τὴν Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποικίαν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπήκοον,  
 αἰρουῦσι. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (ἔτι γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν 3  
 10 ὢν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας περὶ Ναύπακτον) προαι-  
 σθόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, ἐλθὼν  
 πείθει Ἀκαρνᾶνας, χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀνα-  
 χώρησιν, βοηθῆσαι Ναυπάκτῳ. καὶ πέμπουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ 4  
 ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν χιλίους ὀπλίτας, οἱ ἐσελθόντες περιεποίη-  
 15 σαν τὸ χωρίον· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν μή, μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ τεί-  
 χους, ὀλίγων δὲ τῶν ἀμυνομένων, οὐκ ἀντίσχωσιν. Εὐρύ- 5  
 λοχος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἤσθοντο τὴν στρατιὰν  
 ἐσεληλυθυῖαν καὶ ἀδύνατον ὄν τὴν πόλιν βία ἐλεῖν, ἀνε-  
 χώρησαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα

—8. τὴν Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποικίαν κτέ.: concerning Potidaea, *cf.* i. 56. 6. —  
 ὑπήκοον: *sc.* πόλιν. Doubtless to be  
 construed subst., as *ξυμμαχίδα*, ii. 2  
 11, and *ξύμμαχον*, v. 35. 2.

9. ὁ Ἀθηναῖος: the mention of  
 Demosthenes among the distant *ξύμ-*  
*μαχοι* causes the addition of the *ἐθνι-*  
*κόν*. —10. μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας:  
 for μετὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Αἰτωλίᾳ, with refer-  
 ence to the retreat, c. 98. *Cf.* iv. 81.  
 9 ἐς τὸν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ Σικελίας πόλεμον,  
 vi. 89. 5 περὶ τὴν ἐκ Πύλου ξυμφοράν,  
 viii. 2. 1 πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας . . .  
*κακοπραγίαν*. *Kr. Spr.* 50, 8, 13. For  
 the attraction of the prep., see also  
 on c. 5. 1. —περὶ Ναύπακτον: c. 98.  
 26. —11. τοῦ στρατοῦ: the gen. with  
*προαισθόμενος*, as with the simple verb.  
 See on i. 57. 14. G. 1102; H. 742. —  
 περὶ αὐτῆς: *sc.* τῆς Ναυπάκτου, as viii.  
 93. 17 ἐφοβεῖτο περὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ.  
 Elsewhere *περὶ* after verbs of fear  
 takes the dat. See on i. 60. 3. —  
 12. χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν . . . ἀναχώρησιν:  
 inserted almost parenthetically. As  
 to the matter, *cf.* c. 95. § 1.

14. ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν: can refer only to  
 ships of the Acarnanians, for the  
 thirty Athenian ships, which Dem.  
 had commanded in the spring and  
 summer, had returned to Athens (c.  
 98. 25), and the twenty mentioned c.  
 105. 15 sailed later. The fifteen Cor-  
 cyraean ships (c. 94. 8), to which  
 Müller-Strübing refers (*Aristoph. etc.*  
 p. 491 n.), had also returned home  
 (c. 95. 15). That the Acarnanians  
 possessed ships is, with their exten-  
 sive coast, altogether probable, even  
 though there be a lack of good har-  
 bours. Since these ships are not  
 mentioned before, and their number  
 cannot have been great (*cf.* ii. 9. § 4,  
 5), Steup proposes *ἐπὶ τινων νεῶν*,  
 comparing, for the order of the  
 words, iv. 76. 5; viii. 32. 12. —*περι-*  
*εποίησαν*: *cf.* ii. 25. 13. —15. δεινὸν  
 γὰρ ἦν: *sc.* before aid came. *δεινόν*,  
 as in iv. 75. 7; vii. 25. 31.

18. ἐσεληλυθυῖαν: the pf. partic.  
 emphasizes the fact that it was now  
 too late for an attack. —19. Αἰολίδα:  
 this ancient name of the district is not



20 τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρῶνα καὶ ἐς τὰ  
ταύτη χωρία καὶ ἐς Πρόσχιον τῆς Αἰτωλίας. οἱ γὰρ Ἀμ- 6  
πρακιῶται ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείθουσιν ὥστε μετὰ  
σφῶν Ἄργει τε τῷ Ἀμφιλοχικῷ καὶ Ἀμφιλοχία τῇ ἄλλῃ  
ἐπιχειρῆσαι καὶ Ἀκαρνανία ἅμα, λέγοντες ὅτι, ἣν τούτων  
25 κρατήσωσι, πᾶν τὸ ἡπειρωτικὸν Λακεδαιμονίοις ξύμμα-  
χον καθεστήξει. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εὐρύλοχος πεισθεὶς καὶ τοὺς 7  
Αἰτωλοὺς ἀφείς ἡσύχαζε τῷ στρατῷ περὶ τοὺς χώρους  
τούτους, ἕως τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἐκστρατευσασμένοις περὶ  
τὸ Ἄργος δέοι βοηθεῖν. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

103 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου 1  
χειμῶνος ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμάχων

found elsewhere in ancient writers, but is supported by Strabo's remark (p. 464 c), τὴν Πλευρωνίαν ὑπὸ Κουρήτων οἰκουμένην Αἰολεῖς ἐπελθόντες ἀφείλοντο. Cf. also the remark of Hesychius, ἡ γὰρ Καλυδὼν Αἰολίς ἐκαλεῖτο. See Niebuhr, *Vortr. etc.* p. 146; Bursian i. p. 130. On the text, see App. — 20. Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρῶνα: see Bursian i. p. 129 ff. — 21. Πρόσχιον: on the site of the Homeric Pylene (B 639). Bursian i. p. 131.

23. Ἄργει τε . . . καὶ Ἀκαρνανία: the Ambraciots recur to their plans of the year 430 and 429 B.C. Cf. ii. 68, and 80–82. — 24. καὶ Ἀκαρνανία ἅμα, λέγοντες κτέ.: so with Bk., Pp., and Kr., not καὶ Ἀκαρνανία, ἅμα λέγοντες κτέ., since ἅμα would be out of place in a statement of the means by which the Ambraciots persuaded Eurylochus over to their plans, whereas the correlation τε, καὶ ἅμα occurs often in Thuc. (c. 40. 17; v. 69. 4; vi. 15. 8; vii. 19. 3). Cf. ii. 80. § 1, where the const. πείθουσι . . ., λέγοντες

ὅτι occurs in a similar passage. —

25. πᾶν τὸ ἡπειρωτικὸν κτέ.: similar promises were made ii. 80. § 1. τὸ ἡπειρωτικόν, as in c. 94. 18. — ξύμμαχον καθεστήξει: see on c. 37. 13.

26. τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀφείς: thus abandoning the enterprise undertaken at their instance. Cf. c. 7. 13; ii. 78. 3; v. 75. 2. The Locrians also (cf. c. 101. § 2) seem to have been dismissed at that time by Eurylochus.

— 28. ἕως . . . δέοι βοηθεῖν: “until the right moment should have come to lend aid,” which is expressed by the aor. partic. ἐκστρατευσασμένοις, “when the Ambraciots should have taken the field.” This occurs c. 105. 1, Ἀμπρακιῶται . . . ἐκστρατεύονται ἐπὶ Ἄργος. For the opt., see GMT. 614; H. 921. — περὶ τὸ Ἄργος: const. with βοηθεῖν.

103. Beginning of the winter of 426–25 B.C. Further operations of the Athenians in Sicily and on the Italian coast.

1. οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι: continuation of c. 90 and 99. — 2. μετὰ

καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι ὑπὸ Συρακο-  
 σίων καὶ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες ἀποστάντες αὐτοῖς [ἀπὸ Συρα-  
 5 κοσίων] ξυνεπολέμουν, ἐπ' Ἰνησσαν τὸ Σικελικὸν πόλι-  
 σμα, οὗ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Συρακόσιοι εἶχον, προσέβαλον,  
 καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, ἀπῆσαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀναχω- 2  
 ρήσει ὑστέροις Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ἀναχωροῦσιν  
 ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τειχίσματος Συρακόσιοι, καὶ προσ-  
 10 πεσόντες τρέπουσί τε μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἀπέ-  
 κτειναν οὐκ ὀλίγους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὁ 3  
 Λάχης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἀποβάσεις τινὰς  
 ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τὸν Καικῖνον ποταμὸν τοὺς προσβοη-

τῶν Ἑλλήνων ξυμμάχων: *sc.* τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, who are enumerated c. 86. § 2. For the adj. use of Ἑλλήνων, *cf.* i. 62. 16; iv. 25. 34; v. 6. 21, and see on c. 95. 2; ii. 36. 13; vi. 62. 9. See Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 21; Diener, *De Serm. Thuc.* p. 43 sq. — 3. καὶ ὅσοι Σικελῶν: *i.e.* καὶ μετὰ τούτων τῶν Σικελῶν, ὅσοι —. The Sicels were the barbarian aborigines; the Siceliots the inhabitants of the Greek cities in Sicily. — κατὰ κράτος ἀρχόμενοι: = βίᾳ ἀρχόμενοι (c. 46. 21). *Cf.* Plut. *Lyc. et Num.* 3, [αἱ γυναῖκες] τῶν οἰκῶν ἄρχουσιν κατὰ κράτος. — ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι ὄντες: *parties. impf.*, and as such preceding ἀποστάντες, “being subjects and allies of the Syracusans had now revolted from them.” Regarding the matter, *cf.* vi. 88. 21. — 4. αὐτοῖς: *sc.* τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, with ξυνεπολέμουν. This connexion becomes clearer if, with v. H. (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 147) ἀπὸ Συρακοσίων be bracketed as an unnecessary gloss. — 5. ἐπ' Ἰνησσαν: *const.* with ἐπελθόντες. This was situated

not far from Catana, acc. to Strab. p. 268 c. *Cf.* vi. 94. 15. — 6. προσέβαλον, ἀπῆσαν: προσέβαλον, with Bk. and some inferior Mss., for προσέβαλλον, since the context requires the comprehensive aor. But ἀπῆσαν is quite in place, since in what follows matters are narrated which occurred during the retreat.

8. ὑστέροις Ἀθηναίων: *after the Athenians.* *Cf.* c. 49. 17. — 11. μετὰ τοῦτο: includes the return to the coast and the voyage back to Rhegium (c. 86. 19; 88. 13; 115. 5), whence the following expeditions set out. — 12. Λάχης: *cf.* c. 90. 8. — ἀποβάσεις τινὰς: as already c. 99. 2. — 13. κατὰ τὸν Καικῖνον ποταμόν: on the accent of Καικῖνος, see Götting, p. 203. This river is without doubt to be distinguished from the Halex (c. 99. 4), although Pausanias (vi. 6. 4) says the same thing of it as Strabo of the Halex, τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Ῥηγίνην ὁρίζων. Either the courses of the rivers must have changed, or the boundary must have been different at different times.



θοῦντας Λοκρῶν μετὰ Προξένου τοῦ Καπάτωνος ὡς τριακο-  
 15 σίους μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν καὶ ὅπλα λαβόντες ἀπεχώρησαν.

104 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν Ἀθη- 1  
 ναῖοι κατὰ χρησμὸν δὴ τινα. ἐκάθηρε μὲν γὰρ καὶ  
 Πεισίστρατος ὁ τύραννος πρότερον αὐτήν, οὐχ ἅπασαν,  
 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου· τότε δὲ  
 5 πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῶδε τρόπῳ· θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν 2

104. *The Athenians purify the island of Delos, and institute the Delian Penteteris.*

1. Δῆλον ἐκάθηραν: *cf.* i. 8. 3; Diod. xii. 58; Strab. p. 486, and see Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. p. 142. The occasion of this extraordinary homage to Apollo was doubtless the pestilence, which had reappeared in 427–26 B.C. (c. 87. § 1–3) with undiminished force, and the object of the festival seems to have been, not to give thanks to the god for the cessation of the plague, but to bring about its cessation. So at least Diodorus, *l.c.*, represents the matter, and the narrative of Thuc. seems compatible with this view. For there is no reason why the beginning of the period during which the pestilence raged the second time (οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐνιαυτοῦ, c. 87. 4) should not be put far back into the winter of 427–26 B.C., whereas the purification of Delos must have been taken in hand early in the winter of 426–25, since acc. to c. 102. § 7; 105. § 1 the irruption of the Ambraclots into the territory of Argos (c. 105. § 1) could have happened only shortly after the end of the preceding summer. So it was deemed proper to propitiate the wrath of the god, to which many had ascribed the pesti-

lence (*cf.* ii. 54. § 4 f.), in esp. solemn wise. The oracle directing the purification may have had some connexion with Nicias's influence at that time. *Cf.* Thuc. vii. 50. 30 ἦν γὰρ τι καὶ ἄγαν θειασμῷ τε καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ προσκείμενος. The interest manifested by Thuc. in the occurrence was prob. due not only to its historical importance, but also to the wish to correct erroneous views of his contemporaries with regard to earlier and later Δήλια. Hence here, as in vi. 54 ff., the digression with all its details is justifiable. See A. Baumeister, *Hymn. Hom.* p. 113, against G. Hermann, *Philol.* i. p. 372 (= *Opusc.* viii. p. 388 f.). — 2. δῆ: in a supplementary explanation (*cf.* i. 24. 5; ii. 102. 28); not ironical, as Bl. thought possible. — 3. Πεισίστρατος . . . οὐχ ἅπασαν: *cf.* Hdt. i. 64. 10 καθήρας δὲ ὦδε· ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τοῦτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. — 4. ὅσον . . . τῆς νήσου: *cf.* ἐπ' ὅσον . . . τοῦ ἱεροῦ, just cited from Hdt., and Thuc. vii. 37. 6 προσῆγε τῷ τείχει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθ' ὅσον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἑώρα.

5. θῆκαι ὅσαι: without γὰρ after τοιῶδε. See on c. 92. 2; 97. 1. The subst. thus placed acquires a char-

τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας ἀνείλουν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προ-  
 εἶπον μήτε ἐναποθνήσκειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Ῥήνεια  
 τῆς Δήλου οὕτως ὀλίγον ὥστε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων  
 10 τύραννος, ἰσχύσας τινὰ χρόνον ναυτικῶ καὶ τῶν τε ἄλ-  
 λων Νήσων ἄρξας καὶ τὴν Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν, ἀνέθηκε τῷ  
 Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ ἀλύσει δῆσας πρὸς τὴν Δήλον. καὶ  
 τὴν πεντετηρίδα τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐποίη-

acter of generality, with nearly the effect of a part. gen. Cf. c. 113. 21, and see on i. 1. 8. *θῆκαι* means here, doubtless, movable *coffins*, as in i. 8. 4; v. 1. 6, not "graves," as in c. 58. 15. As to such coffins, see Müller, *Handbuch* iv. p. 463 b. — 6. ἀνείλουν: as in i. 8. 4; v. 1. 6. — τὸ λοιπὸν: to be construed with ἐναποθνήσκειν and ἐντίκτειν. Cf. Diod. l.c. μήτε τίκτειν ἐν Δήλῳ μήτε θάπτειν, Strabo 486 c οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Δήλῳ θάπτειν οὐδὲ καλεῖν νεκρὸν. — προεἶπον: of a distinctly expressed order, as i. 45. 6. — 8. ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν: cf. Strabo l.c. ὅπου τὰ μνήματα τοῖς Δηλίοις ἐστίν. — διακομίζεσθαι: sc. τοὺς τε ἀποθνήσκοντας καὶ τὰς τικτούσας. — 9. οὕτως ὀλίγον: four stadia, acc. to Strabo l.c. — Πολυκράτης. . . τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ: cf. i. 13. § 6. — 10. ἰσχύσας τινὰ χρόνον ναυτικῶ: who for some time was powerful in naval affairs. Cf. ναυτικῶ ἰσχύων, i. 13. 28. The temporal modifier (τινα χρόνον) makes the above rendering seem necessary (cf. ἐκράτησάν τινα χρόνον, i. 13. 27); though Cl., Kr., and Bm. take the aor. partic. as ingressive, like ἄρξας in l. 11. — 11. Νήσων: for the vulg. νήσων, since here, as in i. 13. 29; vii. 57. 15, and freq., not islands in gen-

eral, but only the Cyclades are to be understood. See Steup, *Rh. Mus.* xxv. p. 328, n. — ἄρξας: = ὑπηκόους ποιησάμενος (i. 13. 29), as the connexion with ἐλὼν shows. Cf. i. 4. 3. This ingressive force is nearly confined to the first aor. GMT. 55; H. 841. — 12. ἀλύσει δῆσας πρὸς τὴν Δήλον: the chief stress of the sent. is on these words. The chaining of Rhenea to Delos indicates the proximity of the two islands. — ἀλύσει δῆσας: 'as a symbolical expression of indissoluble union.' Curtius, ii. p. 142. Weiske (*N. Jahrb.* cxxxvii. p. 555 f.) explains the ἀλύσει δῆσας as symbolically indicating the hanging up or setting up of an offering in the precincts of the temple of the god (ἀνατιθέναι). But that ἀνατιθέναι does not necessarily imply a hanging up or setting up of something in a sacred precinct, or indeed any local connexion with such a precinct, but may have the general meaning "consecrate," is clear from i. 13. 29 Ῥήνειαν ἐλὼν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ, where the manner of the consecration must have been stated, had ἀνατιθέναι only the narrower meaning claimed by Weiske. Cf. Hdt. i. 26. 5 ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. — 13. τὴν πεντετηρίδα. . .



σαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι [τὰ Δῆλια]. ἦν δέ ποτε καὶ τὸ πάλαι 3  
 15 μεγάλη ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον τῶν Ἰώνων τε καὶ περικτιό-  
 νων νησιωτῶν· ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν,  
 ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἄγων ἐποιεῖτο  
 αὐτόθι καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικός, χοροὺς τε ἀνῆγον  
 αἱ πόλεις. δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα 4

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι : *the quadrennial festival was celebrated by the Athenians then for the first time after the purification. τὴν πεντετηρίδα, cf. Poll. viii. 107. ποιεῖν, not the mid., of the celebration of a festival, as in ii. 15. 17; Plato Rep. 327 a. Cf. also l. 17; ii. 15. 24; v. 80. 18; vi. 28. 4; 58. 10. Since the celebration of the festival, acc. to the present passage, followed directly upon the purification undertaken at the beginning of the winter (see on l. 1), it could not have occurred, as Boeckh thinks (Sthlt. d. Athen. ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 82), in the Attic month Thargelion, and hardly, as C. Robert conjectures (Hermes xxi. p. 161 ff.), in Anthesterion. — 14. [τὰ Δῆλια] : rightly bracketed by v. H., Stud. Thuc. p. 48, as a gloss to τὴν πεντετηρίδα. The context renders the addition unnecessary; besides, the term τὰ Δῆλια was not restricted to the πεντετηρίς. Cf. Xen. Mem. iv. 8. 2.*

15. ξύνοδος ἐς τὴν Δῆλον : as i. 96. 10 ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο, and, similarly, l. 17 ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια, sc. ἐθεώρουν (cf. viii. 10. 2). — τῶν Ἰώνων κτέ. : acc. to l. 40, mention of the Athenians might have been expected here. Possibly Ἀθηναίων καὶ has dropped out after καί. Ἰώνων refers, as Ἴωνες in l. 17, to the Ionians of Asia Minor. These Ionians, whose participation

in the older festival was one of the chief distinctions between that and the later (l. 39 ff.), are esp. emphasized by τε, which would naturally follow directly after the art. belonging to both nouns. Cf. i. 6. 2. — περικτιόνων νησιωτῶν : i.e. the inhabitants of the Cyclades. περικτιόνες, found only here in Thuc., is poetic (Hom. P 220; Σ 212; β 65), and possibly taken from some ancient hymn. — 16. ξύν τε γὰρ κτέ. : in explanation of μεγάλη ξύνοδος (cf. l. 39). — ἐθεώρουν : of the whole celebration of the festival, as in v. 18. 4; 50. 8. θεωρεῖν ἐς also viii. 10. 2; Ar. Vesp. 1183; Luc. Tim. 50. — 17. τὰ Ἐφέσια : sc. at the temple of Artemis; of which Dion. H. (iv. 25) gives a similar description. — ἄγων ἐποιεῖτο : a contest was instituted. Cf. l. 43; v. 80. 17, and see on l. 13. — 18. χοροὺς ἀνῆγον : brought out, conducted, choral dances. Cf. Hes. Sc. 280; Callim. Del. 279 πᾶσαι δὲ χοροὺς ἀνάγουσι, Eur. Troad. 325 πᾶλλε πῶδ' αἰθέριον, ἀναγε χορόν, 332 χόρευε, μᾶτερ, ἀναγε. Hdt. has ὀρτὴν ἀνάγειν (ii. 40. 4; 48. 4; 61. 2). Cf. ὀρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, Hdt. ii. 60. 13.

19. Ὅμηρος : clearly regarded by Thuc. as the author of the hymn here cited. How definite a personality he was to Thuc., is shown esp. by l. 29. See Sengebusch, Hom. Diss.

20 ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἐστὶν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος ·

ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,  
 ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται  
 σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἄγυιαν ·

25 ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηστῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ  
 μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγὼν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων, 5  
 ἐν τοῖσδε αὖ δηλοῖ, ἃ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοιμίου · τὸν  
 γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ  
 ἐπαίνου ἐς τὰδε τὰ ἔπη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη ·

30 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ἰλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,  
 χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι. ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε

i. p. 140. — ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι: τὰ ἔπη used by Thuc. only of verses or poetic expressions. Cf. i. 3. 16; ii. 41. 14; 54. 4, and see on c. 67. 31. — 20. ἐκ προοιμίου: Schol. ἐξ ὕμνου · τοὺς γὰρ ὕμνους προοίμια ἐκάλουν, i.e. introductions to the recitation of other songs. See Wolf, *Proleg. ad Hom.* p. cvii. The two following citations are from the hymn to the Delian Apollo, 146 ff. and 165 ff. Several deviations in Thuc.'s version from that of the hymn are due without doubt to his following a different original, not to quoting from memory. See Baumeister, *ibid.* p. 141; Guttman, *de Hymn. Hom. Hist. Crit.* p. 17 sq.; Bücheler, *Coniectanea* (Index Schol., Bonn, W. 1878-79), p. 3 sq. — 21. ἀλλ' ὅτε: most recent editors write ἄλλοτε, with Camerarius; but even thus, Steup thinks, no proper connexion with the preceding verses is estab-

lished (see Gemoll, *Hom. Hymnen*, p. 143). He proposes, therefore, ἀλλ' ὅτι, and to take ἔνθα of l. 22 not as rel., but dem., as in l. 24. — 23. ἄγυιαν: i.e. the street leading to the temple. — 25. καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα: certamen instituant. Guttman, p. 22, compares Hom. Ψ 258 ἔζανεν εὐρὸν ἀγῶνα.

26. καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγὼν: in l. 24 f. only a γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν (πυγμαχίῃ) was implied beyond all doubt, since ὀρχηστῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ might refer to the χοροί of l. 18 (cf. l. 40). Thuc. adds, therefore, special testimony for the musical contests. — ἀγωνιούμενοι: sc. μουσικῇν. Cf. l. 34 f. — 27. τὸν . . . χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν: *hymn* v. 156-164. — 28. ἐτελεύτα . . . ἐς τὰδε τὰ ἔπη: cf. ii. 51. 5; iv. 48. 23 ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα, Soph. O. C. 476 τὸ δ' ἔνθεν ποῦ τελευτῆσαι με χρή; — τοῦ ἐπαίνου: sc. τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν. For the gen. with τελευτᾶν, see on c. 59. 19.



μνήσασθ', ὅπποτε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών.

35 “Ω κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὕμιν ἀνὴρ ἡδιστος ἀοιδῶν  
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέω τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;”  
ὕμεις δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθ' εὐφήμως.  
“Τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσση.”

τοσαῦτα μὲν Ὅμηρος ἐτεκμηρίωσεν ὅτι ἦν καὶ τὸ πάλαι 6  
μεγάλη ξύνοδος καὶ ἐορτὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ. ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς  
40 μὲν χοροὺς οἱ Νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμ-  
πον, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατελύθη  
ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν, ὥς εἰκός, πρὶν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν  
ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν καὶ ἵπποδρομίας, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν.

105 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Ἀμπρακιῶται, ὥσπερ ὑπο- 1  
σχόμενοι Εὐρυλόχῳ τὴν στρατιὰν κατέσχον, ἐκστρατεύ-

— 33. ἄλλος ἐπελθών: Bücheler, *ibid.*  
p. 4, proposes ἄλλοθεν ἐλθών.

38. τοσαῦτα μὲν: adv. *so far*. —  
ἐτεκμηρίωσεν: used by Thuc. alone of  
Attic writers, and only of Homer's  
evidence. Cf. i. 3. 12; 9. 24. It is  
common in the writers of the κοινὴ  
διάλεκτος. — 40. μεθ' ἱερῶν: *i.e.* with  
the sacrifices and all that pertained  
to the festal offerings. — 41. καὶ τὰ  
πλείστα: *and indeed most things*, as  
Bm. explains. Not only did the con-  
tests fall into disuse, but the Ionians  
came no more, women and children  
were no longer brought along, and  
otherwise the number of participants  
seems to have greatly diminished.  
Cl. explained as = *vel plurima*,  
with St., a sort of limiting appos. to  
τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. But the ἀγῶνες  
unquestionably ceased entirely. For  
this reason Kr. is certainly wrong in  
bracketing καί. — 42. πρὶν δὴ: *until*,

see on c. 29. 5. — τὸν ἀγῶνα: *i.e.* the  
contest held afterwards every four  
years. — 43. ἐποίησαν: see on l. 17.

105. The Ambraciots, in order to  
bring the Amphilocheian Argos to  
terms, occupy Olpae in its territory:  
the Acarnanians summon to the pro-  
tection of the place Demosthenes and  
twenty Athenian ships, which happened  
to be on the Peloponnesian coast.

1. ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι: cf. c. 102.  
§ 6, 7. — 2. ἐκστρατεύονται: to be  
construed only with ὥσπερ ὑποσχόμενοι  
Εὐρυλόχῳ, for τὴν στρατιὰν κατέσχον  
expresses merely the result of the  
promise, and has no effect on ἐκστρα-  
τεύονται. The chief emphasis of the  
sent. is on the partic., as in c. 53. 14.  
The sense of the passage is, as Jow.  
renders, “in fulfilment of the prom-  
ise by which they had induced Eury-  
lochus and his army to remain, the  
Ambraciots make an expedition —.”

ονται ἐπὶ Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν τρισχιλίους ὀπλί-  
 ταις, καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν καταλαμβάνουσιν  
 5 Ὀλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ὃ  
 ποτε Ἀκαρνᾶνες τειχισάμενοι κοινῶ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρῶντο·  
 ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως ἐπιθαλασσίας  
 οὔσης πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους μάλιστα. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρ- 2  
 νᾶνες οἱ μὲν ἐς Ἄργος ξυνεβοήθουν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιλο-  
 10 χίας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ὃ Κρήναι καλεῖται, φυλάσσον-  
 τες τοὺς μετὰ Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννησίους μὴ λάθωσι  
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας διελθόντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.  
 πέμπουσιν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Δημοσθένην τὸν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν 3

—3. Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικόν: on the inmost recess of the Ambracian gulf. On its relation to Ambracia, cf. ii. 68. § 1. —5. Ὀλπας: the sing. in c. 107. 13; iii. 5; ii. 2. Cf. Ἰδομενὴ (c. 112. 2; ii. 13. 14) and Ἰδομεναί (ii. 13. 10); Πλαταιαί (ii. 7. 1; i. 10. 1) and Πλαταιά (everywhere in Thuc. except the two places just cited); Κεγχρεαί (viii. 10. 5; 20. 6; 23. 2), Κεγχρεά (iv. 42. 21; 44. 14). As to the site of this fortress, with which the Ὀλπαῖοι of c. 101. 12 have nothing to do, as well as of Κρήναι (l. 10), see Bursian i. p. 38, and Oberhummer, *Akarnanien*, p. 27 f. —ὃ . . . ἐχρῶντο: ὃ with τειχισάμενοι, from which ᾧ is to be supplied with ἐχρῶντο. The sent. is best explained with Schoemann, *Gr. Alterth.* ii.<sup>3</sup> p. 76, that the Acarnanians after fortifying Olpae had once used it as a common place of justice for their alliance. For the impf. with ποτε expressing what formerly existed for some time, cf. ii. 44. 8; viii. 52. 12; 62. 13, and the pres. partic., i. 132. 30; v. 43. 11; vi. 92. 5. Prob. the occupation of the Amphilochean Olpae by

the Acarnanians fell in the time of the ξυμφοραί of the Amphilochean Argos, mentioned in ii. 68. 12. After the Amphilocheians had joined the Acarnanians (διδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶσι, ii. 68. 18), the place was doubtless restored to its former possessors and the federal court removed elsewhere. See App.

8. οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ: part. appos. See on c. 13. 17. —

9. ξυνεβοήθουν: the impf. represents continuance, whereas ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο in l. 12 simply states the matter as a fact. —τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας: the name of the country precedes that of the place, as in c. 19. 6; 89. 7; i. 100. 15. —10. φυλάσσοντες τοὺς . . . Πελοποννησίους μὴ λάθωσι: proleptic const. as in i. 26. 6; ii. 67. 22. Kr. *Spr.* 61, 6, 5. —11. μὴ λάθωσι . . . διελθόντες: 'for Crenae, now Παλαιὸ Αὐλί, guarded the entrance to the district from the south.' Bursian (*l.c.*), after Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, p. 290. Cf. c. 106. 14. —13. Δημοσθένην τὸν . . . στρατηγῆσαντα: the designation recalls indeed



Ἀθηναίων στρατηγήσαντα, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡγεμὼν γίγνηται,  
 15 καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων αἱ ἔτυχον περὶ Πελο-  
 πόννησον οὔσαι, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀριστοτέλης τε ὁ Τιμοκράτους  
 καὶ Ἱεροφῶν ὁ Ἀντιμνήστου. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ ἄγγελον 4  
 οἱ περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας Ἀμπρακιῶται ἐς τὴν πόλιν κελεύοντες  
 σφίσι βοηθεῖν πανδημεῖ, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ μετ' Εὐρυλόχου οὐ  
 20 δύνωνται διελθεῖν τοὺς Ἀκαρνανᾶς καὶ σφίσιν ἢ μονωθείσιν  
 ἢ μάχη γένηται ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν βουλομένοις οὐκ ἢ ἀσφαλές.  
 106 Οἱ μὲν οὖν μετ' Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννήσιοι, ὥς 1

an undertaking unwelcome to the Acarnanians (c. 95. § 1 f.), but better relations had been already restored (c. 102. § 3 f.). Further, the aor. partic. refers only to what had happened in the summer of 426 B.C. (*who had led the army of the Athenians to Aetolia*), and does not indicate the expiration of the office of strategus. Had Demosthenes been at that time no longer strategus, he could hardly have obeyed the here mentioned invitation of the Acarnanians and hastened with 200 Messenian hoplites and sixty Athenian bowmen to the scene of action (c. 107. 6), and at any rate it could not have been said of him, in iv. 2. 14, *ὄντι ιδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας*. For clearly, acc. to these words, his term of office did not expire before his return from Acarnania to Athens (c. 114. § 1). — 14. *ἡγεμὼν γίγνηται*: cf. c. 107. 11, and see on c. 2. 11. — 15. *ἐπὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων*: which, after the return of the thirty ships (c. 98. 25), had been sent out again, under the generals named, *περὶ Πελοπόννησον*, prob. in consequence of news of the operations of Eurylochus against

the Ozolian Locrians and Naupactus (c. 101 f.). Their real goal was Naupactus (cf. c. 114. 8), but they turned aside for the moment, in consequence of the appeal of the Acarnanians, to the Ambracian gulf (c. 107. 4). — 16. *ἦρχεν*: Bm. proposed *ἦρχον*. But cf. iv. 37. 1; 38. 9, and see Kr. Spr. 63, 4. — *Ἀριστοτέλης*: later prob. one of the Thirty. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 2.

17. *ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καί*: emphatic repetition after *πέμπουσι* (l. 13). See on c. 18. 8; i. 28. 8; ii. 7. 3. — 18. *ἐς τὴν πόλιν*: sc. *τὴν Ἀμπρακίαν*. — 19. *πανδημεῖ*: i.e. with all the forces which they could raise after sending out the 3000 hoplites (l. 3). For the execution of this request, cf. c. 110. — 21. *(μὴ) ἢ μάχη γένηται*: cf. i. 63. 10; v. 51. 2; 59. 18; viii. 80. 19. — *οὐκ ἢ ἀσφαλές*: with indef. subj., as iv. 36. 1 *ἀπέραντον ἦν*, viii. 105. 7 *ἀφανὲς ἦν*.

106. *Eurylochus, with the Peloponnesians, marches safely from Proschium in Aetolia through Acarnania and Agrais to Amphiloehia, and unites with the Ambraciots in Olpae.*

1. οἱ μετ' Εὐρυλόχου Πελοποννή-

ἦσθοντο τοὺς ἐν Ὀλπαῖς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἦκοντας, ἄραντες  
 ἐκ τοῦ Προσχίου ἐβοήθουν κατὰ τάχος, καὶ διαβάντες  
 τὸν Ἀχελῶν ἐχώρουν δι' Ἀκαρνανίας, οὐσης ἐρήμου  
 5 διὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀργὸς βοήθειαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἔχοντες  
 τὴν Στρατίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἀρι-  
 στερᾷ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀκαρνανίαν. καὶ διελθόντες τὴν 2  
 Στρατίων γῆν ἐχώρουν διὰ τῆς Φυτίας καὶ αὐθις Μεδε-  
 ῶνος παρ' ἔσχατα, ἔπειτα διὰ Λιμναίας· καὶ ἐπέβησαν  
 10 τῆς Ἀγραίων, οὐκέτι Ἀκαρνανίας, φιλίας δὲ σφίσι. λαβό- 3

σιοι: cf. c. 102. 26. — 2. τοὺς ἐν Ὀλ-  
 παῖς . . . ἦκοντας: *that the Ambraciots*  
*had arrived at Olpae*, lit. *that the*  
*Ambraciots in Olpae had arrived*.  
 This is a case of anticipation. Kühn.  
 447, n. 4. — 3. ἐκ τοῦ Προσχίου: *sc.*  
*τῆς Αἰτωλίας*. Cf. c. 102. 21. — 4. τὸν  
 Ἀχελῶν: *i.e.* the boundary of Acar-  
 nania. — οὐσης ἐρήμου: *i.e.* without  
 military protection, since the popula-  
 tion able to bear arms had gone to  
 Argos. Cf. ii. 81. 7 (where the adj. has  
 the fem. ending). — 6. τὴν Στρατίων  
 πόλιν: *μεγίστην τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας*, ii. 80.  
 38. — τὴν φρουρὰν αὐτῶν: *sc.* τῶν  
 Στρατίων, *i.e.* the garrison of the  
 city.

8. τῆς Φυτίας: the reading of all  
 the Mss., though Polyb. (iv. 63. 7, 10)  
 has Φοιτίαι and Steph. Byz. Φοιτίαι  
 and Φοίτιον. Several inscriptions, too,  
 read Φοι- (see Oberhummer, *Akarna-*  
*nien*, p. 38), though local coins have  
 ΦΥ- (see Head, *Hist. Numorum*, p.  
 281). The reference is to the terri-  
 tory belonging to the place, as also  
 in the case of Μεδεῶνος and Λιμναίας.  
 See on c. 91. 11, 15. — Μεδεῶνος:  
 Polybius calls the place Μεδίων (Steph.  
 Byz.), the inhabitants Μεδιώνιοι,

the district Μεδιωνία, and Livy also  
 (xxxvi. 11 sq.) has Medion and  
 Medionii. — 9. παρ' ἔσχατα: *i.e.*  
*to the frontier*. Cf. viii. 95. 19 ἐπ'  
 ἔσχατα. — διὰ Λιμναίας: cf. ii. 80. 37.  
 This is the name both of a place and  
 of the whole swampy lowland on  
 the southern slopes of the Thyamus  
 mountains. See Bursian i. p. 110.  
 — 10. τῆς Ἀγραίων: this district,  
 which in c. 111. 18 is called ἡ Ἀγραῖς,  
 and had a king of its own, Salyn-  
 thius, must be sought, acc. to ii. 102.  
 13 (where the Agraeans are placed  
 between the Dolopians and Amphi-  
 lochians), north of the road followed  
 up to this point. Eurylochus made,  
 evidently to avoid the Acarnanian  
 garrison at Crenae (c. 105. 10), a  
 detour through the mountains and  
 from there descended into the Argive  
 district, and thence marched along  
 the coast to Olpae. — οὐκέτι Ἀκαρνα-  
 νίας: chorographic gen., to which in  
 the next clause an adj. corresponds.  
 Strabo, p. 449 c, calls the Agraeans  
 Αἰτωλικὸν ἔθνος. They belonged to  
 the ἐπίκτητος Αἰτωλία. See Bursian i.  
 p. 140.

λαβόμενοι τοῦ . . . ὅρους: see on



μενοι δὲ τοῦ Θυάμου ὄρους, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἀγραϊκόν, ἐχώρουν  
 δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἀργείαν νυκτὸς ἤδη, καὶ  
 διεξελθόντες μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ἀργείων πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ  
 Κρήναις Ἀκαρνάνων φυλακῆς ἔλαθον καὶ προσέμειξαν τοῖς  
 107 ἐν Ὀλπαις Ἀμπρακιώταις. γενόμενοι δὲ ἄθροοι ἅμα τῇ 1  
 ἡμέρᾳ καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Μητρόπολιν καλουμένην καὶ  
 στρατόπεδον ἐποιήσαντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν  
 οὐ πολλῶ ἕστερον παραγίγνονται ἐς τὸν Ἀμπρακικὸν βοή-  
 5 θοῦντες τοῖς Ἀργείοις, καὶ Δημοσθένης Μεσσηνίων μὲν  
 ἔχων διακοσίους ὀπλίτας, ἐξήκοντα δὲ τοξότας Ἀθηναίων.

c. 24. 10. — 11. τοῦ Θυάμου ὄρους : now Σπαρτοβοῦνι, forming the north-east boundary of Acarnania toward Aetolia, but belonging for the most part to the Agraeon district. Hence O. Müller's conjecture (*Dorians* ii.<sup>2</sup> p. 529 ; see Bursian i. p. 105, n. 1), Ἀγραϊκόν, has been adopted for ἀγροῖ-  
 κον of the Mss. See App. — 12. νυκτὸς ἤδη : *already night*. For other examples of ἤδη thus used, see on i. 30. 20. — 13. τῆς . . . φυλακῆς : *sc.* which awaited the advance of Eurylochus on the direct road from Limnaea to Argos. Cf. c. 105. § 2. — 14. προσέμειξαν τοῖς . . . Ἀμπρακιώταις : *joined the Ambraciots in Olpae*. Cf. v. 58. 3 βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἄλλοις προσμεῖξαι.

107, 108. *Demosthenes, elected commander-in-chief by the Acarnanians, by means of a skilfully-planned ambush wins a decisive victory over the Peloponnesians and Ambraciots.*

1. γενόμενοι ἄθροοι : *sc.* the Ambraciots and Peloponnesians. — 2. καθίζουσιν : *encamp*, intr. as in iv. 93. 5. The const. καθίζειν στρατόν is more freq. in Thuc. (ii. 71. 4 ; iv. 90. 5 ; v. 7. 14 ; vi. 66. 2 ; vii. 82. 16). — τὴν

Μητρόπολιν : seems from the context (cf. i. 13) to have been a place very near Olpae. — 3. ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν : cf. c. 105. 15. — 4. τὸν Ἀμπρακικόν : *sc.* κόλπον, which a few Mss. have in the text. But a copyist would be much more likely to add than omit it. ὁ Ἀμπρακικός alternates with ὁ Ἀμπρακικὸς κόλπος (i. 29. 11 ; 55. 3 ; ii. 68. 9 ; iv. 49. 3), as ὁ Ἰόνιος (vi. 30. 6 ; 34. 24 ; 104. 10 ; vii. 33. 14) with ὁ Ἰόνιος κόλπος (i. 24. 1 ; ii. 97. 26 ; vi. 13. 11 ; 44. 8 ; vii. 57. 57). See also App. on ii. 92. 22. — 5. καὶ Δημοσθένης κτέ. : Demosthenes (*sc.* παραγίγνεται ἐς τὸν Ἀμπρακικόν) came from Naupactus (cf. c. 102. § 3) with two hundred Messenian hoplites and sixty Athenian bowmen. As was remarked on c. 105. 13, he could hardly have brought these troops, if he was no longer general. From the manner in which he is mentioned here after the twenty ships, it seems impossible that his sixty bowmen were taken from these ships. Probably there was at that time an Athenian garrison permanently stationed at Naupactus, so that he, even after the return (c.

καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας τὸν λόφον ἐκ θαλάσσης 2  
 ἐφώρμουν· οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων ὀλίγοι  
 (οἱ γὰρ πλείους ὑπὸ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν βία κατείχοντο)  
 10 ἐς τὸ Ἄργος ἤδη ξυνεληλυθότες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς  
 μαχοῦμενοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καὶ ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντὸς ξυμ-  
 μαχικοῦ αἰροῦνται Δημοσθένην μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων στρα-  
 τηγῶν. ὁ δὲ προσαγαγὼν ἐγγὺς τῆς Ὀλπης ἐστρατοπε- 3  
 δεύσατο, χαράδρα δ' αὐτοὺς μεγάλη διεΐργε. καὶ ἡμέρας  
 15 μὲν πέντε ἡσύχαζον, τῇ δ' ἕκτη ἐτάσσοντο ἀμφοτέρωι ὡς  
 ἐς μάχην. καὶ (μείζον γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ περιέσχε τὸ τῶν

98. 25) of the thirty ships of c. 91. 1, had control of some Athenian forces.

— **Μεσσηνίων**: see on c. 94. 15.

7. τὰς Ὀλπας τὸν λόφον: = τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου (c. 105. 5), τὸν λόφον being appos. to τὰς Ὀλπας. Kr. Spr. 50, 7, 2. Steup follows v. H. in bracketing τὸν λόφον, on the ground that, after c. 105. 4 καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ), the expression περὶ τὰς Ὀλπας ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐφώρμουν needs no explanation, and, if it did, that this would hardly be added in the form of a simple appositive (τὸν λόφον). — 8. Ἀμφιλόχων: the inhabitants of the whole district, whose chief city was Argos. They remained βάρβαροι even after Argos had become hellenized, ii. 68. 14. — 9. οἱ πλείους . . . κατείχοντο: they were kept from taking part in the war by the fact that the Ambraciots had seized their territory or taken hostages from them. Cf. c. 114. 19. — 10. ἤδη ξυνεληλυθότες: the Acarnanians of Crenae (c. 105. 10; 106. 14) had also meanwhile gone to Argos, to whose aid the rest of the Acarnanians marched

at the outset (c. 105. 9 οἱ μὲν ἐς Ἄργος ξυνεβοήθουν). — 11. τοῦ παντὸς ξυμμαχικοῦ: of the whole allied army, i.e. of all the Acarnanian and Amphilocheian forces. Cf. i. 62. 5 στρατηγὸν τοῦ πεζοῦ παντὸς οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἤρηντο Ἀριστέα. — 12. Δημοσθένην: the form Δημοσθένη, of the most and best Mss., is against the usage of Thuc. — μετὰ τῶν σφετέρων στρατηγῶν: i.e. these commanded the various contingents under Demosthenes as general-in-chief.

13. προσαγαγών: without obj., as ducere, only here in Thuc. — τῆς Ὀλπης: see on c. 105. 5. — 14. χαράδρα: see on c. 25. 4; 98. 7. — 15. ἐτάσσοντο: introductory impf., the details following. Cf. i. 22 ἦσαν ἐς χεῖρας. See on c. 92. 2. — ὡς ἐς μάχην: with the intention to fight, as i. 62. 20; iv. 93. 6; vi. 67. 2. Cf. ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, i. 48. 2, and see on c. 4. 6. — 16. καὶ (μείζον γὰρ κτέ.): paratactic structure of the period, just as in c. 70. 11; i. 31. 7; hence here too the causal sent. must be regarded as parenthetical. — περιέσχε: intr. *extended beyond, out-flanked*, as in c. 108. 1; v. 71. 12,



Πελοποννησίων στρατόπεδον) ὁ Δημοσθένης δείσας μὴ  
 κυκλωθῇ λοχίζει ἐς ὁδόν τινα κοίλην καὶ λοχμῶδη ὀπλί-  
 τας καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφοτέρους ἐς τετρακοσίους, ὅπως  
 20 κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ξυνόδῳ αὐτῇ ἐξαν-  
 αστάντες οὗτοι κατὰ νώτου γίνωνται. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρε- 4  
 σκεύαστο ἀμφοτέροις, ἦσαν ἐς χεῖρας, Δημοσθένης μὲν  
 τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων μετὰ Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων  
 ὀλίγων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο Ἀκαρνᾶνες ὡς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι  
 25 ἐπέειχον καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων οἱ παρόντες ἀκοντισταί. Πελο-

16, and περισχεῖν, v. 71. 4. Schol. ὑπερέτεινεν, ὑπερέσχεν. The aors. ἐγένετο and περιέσχε express a result of the drawing up (ἐτάσσοντο). — 18. λοχίζει: in insidiis collocat. ἐνέδραν καθίζει, Schol. Cf. λοχισθέντες (ambushed), v. 115. 2; Dio C. xli. 51; ἐλόχισε, distributed into companies, Hdt. i. 103. 4. — κοίλην καὶ λοχμῶδη: cf. Dio C. 13, 9 ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ καὶ λοχμῶδει τόπῳ, 1279, 17 ἐς κοῖλόν τινα καὶ λοχμῶδη τόπον, Polyæn. iii. 1. 2 ἐς τὸ κοῖλον καὶ λοχμῶδες ἐνέλόχισεν ὀπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους. λοχμῶδης occurs only here in Thuc. — 20. κατὰ τὸ ὑπερέχον: i.e. at the part of the enemy's line which extended beyond their own and threatened to outflank them. Cf. Polyæn. l.c. ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν ὑπερβαλαγγήσωσιν οἱ ἐναντίοι κατὰ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον αὐτῶν, ἐξαναστάντες κατὰ νώτου γένοιντο. For similar const., cf. l. 29; i. 48. 10, 12; 62. 24; iv. 36. 7; v. 71. 22. For ὑπερέχον, cf. viii. 104. 15. Acc. to c. 108. 2, it was the left wing, not, as was usually the case, the right (cf. v. 71. § 1). — ἐξαναστάντες: rushing out from their ambush. Cf. Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 37. — 21. οὗτοι: for which Hude (Comm.

Crit. p. 116 sq.) proposed οὕτω, is opposed to the remaining troops of Demosthenes. — κατὰ νώτου: as in c. 108. 4; i. 62. 13, etc. κατὰ νῶτον, which some good Mss. have, is contrary to Thuc.'s usage.

ἐπεὶ δὲ παρσκευάστω ἀμφοτέροις: for the impers. pass., see on c. 22. 1. — 22. ἦσαν ἐς χεῖρας: see on l. 15. — 23. ἔχων: the regular verb in such tactical statements. See on i. 48. 10. — Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγων: Steup thinks that, as the small number of Athenian bowmen (sixty) has already been stated in l. 6, and there was no cause for emphasizing their fewness here, whereas one might have expected some mention of the Amphilocheians that were not ἀκοντισταί, prob. some words have been lost between Ἀθηναίων and ὀλίγων, — perhaps καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων ὀπλιτῶν or καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων σφενδονητῶν. That the main body of the Amphilocheians were ψιλοί, is clear from c. 112. 20. — 24. τὸ ἄλλο: i.e. the centre and left. — 24. ὡς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι: i.e. arrayed by tribes and under their own leaders (l. 12). — 25. ἐπέειχον: occupied; as in i. 48. 7; Hdt. ix. 31. 7. — Πελοποννήσιοι

ποννήσιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀναμίξ τεταγμένοι πλὴν  
 Μαντινέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ τὸ  
 κέρας ἄκρον ἔχοντες ἀθρόοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' Εὐρύλοχος ἔσχα-  
 τον εἶχε τὸ εὐώνυμον καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, κατὰ Μεσσηνίους  
 108 καὶ Δημοσθένην. ὥς δ' ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη ὄντες περιέσχον 1  
 τῷ κέρα οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ἐκυκλοῦντο τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν  
 ἐναντίων, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐπιγενόμενοι αὐτοῖς  
 κατὰ νώτου προσπίπτουσί τε καὶ τρέπουσιν, ὥστε μήτε  
 5 ἐς ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι φοβηθέντας τε ἐς φυγὴν καὶ τὸ πλεόν  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστήσαι· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδον τὸ κατ'  
 Εὐρύλοχον καὶ ὃ κράτιστον ἦν διαφθειρόμενον, πολλῶ  
 μᾶλλον ἐφόβουντο. καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ὄντες ταύτῃ μετὰ

δὲ καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται: *sc.* ἦσαν ἐς χεῖ-  
 ras, not the nearest but the most  
 important verb being understood. —  
 26. ἀναμίξ: only here in Thuc. *Cf.*  
*Hdt.* i. 103. 6; vii. 40. 4. — 26. πλὴν  
 Μαντινέων . . . ἦσαν: *acc.* to these  
 words, as well as c. 108. 16; 109. 12;  
 111. 2, 14; 113. 4, a considerable  
 portion of the Peloponnesians under  
 Eurylochus must have been Manti-  
 neans. — 27. οὗτοι δέ: *epexegetical*,  
 as in c. 34. 4; i. 26. 23; 143. 20. — οὐ  
 τὸ κέρας ἄκρον ἔχοντες: *pred.*, like  
*ἔσχατον*, *having not the extreme point*  
*of the wing.* G. 978, 1; H. 671; Kr.  
*Spr.* 50, 11, 5. — 29. οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ:  
 this part of the army, which in c. 108.  
 6 is described as τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον  
 καὶ ὃ κράτιστον ἦν, *acc.* to what goes  
 before must have consisted of con-  
 tingents from various states. Some  
 statement as to its composition might  
 have been expected. — κατὰ Μεσ-  
 σηνίους: see on l. 20.

108. 1. περιέσχον: see on c. 107. 16.  
 — 2. τῷ κέρα: *i.e.* τῷ ἐαυτῶν εὐωνύμῳ

κέρα. — 3. ἐπιγενόμενοι: see on c. 30.  
 6. — αὐτοῖς κατὰ νώτου: *const.* with  
 ἐπιγενόμενοι. *Cf.* c. 107. 21. — 5. ἐς  
 ἀλκὴν ὑπομεῖναι: *cf.* ἐς χεῖρας ὑπομεῖ-  
 ναι, v. 72. 23; εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι, Xen.  
*Hell.* ii. 4. 34; *An.* iv. 3. 31; ἐς ἀλκὴν  
 τρέπεσθαι, ii. 84. 24; *Hdt.* ii. 45. 7;  
 iii. 78. 5; iv. 125. 21; ix. 102. 18.  
 See on c. 30. 7. — φοβηθέντας τε . . .  
 καταστήσαι: *and in their panic put*  
*to flight also the greater part of the*  
*army.* — ἐς φυγὴν καταστήσαι: as in  
 iv. 14. 4; vii. 43. 47. *Cf.* ἐς ἀπόνοιαν  
 καταστήσαι, i. 82. 20; vii. 67. 22; ἐς  
 ἀπορίαν, ii. 81. 37; vii. 75. 14; ἐς ὑπο-  
 ψίαν, v. 29. 18; ἐς ταραχὴν, iv. 75. 10;  
 ἐς ἐκπληξιν, vi. 36. 7; ἐς κίνδυνον, ii.  
 100. 25; ἐς λογισμόν, vi. 34. 25. — 6.  
 τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον: *i.e.* the part of  
 the army with him and under his  
 personal command (οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, c.  
 107. 29), characterized also as τὸ κρά-  
 τιστον. *Cf.* iv. 33. 1 οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐπι-  
 τάδαν καὶ ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον. κατά, as  
 in l. 10; in a different sense from c.  
 107. 20, 29. — 8. ταύτῃ: *i.e.* on the



τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξῆλθον. οἱ δὲ 2  
 10 Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρασ ἐνίκων τὸ καθ'  
 ἑαυτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος ἀπεδίωξαν· καὶ γὰρ μαχιμώ-  
 τατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ἐπ- 3  
 αναχωροῦντες δέ, ὡς ἑώρων τὸ πλεόν νενικημένον καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι Ἀκαρνᾶνες σφίσι προσέκειντο, χαλεπῶς διεσώζοντο  
 15 ἐς τὰς Ὀλπας, καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν, ἀτάκτως  
 καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ προσπίπτοντες πλὴν Μαντινέων· οὗτοι  
 δὲ μάλιστα ξυντεταγμένοι παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώ-  
 ρησαν. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἐς ὀψέ.

right wing, c. 107. 23. — 9. τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξῆλθον: *performed the chief part of the work.* Cf. i. 70. 21 ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν, Soph. Tr. 505 ἐξῆλθον ἀεθλ' ἀγώνων, i. 70. 9 τὰναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι. Hence ἐξῆλθον, of Vat. and other good Mss., is adopted instead of ἐπεξῆλθον of most Mss., which Haase prefers (*Lucubr.* p. 100).

οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται κτέ.: see App. — 10. ἐνίκων τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς: *were victorious in their own quarter.* Cf. c. 78. 3. — 11. ἀπεδίωξαν: *i.e.* pursued from their position. Cf. vi. 102. 15 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποδιωξάντων τοὺς ἐκεῖ, also Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 14; vi. 2. 20; Ar. *Nub.* 1296. These passages support the Mss. reading sufficiently against Haase's conjecture (*Lucubr.* p. 62). ἐπεδίωξαν.

12. ἐπαναχωροῦντες . . . νενικημένον: cf. i. 63. 1. ἐπαναχωροῦντες, *returning*, sc. from the pursuit (i. 63. 1 ἐπαναχωρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως), during which the flight of the greater part of the army (l. 5) had occurred; hence the pf. partic. νενικημένον. — 14. διεσώζοντο: as in c. 85. 4; 109.

5; i. 82. 10; ii. 60. 10; iv. 96. 33. — 15. αὐτῶν: if the text be sound, it seems necessary to adopt Jowett's explanation, that αὐτῶν is used not of the right wing of the Peloponnesian army just mentioned, for the Mantineans were on the left, but generally "of their army." But see App. — ἀτάκτως καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ προσπίπτοντες: cf. vi. 97. 17 προσπεσόντες ἀτακτότερον. Vat. and other Mss. read ἀφυλάκτως, prob. because ἀτάκτως and οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ are so nearly synonymous, but the reading of the text is supported by iv. 126. 34 κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει, Herod. ii. 4 τὸ κόσμιον καὶ εὐτακτον. — 16. προσπίπτοντες: sc. τῷ τείχει, *rushing to the fort*, as in vi. 97. 17; viii. 84. 5. The Schol. wrongly explains, τοῖς ἐναντίοις δηλονότι. — 17. τοῦ στρατοῦ: dependent on μάλιστα. G. 1088; Kr. *Spr.* 47, 28, 8. — 18. ἐς ὀψέ: as viii. 23. 7; Dem. lvii. 15; μέχρι ὀψέ, vii. 83. 13. Cf. c. 78. 16 ἐτελεύτα ἐς ἡλίου δύσιν, i. 51. 9 ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. Kühn. 446 b; Kr. *Spr.* 66, 1, 4. The reading of Vat. and other good Mss., ἕως ὀψέ, is explained by Lobeck, *ad Phryn.*

109 Μενεδαίος δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Εὐρυλόχου τεθνεώτος 1  
καὶ Μακαρίου αὐτὸς παρειληφὼς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀπορῶν  
μεγάλης ἥσσης γεγεννημένης ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μένων πολιορ-  
κήσεται, ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ταῖς Ἀττικάις  
5 ναυσὶν ἀποκεκλημένος, ἢ καὶ ἀναχωρῶν διασωθήσεται,  
προσφέρει λόγον περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως Δημο-  
σθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνάνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ περὶ νεκρῶν  
ἅμα ἀναιρέσεως. οἱ δὲ νεκροὺς μὲν ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τρο- 2  
παῖον αὐτοὶ ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν τριακοσίους μάλι-  
10 στα ἀποθανόντας ἀνείλουντο· ἀναχώρησιν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ  
προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο ἅπασι, κρύφα δὲ Δημοσθένης  
μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατῆγων Ἀκαρνάνων σπένδονται Μαντι-

p. 47, παρέτεινε ἕως ὅψε καὶ ὅψε ἐτε-  
λεύτα, — which seems too artificial.

109. *Menedaius, who assumes com-  
mand after the death of Eurylochus  
and Macarius, makes a secret agree-  
ment by which he and a part of the  
Peloponnesians are allowed to with-  
draw undisturbed.*

1. *Μενεδαίος* : see on c. 100. 11. —  
2. *αὐτός* : alone. Cf. c. 27. 9 ; i. 139.  
15 ; iv. 49. 5 ; v. 60. 4 ; vi. 37. 3. — *παρει-  
ληφώς* : not *παραλαβών*, since this act  
stands for itself, without causal con-  
nexion with *προσφέρει λόγον*. — 3. *με-  
γάλης ἥσσης γεγεννημένης* : the art.,  
though it would be in order, is not  
necessary. Cf. i. 18. 15, and see on  
ii. 5. 13. — *ὅτῳ τρόπῳ* : with fut. ind.  
for the more usual *ὅπως*. See on i.  
107. 18. — *πολιορκήσεται* : pass. and  
with the same meaning, as in c. 52. 2.  
— 4. *ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης* : an-  
swers to *πανταχόθεν*, v. 60. 12 ; viii.  
42. 14. — 5. *ἀποκεκλημένος* : pf. partic.  
because he is already in this situa-  
tion. — 6. *προσφέρει λόγον* : as in

viii. 32. 12 ; Hdt. iii. 134. 3 ; v. 30. 15 ;  
more freq. *λόγους*, c. 4. 8 ; i. 57. 11 ;  
ii. 70. 6.

9. *τοὺς ἀποθανόντας* : the fallen,  
almost a subst., as in c. 113. 23 ; ii.  
34. 2. It is a relic of the Hom. usage ;  
cf. II 457 τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.  
See Classen, *Beob. über den Hom.  
Sprachgebrauch*, p. 57 ff. — *μάλιστα* :  
see on c. 21. 4. — 10. *ἀναχώρησιν* :  
for acc. with *σπένδεσθαι*, see on c. 24.  
19. — *ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς* : as c. 43. 10 ;  
viii. 68. 2. See on c. 43. 5 ; 82. 48.  
— 12. *μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατῆγων Ἀκαρ-  
νάνων* : cf. c. 107. 12. For the gen.  
*Ἀκαρνάνων*, see on c. 92. 19. On the  
recessive accent here and ii. 58. 2,  
see Göttling, p. 321. — *σπένδονται* :  
pl. after *Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρα-  
τῆγων*. A rare const., the more strik-  
ing since *βουλόμενος* (l. 15) agrees only  
with *Δημοσθένης*. Kr. *Spr.* 63, 4, 3 ;  
Kühn. 359, n. 5. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* i.  
1. 10 Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαν-  
τιθέου ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες ἀπέδρασαν.  
Steup would prefer *σπένδεται*, on the



νεῦσι καὶ Μενεδαῖω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀξιολογώτατοι ἀποχω-  
 15 ρεῖν κατὰ τάχος, βουλόμενος ψιλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας  
 τε καὶ τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον [τὸν ξενικόν], μάλιστα δὲ

ground that the pl. conflicts with the manifest intention to emphasize Demosthenes, as shown by the addition of Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατήγων Ἀκαρνάνων after ἐσπείσαντο.—13. τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι: i.e. the higher officers. Cf. c. 30. 1; v. 9. 33; vi. 32. 7.—14. ἀξιολογώτατοι: most influential, as ii. 10. 11.—ἀποχωρεῖν: inf. after σπένδονται, as iv. 114. 9; vii. 83. 4; σπείσασθαι . . . ἥ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν, iv. 118. 57.—15. ψιλῶσαι: only here in Thuc. μονῶσαι, ψιλοῦς τῶν ξυμμάχων ποιῆσαι, Schol. Cf. Hdt. ii. 151. 17; Xen. Cyr. iv. 5. 12. The synonymous μονοῦν is used in Attic only in the passive.—16. τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον: understood by Bl., Cl., and Jow. as mercenaries in the pay of the Ambraciots, prob. from the neighbouring Epirot tribes, and constituting part of the 3000 hoplites of c. 105. 3. This view assumes that the Peloponnesians were all included in the secret agreement. 'The subject of ἀποχωρεῖν is "the Peloponnesians" to be supplied from "the leaders of the Peloponnesians." Demosthenes negotiated with the Mantineans, Menedaius, and the leaders of the Peloponnesians, not for their personal safety only, but for the safe withdrawal of their forces; the Ambraciots, their allies, being left to their fate.' (Jow.) But Steup holds that τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον covers all the army of Menedaius that were not

Mantineans or ἄρχοντες or ἀξιολογώτατοι. His grounds are viz.: that not all the Peloponnesians were included in the agreement is clear both from the plain meaning of l. 12 ff. and from the expressions οἷς ἐδέδοτο ἡ ἀποχώρησις, l. 21, and οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἷς ἔσπειστο, c. 111. 2. Later, it is true, those entitled to withdraw are designated simply as οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι (c. 111. 10), or οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι (c. 111. 14), but again in c. 113. 4 they are called οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ὑπόσπονδοι, and in c. 114. 10 the remnants of the other part of the army are spoken of as οἱ ὡς Σαλύνθιον καταφυγόντες Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι. A comparison with vii. 57. 48 makes it prob. that the Mantineans also were mercenaries. The τρισχιλιοὶ ὀπλῖται τῶν ξυμμάχων under Eurylochus's command (c. 100. 7) seem, then, to have been all mercenaries, just as Brasidas led, along with 700 Helots, also 1000 Peloponnesian mercenaries to the Thracian coast (iv. 78. 2; 80. 21). That the passage assumes as known that the Peloponnesian army was composed of mercenaries, though no mention is made of this fact, must be attributed, doubtless, to the lack of a final revision of his work by the author.—[τὸν ξενικόν]: rightly bracketed by v. H. (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 49) as a gloss (see on viii. 25. 10). If τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον includes a part of the Peloponnesians, ξενικόν is unin-

Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς  
ἐκείνη χρήζων, Ἑλληνας ὥς καταπροδόντες τὸ ἐαυτῶν  
προυργιαίτερον ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς τε νεκροὺς 3  
20 ἀνείλονται καὶ διὰ τάχους ἔθαπτον, ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε,  
καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν κρύφα οἷς ἐδέδοτο ἐπεβούλευον.

telligible. Cl., who retains τὸν ξενικόν, thinks that Thuc. wished possibly to define both features (mercenary and foreign) of a military relation then still rare. — 17. Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους: the two names connected, because the shameful agreement affected Peloponnesians commanded by a Spartan. — διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνη: to bring into discredit with those in that quarter, as in iv. 22. 12. διαβάλλειν, in this sense, with the dat., viii. 88. 9; 109. 4. — 18. χρήζων: wishing, only here in Thuc., and indeed seldom in Attic prose. Cf. Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 6. 15; Arist. *Plant.* i. 1. 21. It occurs several times in Aristophanes and numberless times in Tragedy. — Ἑλληνας ὥς καταπροδόντες κτέ.: because they had betrayed Hellenes and considered their own advantage more important. See Steup, *Quaest. Thuc.* p. 29 sq. Usually Ἑλληνας is connected with ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνη. But, first, there is no reason why regard should have been had only to the Hellenes of that quarter, when the barbarian Amphilo- chians were participants in the war (cf. c. 112. 29; ii. 68. 16); secondly, καταπροδόντες requires an obj., and the thought of the ὥς clause is greatly strengthened by making Ἑλληνας this object. For thus it is esp. emphasized, that while Sparta proclaimed

that the whole war was waged for the freedom of the Hellenes (see on c. 13. 35; 32. 5), now Hellenes (i.e. the Ambraciots and the Pelopon- nesian μισθοφόρος ὄχλος) are betrayed by Lacedaemonians and Peloponne- sians. For the emphatic position of Ἑλληνας before the conj., cf. ii. 64. 17, and see on c. 88. 8. The objection of St., that the treachery had been com- mitted, non in omnes Graecos, sed in illorum socios, would be admissible only if not Ἑλληνας, but τοὺς Ἑλληνας were to be connected with καταπροδόντες. — 19. προουργιαίτε- ρον ἐποιήσαντο: cf. Isoc. vi. 35; Isae. ix. 25; Polyb. i. 1. 6. The comp. προουργιαίτερον from the adv. προύργου (iv. 17. 8), as πλησιαίτερον from πλη- σίον.

20. ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχε: "as well as possible under the circumstances," = ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων or παρόντων. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* vi. 4. 9 ἔθαψαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὥς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα. — 21. τὴν ἀποχώρησιν . . . ἐπεβούλευον: those to whom it had been granted were making secret preparations for retreat. With τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐπε- βούλευον, cf. vii. 51. 5 τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐπιβουλεύσαι, vi. 54. 14 ἐπιβουλεύει κα- τάλυσιν τῇ τυραννίδι, viii. 60. 4 ἐπι- βουλεύοντες ἀπόστασιν. See on c. 96. 11. οἷς ἐδέδοτο, i.e. ἐκείνοι οἷς, those named above, l. 12 ff.



110 τῷ δὲ Δημοσθένει καὶ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν ἀγγέλλεται 1  
 τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανδημεὶ κατὰ  
 τὴν πρώτην ἐκ τῶν Ὀλπῶν ἀγγελίαν ἐπιβοηθεῖν διὰ  
 τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων, βουλομένους τοῖς ἐν Ὀλπαῖς ξυμμεί-  
 5 ξαι, εἰδότας οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων, καὶ πέμπει εὐθὺς 2  
 τοῦ στρατοῦ μέρος τι τὰς ὁδοὺς προλοχιοῦντας καὶ  
 τὰ καρτερὰ προκαταληψομένους, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ  
 111 ἅμα παρσκευάζετο βοηθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ἐν τούτῳ 1  
 δ' οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἷς ἔσπειστο πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λα-  
 χανισμὸν καὶ φρυγάνων ξυλλογὴν ἐξελθόντες ὑπαπῆσαν  
 κατ' ὀλίγους, ἅμα ξυλλέγοντες ἐφ' ᾧ ἐξῆλθον δῆθεν.  
 5 προκεχωρηκότες δὲ ἤδη ἄπωθεν τῆς Ὀλπης θᾶσσον

110. *Advance of fresh auxiliaries from Ambracia.*

1. ἀγγέλλεται, (5) καὶ πέμπει: parataxis, by which cause and effect are brought into close connexion, as in i. 61. 1, 2. — 2. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: sc. Ἀμπρακίας, as distinguished from those who after the battle were shut up in Olpae (c. 108. 14; 111. § 2). — κατὰ τὴν πρώτην . . . ἀγγελίαν: cf. c. 105. § 4. — 3. διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων: i.e. through the hostile Amphilochian territory. Cf. c. 101. 3. — 4. ξυμμεῖξαι: as in ii. 84. 34; vii. 26. 4. For the form, see on c. 22. 4.

6. προλοχιοῦντας: pl. after μέρος τι. See on c. 2. 2; 79. 10; 80. 1. The word occurs also in c. 112. 22; ii. 81. 24; elsewhere prob. only in late writers. — 7. τὰ καρτερὰ: i.e. natural strongholds, as in c. 18. 19; ii. 100. 3. — τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ: dat. of means with βοηθεῖν. Cf. i. 81. 5. — 8. βοηθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς: as in i. 107. 22; 126. 22. See on c. 97. 14.

111. *Meanwhile the Acarnanians fall upon the Ambraciots, who are trying to join the fleeing Peloponnesians, and kill many of them.*

2. οἷς ἔσπειστο: with whom the agreement had been made, not for whom. Cf. 1. 12; 109. 11. — πρόφασιν: adv. on the pretext, as in v. 80. 17; vi. 33. 9; Eur. I. A. 362; Dem. xviii. 77. Kr. Spr. 46, 3, 5; Kühn. 462 i. — λαχανισμόν: ἄπαξ in Thuc. λαχάνων συνάθροισιν, Schol. Cf. Poll. i. 162 ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ λαχανισμόν, ἐπὶ φρυγανισμόν. λάχανα are wild cabbage, still used in Greece. Gell, *Morea*, p. 191. See also Leake, *Northern Greece*, iv. p. 248. — 3. φρυγάνων ξυλλογὴν: = φρυγανισμόν, vii. 4. 30; 13. 7. Cf. φρύγανα συλλέγειν, *Lycurg.* 86. — ὑπαπῆσαν: withdrew gradually. Cf. v. 9. 17. — 4. κατ' ὀλίγους: a few at a time. Cf. c. 78. 2; Hdt. viii. 113. 14. — δῆθεν: "as they pretended." Cf. c. 68. 4; i. 92. 3; 127. 2; iv. 99. 7. — 5. θᾶσσον ἀπεχώρουν: cf. c. 109. 14 ἀποχωρεῖν

ἀπεχώρουν. οἱ δ' Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι 2  
 μεν † ἐτύγχανον οὕτως, ἀθρόοι ξυνελθόντες, ὥς ἔγνω-  
 σαν ἀπιόντας, ὥρμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, ἐπι-  
 καταλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 3  
 10 καὶ πάντας ἐνόμισαν ἀπιέναι ἀσπόνδους ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς  
 Πελοποννησίους ἐπεδίωκον (καί τινας αὐτῶν τῶν στρα-  
 τηγῶν κωλύοντας καὶ φάσκοντας ἐσπείσθαι αὐτοῖς ἡκόν-  
 τισέ τις, νομίσας καταπροδίδοσθαι σφᾶς)· ἔπειτα μέντοι  
 τοὺς μὲν Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς Πελοπόννησίους ἀφίεσαν,

κατὰ τάχος. ἀπεχώρουν, impf., covers the time in which the following events occurred.

6. οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι κτέ.: the *μισθοφόρος* *ἄρχλος* of c. 109. 16. — ὅσοι μεν † ἐτύγχανον οὕτως: the passage is certainly corrupt. See App. — 7. ἀθρόοι ξυνελθόντες: in their critical situation they first came together to take counsel, but when they learned that the Peloponnesians were already withdrawing, they set off *also themselves* (καὶ αὐτοί), and were hastening to overtake them. But see App. — 8. ἔθεον δρόμῳ: = ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ, v. 3. 7. Cf. iv. 67. 21; 112. 2; v. 10. 26; vi. 100. 14; Xen. *Anab.* i. 8. 8; iv. 6. 25. — ἐπικαταλαβεῖν: overtake, as in ii. 90. 23. Cf. Plato *Tim.* 39 c; Jos. *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 5; Polyb. i. 66. 4; Diod. xviii. 71.

9. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες: since Dem. had let only their leaders into the secret. — 10. καὶ πάντας: i.e. not merely the Ambraciots. — τοὺς Πελοποννησίους: this and τοὺς Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους (l. 14) are not quite exact expressions for τοὺς Μαντινέας καὶ οἷς ἔσπειστο (l. 2). See on c. 109. 16. The Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ

ἄλλοι of l. 6 are not mentioned, perhaps because reference is not yet had to the time when they too set off from Olpae (ὥρμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ κτέ.).

— 11. αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν: of the generals themselves, indicating a great degree of excitement, on which account alone indeed the whole occurrence is narrated. — 12. ἡκόντισε: with acc. without prep. Kr. *Spr.* 47, 14, 1. — 13. τις: the sing. of the partic. νομίσας is against taking τις here in the sense of *one and another*, as Arn., Goell., and St. do. In Xen. *An.* i. 8. 20 τοξευθῆναί τις ἐλέγετο, which Arn. compares, τις doubtless refers to a single person. — σφᾶς: refers to the subj. of the leading clause (τις), though including more than this. For the pl. thus used after a sing. subj., cf. iv. 36. 3; vi. 49. 9. Kr. *Spr.* 58, 4, 3. — 14. τοὺς Μαντινέας καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους: the same emphasis of the part beside the whole, as in l. 2 οἱ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἷς ἔσπειστο. — ἀφίεσαν: the use of the augment of this verb in Thuc., as well as in other Attic writers, is inconstant. Cf. ἡφλει, ii. 49. 8; ἀφλει, iv. 122. 11; viii. 41. 13. See Kr. on



- 15 τοὺς δ' Ἀμπρακιώτας ἔκτεινον. καὶ ἦν πολλὴ ἔρις καὶ 4  
 ἄγνοια εἴτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τίς ἐστὶν εἴτε Πελοποννήσιος.  
 καὶ ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δ'  
 ἄλλοι διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ἀγραῖδα ὁμορον οὔσαν, καὶ Σαλύν-  
 θιος αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀγραίων φίλος ὢν ὑπεδέξατο.
- 112 Οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀφικνουῦνται 1  
 ἐπ' Ἰδομενὴν. ἐστὸν δὲ δύο λόφω ἡ Ἰδομενὴ ὑψηλῶ·  
 τούτοις τὸν μὲν μείζω νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης οἱ προαπο-  
 σταλέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου  
 5 ἔλαθόν τε καὶ ἔφθασαν προκαταλαβόντες, τὸν δ' ἐλάσσω  
 ἔτυχον οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται προαναβάντες καὶ ἠύλίσαντο. ὁ 2

ii. 49. 8. The impf. here, as well as ἔκτεινον (15), because the action is represented as in progress. Cf. ἀπε-  
 χώρου (6), ἔθεον (8), ἐπέδλωκον (11). But in l. 17 the aor. (ἀπέκτειναν) oc-  
 curs, because only the result is to be stated.

17. ἐς διακοσίους μὲν τινὰς: about two hundred, as in viii. 21. 4. For the force of τινὰς, see on c. 68. 16. The prepositional phrase represents the obj., as in c. 114. 22. See on c. 20. 11. — αὐτῶν: refers only to the Ambraciots, as is clear from οἱ δ' ἄλλοι διέφυγον κτέ. — 18. ἐς τὴν Ἀγραῖδα: see on c. 106. 10.

112. The Ambraciots from the city coming to bring aid to their friends are surprised by Demosthenes before daybreak and most of them destroyed.

1. οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιῶται: cf. c. 110. — 2. ἐπ' Ἰδομενὴν: in c. 113. 10 Ἰδομεναι. See on c. 105. 5. The Mss. have Ἰδομένην and Ἰδομέναι, but see St. Qu. Gr.<sup>2</sup> p. 34, and on c. 94. 4. For the position of these

two heights, which acc. to l. 20 and c. 110. 3, are to be sought on Amphilo-  
 chian territory, see Bursian i. p. 39, and Oberhummer, *Akarnanien*, p. 110. — ἐστὸν: construed with the  
 pred. Cf. iv. 102. 13; Hdt. vi. 112. 3. G. 904; H. 610; Kr. *Spr.* 63, 6; Kühn. 369, 3. — ἡ Ἰδομενὴ: rejected as a  
 gloss by v. H. and St.; but cf. ii. 18. 3, 5; 30. 6, 8. — 3. οἱ προαποσταλέντες: cf. c. 110. 5. — 4. ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατο-  
 πέδου: i.e. detached from the main army. — 5. ἔφθασαν προκαταλαβόν-  
 τες: cf. φθάσαντες προκατέλαβον, iv. 127. 14. For similar pleonasms, see on c. 53. 9. προκαταλαβόντες belongs  
 to ἔλαθον as well as to ἔφθασαν. — τὸν ἐλάσσω: the const. with προαναβάντες  
 without prep. is rather surprising, since Thuc. never construes ἀναβαλ-  
 νειν with the simple acc.; but this const. is found in Plato *Phaedo* 113 d, and later authors, e.g. Dio C. lx. 23; App. i. p. 175; Paus. vi. 16. 9. Kr. conjectured ἐς τὸν δ' ἐλάσσω, and Rauchenstein (*Philol.* xxxv. p. 592) proposed εἶχον for ἔτυχον.

δὲ Δημοσθένης δειπνήσας ἐχώρει καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα  
 ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας εὐθύς, αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἥμισυ ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς  
 ἐσβολῆς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο διὰ τῶν Ἀμφιλοχικῶν ὁρῶν. καὶ ἅμα <sup>3</sup>  
<sup>10</sup> ὄρθρῳ ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς  
 καὶ οὐ προησθημένοις τὰ γεγενημένα, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον  
 νομίσασιν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους <sup>4</sup>  
 πρώτους ἐπίτηδες ὁ Δημοσθένης προύταξε καὶ προσ-  
 αγορεύειν ἐκέλευε, Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν ἰέντας καὶ τοῖς  
<sup>15</sup> προφύλαξι πίστιν παρεχομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οὐ καθορω-  
 μένους τῇ ὄψει νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης. ὥς οὖν ἐπέπεσε τῷ <sup>5</sup>

7. ἐχώρει: *went forward*; the decisive events following in the pres., ἐπιπίπτει (10) τρέπουσι (17), and the narration continuing in the aor. — καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα: opp. to οἱ προαποσταλέντες (3). Cf. τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ, c. 110. 7. — 8. ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας εὐθύς: *immediately after nightfall*, as in viii. 27. 27 (without εὐθύς, vii. 29. 8). Cf. ἀπὸ πρώτου ὕπνου, vii. 43. 17. The march lasted, therefore, all night. — ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς: with ἐχώρει, *toward the pass*, which led up from the plain between the two hills, and so to the ascent to that occupied by the Ambraciots. ἐσβολή, as in iv. 83. 6; 127. 13; Hdt. vii. 172. 9; 175. 10; Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 21; *Hell.* v. 4. 48.

9. ἅμα ὄρθρῳ: *at daybreak*, which comports with νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης, l. 16. Cf. ii. 3. 17 ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον, iv. 110. 4 νυκτὸς ἔτι καὶ περίορθρον, vi. 101. 13 περίορθρον, Plato *Prot.* 310 a τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ταυτησί ἔτι βαθέος ὄρθρον. On the meaning of ὄρθρος (the interval between the first cock-crow and morning twilight), see Unger, *Philol.* xliii. p. 594 f. — 10. ἔτι ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς: as in iv. 32.

2. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* i. 50 strati etiam tum per cubilia.—12. τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εἶναι: sc. τοὺς ἐπιπίπτοντας.

τοὺς Μεσσηνίους: cf. c. 107. 5, 23; 108. 8. — 13. πρώτους προύταξε: for the pleonasm, see on l. 5. — ἐπίτηδες: *prudently*. Schol. ἐσκεμμένως. The adv. is found only here in Thuc.—14. ἐκέλευε: for the impf. where the aor. would seem more natural, see GMT. 57; Kr. *Spr.* 53, 2, 8; Kühn. 383, 3. — Δωρίδα γλῶσσαν: cf. i. 138. 4; ii. 68. 14; and vi. 5. 5 Δωρίς φωνή. See on c. 103. 2. — γλῶσσαν ἰέντας: as in Hdt. i. 57. 1; ix. 16. 13; Soph. *El.* 596. The const., which occurs only here in Thuc., is common in Hom., Hdt., and the Attic poets. Cf. ὅπα ἰέναι, Hom. *Γ* 152, 221; *μ* 192; φωνὴν ἰέναι, Hdt. ii. 2. 11; iv. 23. 7; 135. 15; Ar. *Acharn.* 747; *Eq.* 522; *Vesp.* 562; Aesch. *Choeph.* 563; γῆρυν ἰέναι, Ar. *Aves* 233; φθογγὰς ἰέναι, Eur. *Hec.* 338; κωκυτὸν ἰέναι, Soph. *Aj.* 851. It occurs twice in Plato (*Legg.* 890 d; *Phileb.* 51 d). Cf. Lat. vocem mittere.—15. πίστιν παρεχομένους: *inspiring confidence*. Cf. vi. 17. 3. — 16. τῇ ὄψει: *by sight, with*



στρατεύματι αὐτῶν, τρέπουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐ-  
 τοῦ διέφθειραν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὰ ὄρη ἐς φυγὴν ὤρ-  
 μησαν. προκατειλημμένων δὲ τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ ἅμα τῶν 6  
 20 μὲν Ἀμφιλόχων ἐμπείρων ὄντων τῆς ἑαυτῶν γῆς καὶ ψι-  
 λῶν πρὸς ὀπλίτας, τῶν δὲ ἀπείρων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων  
 ὅπη τράπωνται, ἐσπίπτοντες ἔς τε χαράδρας καὶ τὰς προ-  
 λελοχισμένας ἐνέδρας διεφθείροντο. καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν 7  
 χωρήσαντες τῆς φυγῆς ἐτράποντό τινες καὶ ἐς τὴν θά-  
 25 λασσαν οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχουσαν, καὶ ὡς εἶδον τὰς Ἀττικὰς  
 ναῦς παραπλεύσας ἅμα τοῦ ἔργου τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ, προσ-  
 ἔνευσαν, ἡγησάμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα φόβῳ κρείσσον εἶναι  
 σφίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, εἰ δεῖ, διαφθαρῆναι ἢ

*the eyes* (cf. c. 38. 20; iv. 34. 5; 126. 32; vii. 75. 8), added here because the antithesis ἀκουόμενους μὲν τῇ ἀκοῇ is in mind. For similar pleonasms, cf. ἔθεον δρόμῳ, c. 111. 8; λόγῳ εἶπον, i. 23. 1; προλοχίζουσι ἐνέδραις, ii. 81. 24 (cf. l. 22 below). Others render "not distinguished by their appearance."

17. τρέπουσι: sudden transition from the general to his troops. See on c. 51. 16, and cf. Xen. An. iii. 3. 7. — αὐτοῦ: on the spot. Cf. c. 81. 15; 98. 11.

19. προκατειλημμένων τῶν ὁδῶν: cf. l. 5; 110. 7. — τῶν Ἀμφιλόχων: cf. c. 107. 8, 25. — 21. πρὸς ὀπλίτας: cf. c. 105. 3. For πρὸς, against, see on c. 43. 15. — τῶν δὲ ἀπείρων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων: closely connected with and balancing τῶν μὲν . . . ἐμπείρων ὄντων, and hence also in gen. abs., although the subj. is the same as that of the leading verb. Cf. c. 49. 13; 55. 5, and see on c. 13. 30. —

22. ἐσπίπτοντες . . . διέφθειροντο: cf. c. 98. 7. — τὰς προλελοχισμένας: cf. c. 110. 6.

23. πᾶσαν ἰδέαν: see on c. 81. 22.

— 24. ἐτράποντό τινες: the partial subj. is separated from the general one contained in χωρήσαντες, as in i. 49. 14. — 25. τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς: cf. c. 107. 3, 7. — 26. ἅμα τοῦ ἔργου τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ: to be taken with παραπλεύσας, sailing along the coast at the moment of the occurrence of the action. Cf. i. 33. 1 ἡ ξυντυχία . . . τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας. τὸ ἔργον in this sense also i. 105. 24; 107. 28; ii. 89. 42; iv. 32. 24; 72. 21; viii. 42. 12. — προσένευσαν: the verb, which is found only here in Thuc., occurs also in Plut. Mar. 37; Luc. Bis Acc. 21; Ael. V. H. i. 1. — 28. εἰ δεῖ: if it must be, as in ii. 74. 3; vii. 48. 30; Dem. xx. 53. Thuc. does not tell the fate of these fugitives, but the expression εἰ δεῖ, διαφθαρῆναι favours the inference that they received no mercy from the

ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἐχθίστων Ἀμφιλόχων. οἱ μὲν οὖν 8  
 30 Ἀμπρακιῶται τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ κακωθέντες ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ  
 πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ σκυλεύ-  
 σαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τροπαῖα στήσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν  
 113 ἐς Ἄργος. καὶ αὐτοῖς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἦλθε κῆρυξ ἀπὸ τῶν 1  
 ἐς Ἀγραίους καταφυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ὀλπης Ἀμπρακιωτῶν,  
 ἀναίρεσιν αἰτήσων τῶν νεκρῶν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν ὕστερον  
 τῆς πρώτης μάχης, ὅτε μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ τῶν  
 5 ὑποσπόνδων ξυνεξῆσαν ἄσπονδοι. ἰδὼν δ' ὁ κῆρυξ τὰ 2  
 ὄπλα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐθαύμαζε τὸ  
 πλῆθος. οὐ γὰρ ἤδει τὸ πάθος, ἀλλ' ὥετο τῶν μετὰ σφῶν  
 εἶναι. καί τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅ τι θαυμάζοι καὶ ὅπόσοι αὐ- 3  
 τῶν τεθνᾶσιν, οἰόμενος αὖ ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶναι τὸν κήρυκα

Athenian crew. — 29. τῶν βαρβάρων :  
 adj. Cf. ii. 68. 15 οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι  
 βάρβαροί εἰσιν. 'The Ambraciots af-  
 fected to regard the Amphilochians  
 as barbarians, because they were in  
 reality a mixed race.' Arn.

30. ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐσώθησαν :  
 this formula as in i. 110. 2 ; vii. 87. 26.  
 Kühn. 414, n. 4. See on c. 24. 12. —  
 32. τροπαῖα : the pl. as in v. 3. 16 ;  
 vii. 24. 3 ; 41. 12 ; 45. 1. Here to be  
 accounted for prob. by the divisions  
 of the army mentioned in c. 110. § 2 ;  
 112. § 2.

113. *The severity of the blow to  
 Ambracia is vividly portrayed in the  
 demeanor of the herald at Argos.*

1. αὐτοῖς ἦλθε : cf. c. 5. 12 ; 39. 22 ;  
 70. 2, and see on i. 13. 12. — 2. ἐς  
 Ἀγραίους : cf. c. 111. 18. — 3. τῶν  
 νεκρῶν οὓς ἀπέκτειναν : "the corpses  
 of those whom they killed." Cf.  
 c. 111. 17. v. H. (*Stud. Thuc.* p.  
 49) unnecessarily objects to the ple-

onasm. — 4. τῆς πρώτης μάχης :  
 near Olpae, c. 108 ; not προτέρας,  
 because it is the first of the three  
 battles, c. 108, 111, and 112. — τῶν  
 ὑποσπόνδων : = οἷς ἔσπειστο, c. 111. 2.  
 The part joined to the whole, as in  
 c. 111. 2, 14. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 32, 2.  
 Cf. c. 109. § 2. — 5. ξυνεξῆσαν : *at-*  
*tempted to depart with.* Steup thinks  
 the impf. is used with reference to  
 the continuance of the occurrence,  
 as in c. 34. 5 ; 68. 12 ; 96. 11. Regard-  
 ing the matter, cf. c. 111. § 1.

6. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως : cf. c. 112. 1.  
 — 7. τὸ πάθος : i.e. the fatal night-  
 battle of Idomene. — τῶν μετὰ σφῶν :  
 i.e. τῶν ἐς Ἀγραίους καταφυγόντων,  
 the messenger representing those by  
 whom he was sent. Cf. τῶν μεθ'  
 ἡμῶν μαχομένων, l. 13. — 8. εἶναι : sc.  
 τὰ ὄπλα.

θαυμάζοι καὶ . . . τεθνᾶσιν : change  
 of mood, as in ii. 80. 9. GMT. 670 a.  
 Cf. c. 22. 38 ; vi. 96. 18. — 9. αὖ : in



- 10 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰδομεναῖς. ὁ δ' ἔφη διακοσίους μάλιστα.  
 ὑπολαβὼν δ' ὁ ἐρωτῶν εἶπεν · “Οὐκ οὖν τὰ ὄπλα ταυτὶ 4  
 διακοσίων φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ πλεόν ἢ χιλίων.” αὖθις δὲ εἶπεν  
 ἐκείνος · “Οὐκ ἄρα τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν μαχομένων ἐστίν.” ὁ δ'  
 ἀπεκρίνατο · “Εἴπερ γε ὑμεῖς ἐν Ἰδομενῇ χθὲς ἐμάχεσθε.”  
 15 “Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε οὐδενὶ ἐμαχόμεθα χθές, ἀλλὰ πρῶην ἐν  
 τῇ ἀποχωρήσει.” “Καὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις γε ἡμεῖς χθὲς ἀπὸ  
 τῆς πόλεως βοηθήσασι τῆς Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐμαχόμεθα.”  
 ὁ δὲ κῆρυξ, ὡς ἤκουσε καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως 5  
 βοήθεια διέφθαρται, ἀνοιμώξας καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ μεγέ-  
 20 θει τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς ἄπρακτος καὶ  
 οὐκέτι ἀπῆται τοὺς νεκρούς. πάθος γὰρ τοῦτο μιᾷ πόλει 6

turn. The emphasizing of this antithesis causes the repetition of the subj. ὁ ἐρωτῶν. — 10. τῶν ἐν Ἰδομεναῖς: as ii. 34. 14 τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. For the pl. alternating with the sing. (l. 14; 112. 2), see on c. 105. 5. — διακοσίους μάλιστα: cf. c. 111. 17. The statement of the number answers indirectly also the first question of the Acarnanian (ὅ τι θαυμάζοι). For μάλιστα, see on c. 21. 4.

11. οὐκ οὖν τὰ ὄπλα ταυτὶ . . . χιλίων: you see, then, that these here are not the arms of two hundred, but of more than a thousand. Cl. adopted into his text, and Steup retains, διακοσίων, on Kr.'s conjecture that σ' had dropped out. But this seems unnecessary. St. renders, apparet vero haec non esse arma eorum, etc. The Schol. says, λείπει τὸ διακοσίων εἶναι μόνων. οὐκ οὖν, as οὐκ ἄρα (13), draws an inference from what lies before the eye. Kalinka, *Diss. Phil. Vindobon.* ii. p. 184 would understand οὐκ οὖν = οὐδαμῶς. — 13. μαχομένων:

partic. impf., which tense follows in l. 14. The aor. might have been expected; but in Thuc. ἐμαχόμεν is used also in an aoristic sense, ἐμαχεσάμεν occurring only in v. 34. 4. See Steup, *Thuk. Stud.* ii. p. 44. — 14. εἴπερ γε: sc. ἔστι μέντοι before these words. — 15. πρῶην: day before yesterday, as appears from c. 112. § 2 f. and c. 113. § 1. Cf. Plato *Prot.* 309 a, and the formula χθὲς καὶ πρῶην. — 16. καὶ μὲν δὴ: at vero, in strong asseveration, as often καὶ μήν. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 35, 1; Kühn. 503, 3 f.

19. διέφθαρται: pf. ind., expressing hopeless certainty. — 20. ἄπρακτος: without doing his errand. With ἀπελθεῖν also iv. 61. 28; 99. 10; v. 38. 21; 56. 19; 85. 15; 86. 23. — 21. οὐκέτι ἀπῆται: in the desperation of grief, just as in the case of the Athenians, vii. 72. § 2.

πάθος . . . μέγιστον δὴ κτέ.: Thuc. often puts a pronominal subj., as τοῦτο, after a pred. subst. and before a sup. adj. which belongs to it. This posi-

Ἑλληνίδι ἐν ἴσαις ἡμέραις μέγιστον δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἔγραψα τῶν ἀποθανόντων, διότι ἄπιστον τὸ πλῆθος λέγεται ἀπολέ-  
 25 σθαι ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως. Ἀμπρακίαν μέν-  
 τοι οἶδα ὅτι εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι

tion of the subst. gives it a character of generality with nearly the effect of a part. gen. See on i. 1. 8. For similar concluding formulae, cf. vii. 29. 29; 30. 19. Whether this remark of Thuc.'s—in which the restrictive expressions, *μὲν πόλει Ἑλληνίδι* and *ἐν ἴσαις ἡμέραις*, are to be esp. noted—refers to the ten years', or to the twenty-seven years' war, cannot be determined; for neither here is the number of the total loss of the Ambraciots given, nor in regard to all the great losses of the later periods of the Peloponnesian war are definite numbers for individual states known. L. Herbst (*Philol.* xxxviii. p. 521 f.) cites vii. 29 f. in favour of understanding *κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε* only of the ten years' war. But since Mycalessus is called in vii. 29. 12 a *πόλις οὐ μεγάλη* (cf. vii. 30. 20 *ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει*, sc. *τῆς πόλεως*), the number of Mycalessians, including even women and children, slain by the Thracians, may very well have been less than the number of the Ambraciots that fell in the three days.—22. *ἐν ἴσαις ἡμέραις*: i.e. in three days. See on c. 75. 12.—23. *ἀριθμόν*: i.e. the sum-total of the fallen. As this number has not been directly stated, it is not possible to make an approximately accurate estimate of it from c. 108. 15 (*πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον*), c. 111. 17, and the

dialogue here (§ 3, 4). Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, c. 51, on an arbitrarily assumed ratio between the 300 *πανοπλῖαι* assigned to Demosthenes (c. 114. 5) and those set apart for the Athenian government (namely 1:6), and without taking into consideration the fact that a part of the booty had been taken from the Peloponnesians, reckons the loss of the Ambraciots at about 6000, which is certainly too high.—*τῶν ἀποθανόντων*: see on c. 109. 9.—24. *ἄπιστον τὸ πλῆθος*: the pred. adj. has the effect of a rel. clause, *ἄπιστον τὸ πλῆθος ἐστὶ, ὃ λέγεται*. Cf. c. 30. 4; 57. 3; 63. 16. With the sentiment, cf. Xen. *Hier.* 2. 16 *χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν, ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψεύδονται, πλέονας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέαι ἢ ὅσοι ἂν τῷ ὄντι ἀποθάνωσιν*.—25. *ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος*: in proportion to the size. Cf. vii. 30. 20 *ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει*. *ὡς*, as in i. 10. 34; 21. 8; ii. 65. 44; iv. 34. 10. Kr. *Spr.* 69, 63, 4 and 6; Kühn. 581, 5.—Ἀμπρακίαν: placed first, almost abs. See on c. 15. 4; i. 32. 17.—26. *οἶδα*: the confidence of the assertion perhaps justifies the inference that Thuc. made careful inquiry in Ambracia itself. See Köhler, *Hermes* xxvi. p. 47. How weak Ambracia was even after the return of the remnants of the 3000 hoplites of c. 105. 3 (c. 114. § 2), may be inferred from c. 114. § 4.—



Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δημοσθένει πειθόμενοι ἐξελεῖν, αὐτοβοεῖ  
 ἂν εἶλον· νῦν δ' ἔδεισαν μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔχοντες αὐτὴν  
 χαλεπώτεροι σφίσι πάροικοι ὦσι.

114 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρίτον μέρος νείμαντες τῶν σκύ- 1  
 λων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰς πόλεις διείλοντο.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων πλέοντα ἐάλω, τὰ δὲ νῦν  
 ἀνακείμενα ἐν τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἱεροῖς Δημοσθένει ἐξηρέθη-  
 5 σαν τριακόσiai πανοπλῖαι, καὶ ἄγων αὐτὰς κατέπλευσε·  
 καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν τῆς Αἰτωλίας ξυμφορὰν ἀπὸ

27. ἐξελεῖν: a stronger term than ἐλεῖν. Cf. iv. 69. 5; 122. 24; v. 43. 16; viii. 100. 12; Dem. ii. 7. — αὐτοβοεῖ: see on c. 74. 6. — 28. νῦν δέ: introduces the real state of the case, as in i. 71. 8. — 29. πάροικοι: only here in Thuc., and elsewhere mostly in the poets. Cf. Aesch. Pers. 869; Soph. Ant. 1139. It is used fig. in Hdt. vii. 235. 13, as in Dio C. lxxv. 5; St. Paul Eph. ii. 19.

114. Demosthenes returns with rich booty to Athens. Peace and alliance between the Ambraciots on the one side and the Acarnanians and Amphilo-  
 chians on the other.

1. μετὰ ταῦτα: i.e. after the departure of the Ambracian herald, and the rejection of the proposition of Demosthenes to attack Ambracia. — νείμαντες: sc. οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, as the real belligerents. Cf. c. 112. 31. — 2. κατὰ τὰς πόλεις: in ii. 78. 4; v. 114. 4; vii. 19. 5, κατὰ πόλεις is used in the same connexion, and so Cobet (*Mnem.* N. S. viii. p. 144) would write here. — 3. πλέοντα: of things, as freq. ἐκπλεῖν and ἐσπλεῖν (c. 51. 11; Dem. xx. 31). — ἐάλω: by whom and how the rich booty was taken is not stated, perhaps

because its capture was not strictly an event of the war. — 4. ἀνακείμενα: pf. pass. of ἀνατίθημι. Cf. ξύγκειται, i. 22. 20. — ἐξηρέθησαν: pl. agreeing with the appos. πανοπλῖαι. Kr. Spr. 63, 1, 3. This meaning of the word occurs already in Homer (Δ 627; η 10). — 5. ἄγων αὐτὰς κατέπλευσε: sc. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. Cf. ii. 103. 3. These words balance πλέοντα ἐάλω (3). While the ships bearing the rest of the booty were captured, Demosthenes reached Athens safely with his share of the spoils. Since, acc. to l. 8, the twenty Athenian triremes of c. 105. 15 returned to Naupactus, the ships bearing the booty seem to have been insufficiently or not at all protected by war-ships. — 6. καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα κτέ.: the brilliant success of Demosthenes not only brought him rich spoils, but rendered his return to Athens ἀδεεστέρα. — τῆς Αἰτωλίας: = ἐν τῇ Αἰτωλίᾳ. The fact that in later times the simple gen. was felt to be unusual doubtless caused the readings ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας (Laur. and Palat.; cf. c. 102. 10) and ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ (inferior Mss.). — ἀπό: in consequence of. Cf. c. 64. 5; ii. 62. 28. —

ταύτης τῆς πράξεως ἀδεεστέρα ἢ κάθοδος. ἀπῆλθον 2  
 δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Ναύπακτον.  
 Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ  
 10 Δημοσθένους τοῖς ὥς Σαλύνθιον καὶ Ἀγραίους καταφυ-  
 γοῦσιν Ἀμπρακιώταις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἀναχώρησιν  
 ἐσπείσαντο ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν οἵπερ καὶ μετανέστησαν παρὰ  
 Σαλυνθίου. καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμ- 3  
 μαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν ἔτη Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι

7. ταύτης τῆς πράξεως: *πρᾶξις*, in Thuc. only here and vi. 88. 57. On *πράξεις* in the interpolated passage i. 39. § 3, see App. on i. 39. 15. The reference is to the brilliant repulse of the Ambracian-Peloponnesian attack upon Acarnania and Amphiloehia. — *ἀδεεστέρα*: *with less apprehension*. Cf. c. 98. 26 *Δημοσθένης περὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπελείφθη, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*. The expression *ἀδεεστέρα*, however, does not necessarily prove that the Aetolian disaster had no unpleasant consequences for Demosthenes. To it may have been due the fact that the next summer Demosthenes was *ιδιώτης* (iv. 2. 14). Indeed, if one take literally the words in iv. 2. 14 *Δημοσθένει ὄντι ιδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνάνιας*, and add the fact that, acc. to Arist. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 44 (p. 116 Kenyon), the election of *στρατηγοί* took place at earliest in the seventh prytany of the year, the inference seems possible that Demosthenes was not left in office even till the usual time of change of *στρατηγοί*. For since the Amphiloehian campaign began early in the winter (cf. c. 102. § 7; 105. § 1) and was of short duration, the return of

Demosthenes to Athens must have occurred before mid-winter.

8. οἱ ἐν ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι: cf. c. 105. 15; 107. 3; 112. 25. — 10. τοῖς ὥς Σαλύνθιον κτέ.: cf. c. 111. 18; 113. 2. — 11. ἀναχώρησιν . . . παρὰ Σαλυνθίου: *ἀναχώρησιν ἐσπείσαντο*, as in c. 109. 10. They now obtained by treaty an unmolested departure by sea. They had already succeeded in reaching, prob. through Aetolian territory, the friendly Oeniadae (c. 7. 11; 94. 7; ii. 102. 10), hoping to be able to embark there. This is the meaning of the passage as happily emended by G. Hermann, *οἵπερ* (for *οἵπερ* of the Mss.) *καὶ μετανέστησαν παρὰ Σαλυνθίου* (*Σαλύνθιον*, Mss.), *whither they had withdrawn from Salynthius*. *καί*, as in c. 86. 6; 98. 18. Oberhammer, *Akarnanien*, p. 112, conjectures *ἐπ' Οἰνιαδῶν*, but does not explain why the Ambraciots should have withdrawn, not home, but to Oeniadae. In ii. 82, which he cites, the situation was quite different, for then there was no difficulty about the withdrawal of the Peloponnesians by sea, since two Peloponnesian fleets were not far from Oeniadae.

14. ἑκατὸν ἔτη: without *ἐς*, as v.



15 πρὸς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ὥστε μήτε Ἀμπρακιώτας  
μετὰ Ἀκαρνάνων στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πελοποννησίους μήτε  
Ἀκαρνᾶνας μετὰ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, βοηθεῖν  
δὲ τῇ ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι Ἀμπρακιώτας ὅποσα ἡ  
χωρία ἡ ὁμήρους Ἀμφιλόχων ἔχουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνακτόριον  
20 μὴ βοηθεῖν πολέμιον ὃν Ἀκαρνᾶσι. ταῦτα ξυνθέμενοι 4  
διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κορίνθιοι φυλα-  
κὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀμπρακίαν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς τριακοσίους

47. 1. Cf. iv. 21. 17 σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι ὅποσον ἂν δοκῇ χρόνον ἀμφοτέροις, and ii. 73. 1; vi. 7. 8; iv. 114. 8. — 15. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε: in ii. 70. 13 and Hdt. vi. 108. 25 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε is followed by the inf. without ὥστε, in viii. 18. 1 by the impv. The combination with ὥστε is unusual. Cf. Hdt. v. 65. 11 ἐπ' οἷσι . . . ὥστε, vii. 154. 18 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε . . . ἐπ' ᾧ. The conditions are those of a defensive alliance, ἐπιμαχία, as in i. 44. 8; v. 48. 8, and were evidently due to the treaties existing between the Ambraciots and Spartans and between the Acarnanians and Athenians. — 16. μετὰ Ἀκαρνάνων, Ἀκαρνᾶνας: without mention of the Amphilocheians, which the author seems to have considered superfluous after the words Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἀμφιλόχοι πρὸς Ἀμπρακιώτας (14). Besides, the Acarnanians were unquestionably the main force. Cf. c. 112. 31, and see on c. 1. 1; ii. 13. 1. — στρατεύειν: as opp. to βοηθεῖν, of the offensive, as rightly recognized by X. in *Philol. Anz.* xiii. p. 303. Cf. v. 48. 8 ἀλλήλοις βοηθεῖν, ξυνεπιστρατεύειν δὲ μηδενί, and v. 47. 42 στρατεύεσθαι. — 18. βοηθεῖν τῇ ἀλλήλων: sc. γῇ, as in i. 44. 8. X. (*l.c.*) would supply, “against the

Peloponnesians, or the Athenians, as the case might be.” Steup, who thinks the idea is, “under all circumstances,” suggests that καὶ πάντως (cf. v. 41. 19; vi. 20. 1) has dropped out before the following καὶ. The sense is doubtless as Steup suggests, but it seems unnecessary to suppose that anything has been lost. — 19. ὁμήρους: the reading adopted since Bk. for the meaningless ὁμόρους of most of the Mss. These are included in the ὅποσα, the hostages being one of the means whereby the Amphilocheians ὑπὸ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν βία κατεῖχοντο, c. 107. 9. — ἐπὶ Ἀνακτόριον μὴ βοηθεῖν: not to come to the aid of *Anactorium*. See on c. 97. 14. — Ἀνακτόριον: cf. i. 55. 2; ii. 9. 9; 80. 18, 24; 81. 12; iv. 49. 2.

21. διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον: also viii. 46. 2. — Κορίνθιοι . . . ἀπέστειλαν: Corinth was the ‘mother-city’ of Ambracia (cf. ii. 80. 15 ξυμπροθυμούμενοι μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἀπολκοῖς οὔσι). The precaution was taken doubtless because Ambracia was so much weakened. See on c. 113. 26. — φυλακὴν: i.e. as a garrison. — 22. ἑαυτῶν: i.e. of their own citizens, as in i. 26. 4; 61. 3; 64. 9. — ἐς τριακοσίους

ὀπλίτας καὶ Ξενοκλείδαν τὸν Εὐθυκλέους ἄρχοντα· οἱ κομιζόμενοι χαλεπῶς διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀφίκοντο.

115 Τὰ μὲν κατ' Ἀμπρακίαν οὕτως ἐγένετο· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ 1  
Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος ἕς τε τὴν Ἱμεραίαν  
ἀπόβασιν ἐποιήσαντο ἐκ τῶν νεῶν μετὰ τῶν Σικελῶν  
ἄνωθεν ἐσβεβληκότων ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἱμεραίας, καὶ  
5 ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους ἔπλευσαν. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἐς 2  
Ῥήγιον Πυθόδωρον τὸν Ἰσολόχου, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν,

ὀπλίτας: for the prepositional phrase representing an acc., see on c. 20. 11; III. 17. — 23. Ξενοκλείδαν: Doric form. Without doubt the στρατηγός of i. 46. 7. — 24. κομιζόμενοι χαλεπῶς: i.e. by a difficult march. — 25. τὰ μὲν κατ' Ἀμπρακίαν οὕτως ἐγένετο: conclusion of the account of the fortunes of Ambracia, which have been carefully followed since ii. 68. § 1. The formula is similar to that with regard to Lesbos c. 50. 15, and Plataea, c. 68. 31. τὰ μὲν without καί, as in c. 50. 15.

115. *New enterprises of the Athenians in Sicily. Their strategus Pythodorus is defeated by the Locrians.*

1. οἱ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι: resumes the narrative interrupted at c. 103. § 3. — 2. τὴν Ἱμεραίαν: the Himeraean territory, ἥπερ μόνη ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς Σικελίας Ἑλλὰς πόλις ἐστί, vi. 62. 9 (cf. vi. 5. § 1). — 3. μετὰ τῶν Σικελῶν: Bl.'s conjecture Σικελῶν, for Σικελιωτῶν of the Mss., is adopted by most recent editors. The expression ἄνωθεν ἐσβεβληκότων suits much better the Σικελοί, who lived in the interior (vi. 88. 22), than the more distant Σικελιωταί. Besides, since part of the Siceliot held with the Syracusans

(c. 86. § 2), those that were allied with Athens could not properly be designated simply as οἱ Σικελιωταί. Only a part, it is true, of the Sicels were allied to Athens (c. 103. § 1), but it was the greater part (vii. 57. 61), and in iv. 25. 31 these allies are called simply οἱ Σικελοί. In this last place, too, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄκρων is doubtless, as St. says, to be compared with ἄνωθεν here. Furthermore, it is not likely that the Siceliot allies of Athens, of whom it is said, l. 9, τῆς μὲν γὰρ γῆς αὐτῶν οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐκράτουν, would have made this long march across the island at the risk of having their retreat cut off. In vii. 57. 61, the same mistake of Σικελιωτῶν for Σικελῶν, though found in all the Mss. except three, has been corrected by all recent editors. See App. — 4. ἄνωθεν: from the interior. Cf. i. 59. 8; ii. 99. 16. — ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἱμεραίας: i.e. toward the interior. Cf. c. 106. 8. Μεδεῶνος παρ' ἔσχατα, Tac. Ann. iv. 74 imperii extrema. — 5. ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους: as already before, c. 88. 2.

ἐς Ῥήγιον: cf. c. 86. 20; 88. 13. — 6. Πυθόδωρον: this man, whose generalship in Sicily is mentioned also



καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς διάδοχον ὣν ὁ Λάχης  
 ἦρχεν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ξύμμαχοι πλεύσαντες ἔπεισαν 3  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν σφίσι πλείοσι ναυσί· τῆς μὲν  
 10 γὰρ γῆς αὐτῶν οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐκράτουν, τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης  
 ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν εἰργόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ναυτικὸν ξυν-  
 αλείροντες ὥς οὐ περιοψόμενοι. καὶ ἐπλήρουν ναῦς τεσσα- 4  
 ράκοντα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς ἀποστελοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἅμα μὲν  
 ἡγούμενοι θᾶσσον τὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον καταλυθήσεσθαι, ἅμα

in iv. 2. 7; 65. 11, is perhaps the same as the archon mentioned in ii. 2. 5. See also on vi. 105. 12. — 7. ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς διάδοχον: taken together as pred. to καταλαμβάνουσιν, which in the sense *find, discover*, usually takes the supplementary partic. (but see on c. 69. 5), and indeed always in the pres. or pf., never aor. (see on i. 59. 3). But here the idea of transition implied in διαδοχον supplies the place of the partic. ἦκοντα (which v. H. thinks has dropped out) or ἐπεληλυθότα (cf. c. 69. 8); and so is explained also ἐπὶ with the acc., for which St. compares Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 20 τούτων Ξενοκλέα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς, and *Cyr.* iv. 5. 58. — ὁ Λάχης: see on c. 86. 2. He seems to have been recalled on some charge, prob. of embezzlement, as Bl. shows from Ar. *Vesp.* 240 and the Schol. thereon.

8. οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ξύμμαχοι: i.e. the Hellenic allies of Athens (cf. c. 86. § 2; 90. § 4). — πλεύσαντες ἔπεισαν: these aors., including ἀπέστειλαν in l. 16, give, as in c. 33. 2; ii. 2. 11, the supplementary explanation for the arrival of the new strategus, who was to be followed by two others. "The allies in Sicily *had sent* an embassy

to Athens (πλεύσαντες), and there had obtained the promise of more effective assistance (ἔπεισαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν σφίσι πλείοσι ναυσὶν." Hude's conjecture (*Comm. Crit.* p. 118) πέμψαντες for πλεύσαντες seems unnecessary. — 9. τῆς μὲν γὰρ γῆς . . . ἐκράτουν: just as before the interference of the Athenians in the conflicts of the Siceliots (c. 86. 14). For τῆς γῆς κρατεῖν, see on c. 85. 13. — 10. τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης κτέ.: at sea the situation had indeed become quite different from that before the appearance of the Athenians, when the Leontines and their allies were excluded by the Syracusans also from the sea (c. 86. 15); but with the small number of Athenian ships it was to be feared that the Syracusans might, with the preparations they were making, be able to face their opponents even at sea with prospect of success. — τῆς θαλάσσης . . . εἰργόμενοι: cf. ii. 85. 4 ὑπ' ὀλίγων νεῶν εἰργεσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης, and see on c. 6. 7; 86. 15; i. 141. 16. — 12. ὥς οὐ περιοψόμενοι: sc. εἰργεσθαι.

καὶ ἐπλήρουν: and they were manning. The impf. because the preparation continued beyond the appear-

15 δὲ βουλόμενοι μελέτην τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν 5  
οὖν ἓνα τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπέστειλαν Πυθόδωρον ὀλίγαις  
ναυσί, Σοφοκλέα δὲ τὸν Σωστρατίδου καὶ Εὐρυμέδοντα  
τὸν Θουκλέους ἐπὶ τῶν πλειόνων νεῶν ἀποπέμψειν ἔμελ-  
λον. ὁ δὲ Πυθόδωρος ἤδη ἔχων τὴν τοῦ Λάχης τῶν 6  
20 νεῶν ἀρχὴν ἔπλευσε τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ  
Λοκρῶν φρούριον ὃ πρότερον Λάχης εἶλε· καὶ νικηθεὶς  
μάχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Λοκρῶν ἀνεχώρησεν.

116 Ἐρρύη δὲ \* περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦτο ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυ- 1  
ρὸς ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον. καὶ γῆν

ance of Pythodorus in Sicily. — 15.

μελέτην . . . ποιεῖσθαι: cf. i. 18. 33. —

16. ἀπέστειλαν; this very winter;  
the other two follow in the spring.

Cf. iv. 2. § 2. — 17. Σοφοκλέα: Roscher  
conjectures (*Leben des Thuk.* p. 416)  
that he was the Sophocles who was  
afterwards one of the Thirty Tyrants.

— Εὐρυμέδοντα: see on c. 80. 10.

19. ἤδη ἔχων: sc. after the ships  
had returned from the Aeolus islands.

— τὴν τοῦ Λάχης τῶν νεῶν ἀρχὴν:  
subj. and obj. gen. both in attrib.  
position, whereas the obj. gen. is  
placed after its noun in c. 12. 10;  
i. 25. 21; vii. 34. 25. v. H.'s bracket-  
ing of τῶν νεῶν is the less to be ap-  
proved, since in c. 90. 8 it is remarked,  
concerning the position of Laches  
after the death of Charoeades, ἅπασαν  
ἔχων τῶν νεῶν τὴν ἀρχήν. — 21. ὁ Λά-  
χης εἶλε: cf. c. 99. 4; the fort on the  
Halex, which must therefore mean-  
while have been recaptured by the  
Locrians. — 22. ἀνεχώρησεν: sc. ἐς  
Ῥήγιον. Cf. i. 5.

116. *Eruption of Aetna.*

1. περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦτο: "just  
at the beginning of this spring."

τοῦτο refers to the words τελευτῶντος  
τοῦ χειμῶνος, c. 115. 20, in which there  
is a hint of the nearness of spring.

On this, as well as the relation of the  
present passage to ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὸν  
χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐγένετο (l. 7), see App.  
on ii. 2. 7. The eruption began doubt-  
less in the last days of winter and  
extended a little beyond the com-  
mencement of spring, i.e. into the  
summer, as Thuc. uses the term. —

ὁ ῥύαξ: used esp., as τὸ ρεῦμα l. 6,  
of volcanic eruptions, with and with-  
out τοῦ πυρός. Cf. Plato *Phaedo* 111e;  
Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* 95; Arist. *de Ausc.*  
*Mirab.* 38 τὸν δ' ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ ῥύακα οὔτε  
φλογώδη φασιν οὔτε συνεχῇ, ἀλλὰ διὰ  
πολλῶν ἐτῶν γίνεσθαι, 40 τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ  
περὶ τὸν ῥύακα γινόμενον. 'The art. is  
used because the "fire-flood" was a  
well known phenomenon peculiar to  
Aetna. So App. B. C. v. 117 ἐμπε-  
σεῖσθαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν ῥύακα, and Strabo  
vi. 2. 3.' Arn. See Kr. *Spr.* 47, 8, 5.

— 2. ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον: Unger,  
*N. Jahrb.* cxli. p. 183, understands  
the meaning to be, that the two  
eruptions occurred in the same sea-  
son of the year. But the τοῦτο added



τινα ἔφθειρε τῶν Καταναίων, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ Αἴτνῃ τῷ ὄρει  
οἰκοῦσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὄρος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. λέγε- 2  
5 ται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει ῥυῆναι τοῦτο μετὰ τὸ πρότερον

το *περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ* is against this explanation. Besides, it is incredible that Thuc., who acc. to what follows did not venture a definite statement even with regard to the year of the preceding eruption, should have distinctly designated the season of the year. In ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον, *as also before* (cf. ii. 72. 9 ἅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἥδη προυκαλεσάμεθα), Thuc. seems to have intended to indicate only that the eruption of 425 B.C. was not the first. This he regards as certain, whereas he does not vouch (λέγεται, l. 4) for the correctness of the statement, that since the Hellenic settlement of Sicily, in all *three* eruptions had occurred, nor for that of his authority as to the interval between the eruption of 425 B.C. and the preceding. — 3. ἐπὶ τῇ Αἴτνῃ: *near Aetna*. Cf. c. 89. 12; i. 105. 3, 6; ii. 32. 3; 86. 11; iv. 101. 20; v. 14. 5. The reading of Laur. ὑπὸ τῇ Αἴτνῃ is certainly a gloss. — τῷ ὄρει: considered an interpolation by Cobet, v. H., and Kallenberg (*Studien über d. griech. Artikel*, ii. p. 21). But the repetition of ὄρος in the following rel. clause should not give offence, since Thuc. is by no means careful to avoid the repetition of a word after a short interval (*e.g.* cf. ῥυῆναι, l. 5, and ῥεύμα twice in l. 6). Nor can much weight be laid upon the circumstance that, allowing with Kallenberg that in viii. 108. 16 διὰ τῆς Ἰδῆς τοῦ ὄρους the gen. τῆς Ἰδῆς depends upon τοῦ ὄρους, the present

passage is the only one in Thuc. in which τὸ ὄρος follows the name of a mountain likewise connected with the art. For, disregarding Hdt. i. 43. 3 ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸ ὄρος, the following passages, Thuc. iv. 96. 28 πρὸς Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος, ii. 23. 3 μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλησσοῦ ὄρους, ii. 102. 12 ἐκ Πλίνδου ὄρους, and esp. c. 79. 11 ἐπὶ τὴν Λευκίμην τὸ ἀκρωτήριον (cf. i. 47. 7), if considered without bias, are not so essentially different from the present passage that one must object to the latter. And, finally, the transition from the simple τῆς Αἴτνης to τῇ Αἴτνῃ τῷ ὄρει does not seem more remarkable than *e.g.* the change of expression in ii. 23. 3 μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλησσοῦ ὄρους. At any rate, objection could more properly be raised, with Badham, against the remark ὅπερ . . . Σικελίᾳ, since it is not coupled with the first mention of Aetna. But this too may be due to the lack of revision on the part of the historian. — 5. τοῦτο: the present eruption of 425 B.C. — τὸ πρότερον ῥεύμα: refers without doubt to the eruption of Aetna mentioned in the *Parian Marble* 52, 67 ff. as contemporaneous with the battle of Plataea. But this is not sufficient reason why πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει, which taken strictly would lead to the year 475 or 474 instead of 479 B.C. should either be considered as a *round number* (see Boeckh in *C. I. G.* ii. p. 339), or changed, acc. to Kr.'s conjecture, into πεντηκοστῷ πέμπτῳ (or

ῥεῦμα, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα ἀφ' οὗ  
 Σικελία ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οἰκεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὸν χει- 3  
 μῶνα τοῦτον ἐγένετο, καὶ ἕκτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα  
 τῷδε οὖν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

νέ) ἔτει. For unquestionably Thuc. indicates by λέγεται that he does not vouch for the correctness of the number given by him. The expression λέγεται is also decidedly against the assumption of Büdinger, *Poesie und Urkunde bei Thuk.* i. p. 39, that Thuc. chose the date πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει with reference to the first Pythian ode of Pindar (474 B.C.), in which, v. 21 ff., an eruption of Aetna is described. At most, Thuc.'s *authority* may have fixed the date by inference from Pindar's ode. — 6. τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι κτέ.: from his manner of expression it is clear that Thuc. can have had no knowledge, when he wrote this passage, of an eruption of Aetna later than that of 425 B.C. Otherwise he must have expressed himself

definitely as to three eruptions, and not with λέγεται τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα, since acc. to l. 2 two eruptions are regarded by him as facts. Evidently, then, Thuc.'s authority must have mentioned, in addition to the πρότερον ῥεῦμα of l. 5, a still earlier eruption. See Ullrich, *Beitr.* p. 92 f., and Introd. to Book I. p. 18, n. 38. Another eruption is said by Diod. xiv. 59 and Orosius ii. 18 to have occurred in the year 396. Thuc., therefore, must have either died before 396, or never revised this passage. — ἀφ' οὗ . . . οἰκεῖται : i.e. from about the middle of the 8th century B.C. See on vi. 3. 1. — 7. ταῦτα μὲν . . . ἐγένετο, καὶ . . . ξυνέγραψεν : cf. the similar conclusion of ii. 70. 21.





## REFERENCES.

For statement concerning Mss., as also for a full list of complete and partial editions, and for information regarding the literature of Thucydides, see the Appendix to Book I., pp. 304-307. For the convenience of the student, especial reference is made here to those editions and auxiliaries which will be found most helpful in the study of Book III.

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Numerous references to other critical treatises or articles will be found in the notes under the text or in the Appendix.



## APPENDIX.

3. 25. τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων (Vat. καὶ τῶν λιμένων) περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα φραζάμενοι ἐφύλασσον. Steup's critical note is as follows: The peculiarity of Haacke's explanation consists in this, that 1) τὰ ἄλλα = *praeterea etiam*; 2) τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων depends on τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα, and τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων is understood not of a part of the fortifications (so that complete and incomplete parts would be distinguished), but of these fortifications in general; 3) ἐφύλασσον means "kept watch," and with it is construed περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων, while with φραζάμενοι is supplied as object αὐτά (i.e. τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων). For the adv. use of τὰ ἄλλα, Stahl rightly compares iv. 55. 6; vi. 31. 24; viii. 86. 32. Haacke's suggestion, that τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων refers to the fortifications as a whole (cf. c. 2. 5 τῶν λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν . . . ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι), has been urged with especial emphasis by Hude, *Commentarii Critici ad Thuc. pertinentes* (1888), p. 90 sq. φυλάσσειν, meaning *keep watch*, occurs also ii. 13. 43; 24. 3; vii. 17. 5; 53. 7; 70. 3. Bauer's conjecture, τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων πέρι, approved by Haase (*Lucubr.* p. 48 sq.), Cl., and others, only renders the const. of the passage more difficult; nor would the sent. gain by Meineke's proposal πέριξ. The change, too, suggested by Steup (*Qu. Thuc.* p. 35 sqq.), of ἐφύλασσον to ἐφυλάσσοντο, now seems unnecessary.

4. 15. ἀποστέλλουσι . . ., οἱ ὥρμουν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως. A. Conze (*Reise auf der Insel Lesbos*, p. 7), H. Lolling (in R. Koldewey's *die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, p. 14 f.), and others, have rightly recognized that ἡ Μαλέα, mentioned here and c. 6. 12, cannot be the southeastern promontory of Lesbos, which in Strabo, p. 616 f., has the name Μαλία. This promontory was, according to Strabo, seventy stades distant from Mytilene, whereas in c. 6. 8 (τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐκράτουν οἱ Μυτιληναῖοι . . ., τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ κατεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ναύσταθμον δὲ μᾶλλον ἦν αὐτοῖς πλοίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἡ Μαλέα) it is not possible that ἡ Μαλέα can refer to a point on the coast of Lesbos so far removed from Mytilene. For the two camps of the Athenians (c. 6. 5 ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο) were without doubt quite close to Mytilene. How, then, could a place seventy stades distant from the city be included in τὸ περὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα οὐ πολὺ, — all the land that the Athenians had under control? In c. 4, therefore, the reference could be to the southeastern promontory only in case one should, with Hünnekes (*Kl. Beitr.* etc. p. 37), Stahl, and Cl.<sup>2</sup>, construe πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως, not with the rel. sent., but with the preceding. But this construction, of which even Plehn had thought (*Lesbiaca*, p. 18), is incompatible with the position of the words, whether πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως be construed with ἀποστέλλουσι — as hitherto all the supporters

of this view have construed — or with λαθόντες. Besides, the trireme sent to Sparta would not by a northern course have got so soon into the open sea (*cf.* l. 20 *ταλαιπώρως διὰ τοῦ πελάγους κομισθέντες*), and the Athenians, acc. to c. 5. 4, about the same time received reinforcements from the north (from Methymna, Imbros, and Lemnos). Further, only the construction of πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως with ὥρμουν makes it possible, by a slight change of the vulg., to give to c. 6. 4 (*καὶ περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο*) a sense which agrees admirably with what Thuc. elsewhere says about the operations of the Athenians against Mytilene, whereas St.'s explanation of this passage is exposed to serious objections (see on c. 6. 4). When St. urges against the assumption of a point on the coast north of Mytilene as the first station of the Athenians, that there the Mytileneans would not have effected by the truce the desired removal of the Athenians, it may be replied, that, on the contrary, it would have been very strange if the Athenian ships had during the truce entirely desisted from watching the city. Not so easily disposed of is the circumstance, that the place north of Mytilene is simply called ἡ Μαλέα, as if there had been no second place of the same or a quite similar name near by ; — the Laconian promontory, called Μαλέα in iv. 53. 7 ; 54. 5 ; viii. 39. 17, no sensible reader, of course, would think of. It is hardly permissible, in order to get over this difficulty, to assume, with Plehn (*l.c.*) and Swoboda (*Thuk. Quellenstudien*, p. 63 ff.), an error on the part of Thuc. Whether the historian knew Lesbos from personal observation, as L. Herbst, *Philol.* xlii. p. 708, thinks probable, or not, one must certainly hesitate to assume that Thuc. confounded the name of the place north of Mytilene, first occupied by the Athenians, with that of the southeastern promontory of the island, at least so long as similar errors with reference to equally important points of the theatre of war have not been proved against our author. Accordingly, perhaps nothing remains but to conjecture the loss of τῇ before πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως, or to assume that the similarity of the names of the point north of the city and of the promontory is due to obscurity in the vulgate. The southeastern promontory is called in Strabo, *l.c.*, and Ar. *Ran.* 33 Μαλία, in Xen. *Hell.* i. 6. 26 Μαλέα, in Ptolem. v. 2. 29 Μανία. If the last form might be deemed correct, the names would be so different that there would be no danger of confusing the two. Or it may be that the vulg., as Kr. conjectured for the present passage, is corrupt, though his conjectures for τῇ Μαλέα, namely τῷ Μαλόντι and τῇ παραλίᾳ, manifestly depart too far from the Mss. — L. Herbst, *l.c.*, thinks the Malea of Thuc. is the small island on which “the old Mytilene” was situated, but which at the time of the Peloponnesian war was no longer a part of the city. It is strange that Herbst has herein neglected the fact that Strabo (p. 617) and other late writers (see Conze, *ibid.* p. 6) consider the island a part of Mytilene. But close attention to the statements of Thuc. alone shows Herbst's view to be inadmissible. The Athenian fleet anchored, acc. to c. 4. 17, at Malea during the truce, the first camp of the Athenians was, acc. to c. 5. § 2,



accessible by land from Mytilene, and Malea is called in c. 6. 11 the *ναύσταθμον* *πλοίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς* of the Athenians — who would not conclude from such data, that Malea was a point on the coast and not an island. Further, the words of c. 4. 17 οἱ ὥρμουν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως necessarily presuppose a place only north of the city, whereas the island extended from north to south eastward of the newer portion of the city. — In the inscription of Mytilene given by E. Fabricius, *Mitt. d. dtsh. arch. Inst. in Athen* ix. p. 88 ff. and R. Meister, *Studia Nicol.* p. 3 sqq. (= Hoffmann, *Griech. Dialekte* ii. 90), occur the expressions ἐν Μαλόεντι and ἐμ Μαλείᾳ, but unfortunately no explanation is given as to the site of these places.

6. 4. *περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως κτέ.* Stahl objects to the view adopted in the text that it would require ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς νότον, comparing Dem. li. 4 ὅς ἂν μὴ πρὸ τῆς ἑνῆς καὶ νέας ἐπὶ χῶμα τὴν ναῦν περιορμίσῃ. He assumes that the Athenians had on their advance first blockaded the southern part of the city, so as not to be hindered by the hostile fleet in those works with which they were about to proceed. To which Steup replies, that in that case Thuc. must certainly have stated in how far the blockading of the southern part of the city could have protected also the works to be prosecuted in the north against the hostile fleet. He thinks it must be doubted, too, whether such a thing was possible. At any rate, it by no means follows from Strabo's remark concerning the southern harbour (p. 617 c), ὁ νότιος κλειστὸς τριηρικὸς (Mss. *τριήρει καὶ ἐν*) *ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα*, that triremes had no exit also from the northern harbour. For the triremes drew less water than merchantmen (see E. Assmann in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, s.v. *Seewesen*, p. 1623); besides, Strabo l.c. says, ὁ δὲ βόρειος μέγας καὶ βαθύς, *χώματι σκεπαζόμενος*.

6. 5. *ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως.* Steup thinks that these words, acc. to the analogy of c. 22. 17 ἐξ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων and Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3. 19 *παλείποντο αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἄρματος*, would mean that in all there were, not two, but four camps, and therefore, since Thuc. evidently meant to speak here of only two camps, that the words *ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως*, 'which are altogether unnecessary and contain in τῆς πόλεως a burdensome repetition (see v. H. *Stud. Thuc.* p. 38),' are prob. interpolated. Stahl, following Va., omits τῆς πόλεως.

7. 2. *καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον.* The prep. *περί*, found in Monac. and (acc. to Hude) Laur., and first advocated by v. H. *Stud. Thuc.* p. 143, Steup thinks necessary, for, as the subsequent narrative shows, the real goal of Asopius was not Peloponnesus but Naupactus. Cf. c. 3. 10, where Thuc. says of the forty ships which were sent to Lesbos, but upon the same or a like errand as that of the thirty ships, *ἐτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον παρεσκευασμένοι πλεῖν*. v. H. perhaps rightly conjectures that ἐς, which most Mss. have, was arbitrarily inserted to restore connexion after the loss of *περί*.

10. 3. *εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο καὶ τᾶλλα ὁμοιό-*

**τροποι εἶεν.** The sense which Cl. gives to γίγνουντο seems, as Bm. says, doubtful, if not impossible. Kr., Bm., and Jow. supply φιλία καὶ κοινωνία as subj., though of course understanding ἰδιῶται καὶ πόλεις as subj. of εἶεν. Goell. and Bl. supply φίλοι from φιλία. The sent. might be construed as if the main clause had read : εἰδότες ὅτι οὔτε φίλοι ἰδιῶται βέβαιοι γίνονται οὔτε κοινωνοὶ πόλεις ἐς οὐδέν, in which case the subj. of γίγνουντο would be φίλοι, or φίλοι καὶ κοινωνοί, the proximity of ἐς ἀλλήλους perhaps inducing the personal const. of γίγνουντο. The sense would then be : "Knowing that neither individuals become secure friends nor states firm allies, unless they become so (*i.e.* φίλοι, or φίλοι καὶ κοινωνοί) in the belief of mutual honesty of purpose, and are otherwise similar in general character."

**10. 15. ἐπειγομένους.** Ross' and Bk.'s conjecture, which is adopted by Stahl and Cl. (see *N. Jahrb.* xcvi. p. 112), is preferred also by Haase, Arn., and Bl. — Funkhaenel renders the Ms. reading, ἐπαγομένους, sibi, suum in usum, adducentes, comparing Soph. *Ant.* 361 "Αἰδα μόνον φεύξιν οὐκ ἐπάξεται, Dem. xix. 259 αὐθαίρετον αὐτοῖς ἐπάγονται δουλείαν. This view is substantially adopted by Kr., Bm., and Sheppard, while Jow. offers the alternative between this interpretation and "themselves actively bringing subjugation (δούλωσις, not δουλεία) on the allies." Bm. cites v. 82. 20 τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν πάλιν προσαγόμενος, as in some measure supporting the vulgate.

**11. 4. καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἤδη εἶκον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔτι μόνου ἀντισουμένου.** Steup follows Hampke, *Stud. zu Thuk.* p. 16 ff., in bracketing these words. Hampke thinks there can be no reason, after it has once been stated that the Athenians associated with the Mytileneans on an equal footing, for emphasizing the *desire* of the Mytileneans for a status that actually existed, nor again for referring in καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἤδη εἶκον once more to the fact that most of the allies had become subjects of Athens. He remarks also that μόνου is inexact, since the Chians also (c. 10. 17) had maintained their independence. Steup objects further to μόνου, 1) as forming no proper antithesis to τὸ πλεῖον, 2) that, strictly taken, it implies more than is said of the Mytileneans in what follows (ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρημότεροι), while it rather strikingly anticipates the later remark. For τὸ ἡμέτερον, in the sense of "we" or "our state," there is, it is claimed, no parallel in Thuc. For these reasons, Steup considers that the words καὶ . . . ἀντισουμένου were prob. originally a marginal explanation of χαλεπώτερον εἰκότως ἔμελλον οἶσιν, and that by their omission the difficulty in the connexion of ἄλλως τε καὶ κτέ. is relieved.

**11. 7. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν.** Steup brackets δέος on the following grounds : the interpretation adopted in the text would contradict c. 12. § 1, where the Mytileneans emphasize as a *peculiarity* of their alliance with Athens, that it does not, as other alliances, rest upon εὖνοια and φιλία, but upon φόβος and δέος. Nor would this sentence, and that which follows (ὁ γὰρ παραβαίνειν τι βουλόμενος τῷ μὴ προέχων ἀν' ἐπελθεῖν ἀποτρέπεται), agree with what



is said c. 9. § 2 and 10. § 1 concerning *εὐνοια* and *ἀρετή* as bases of a proper alliance. Assuming that *δέος* crept into the text from a marginal explanation, the whole passage may be compared with c. 9. § 2, where it is intimated that a proper alliance is possible only between those that are *ἀντίπαλοι τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δυνάμει*.

11. 10. *ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν*. Bracketed by Steup, on Kr.'s suggestion, on the grounds that, since *τὰ πράγματα* must be understood of the position sought by the Athenians as against the allies, *ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν* interferes with the thought, and that nowhere else in the speech of the Mytileneans is mention made of the *ἀρχή* of the Athenians.

11. 13. *ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο . . . ξυστρατεύειν*. Steup objects to the view adopted in the text, that such a condensed form of statement, as must be assumed with the reading *ἄκοντας* (of all the Mss.), seems to be without parallel in Thuc., and that the passage of Dem. (liv. 32), cited by Hude (*Comm. Crit.* p. 92), *οὐδέποτ' ἂν . . . τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρεῖν ἠθέλησαν, εἰ μὴ ταῦθ' ἐώρων πεπονθότα*, is in so far dissimilar, that the speaker by using the expression *τὰ ψευδῇ*, as well as *πρὸς τὸν οὐδ' ἀψάμενον*, simply assumes the point of view of his opponent. *ἐκόντας* (with both Scholiasts), which older commentators read and Cobet prefers (*Mnem. N. S.* viii. p. 125), gives, Steup thinks, the simple and suitable thought, which Kr. sought in vain in the vulgate, "their voluntary participation is proof of the justice of the cause."

11. 23. *ἂν ἔδοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι*. Steup objects to the impf. on the ground, that the Mytileneans, not merely when they determined to revolt, but also at the time of this speech, were convinced that only the outbreak of the great war had secured the continuance of their independence, and that the present was necessary to the proper effect upon the audience. *δοκοῦμεν* (= *οἰόμεθα*) would be appropriately followed by *παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους*, "having as examples what happened to others." He thinks, further, that the context requires, not the idea "for a long time (*ἐπὶ πολὺ*), but "for a long time still," and so suggests *ἂν ἔτι δοκοῦμεν δυνηθῆναι*.

12. 4. *ὁ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὐνοια [πίστιν] βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρέιχε*. Cl. objects to Kr.'s interpretation, that his expansion does violence to the const., and that the thought is incorrect; since with this view *τοῦτο*, strictly taken, stands for *τὸ πίστιν βεβαιοῦν*, or at least for *πίστιν*. Can it then be said that from the state of mutual suspicion thus described springs *πίστις*, *trust*, and that this is strengthened by *fear*? The sentiment on which for good or ill the bond depends being indicated above by *εὐνοια* and *δέος*, the effect of the two cannot be another sentiment (*πίστις*), but the actual relation, the alliance. Striking out *πίστιν*, then, as the gloss of a superficial reader, the federal relation is indicated in the first clause only, it is true, by the prons. *ὁ* and *τοῦτο*, but the second clause is so definitely expressed by *δέει τε . . . ξύμμαχοι ἡμεν* that nothing is wanting to a clear comprehension of the passage. Stahl also brackets *πίστιν*.

Goell. renders the passage: *ac quum* (ὃ τε, *and whereas*) *aliis benevolentia maxime fidei vinculum sit, id nobis tantum metus praestat.* Bl. also renders ὃ τε, *and whereas.* Arn. translates: "That which in the case of others takes this shape, namely that faith is secured by love, that in our case takes a different form, namely that faith is secured by fear." Reiske and Haacke take πίστιν in appos. to ὃ. Pp. suggests to take πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, quasi pro uno verbo, the expression governing ὃ. Jow. explains: 'ὃ answers to τοῦτο, and is in apposition either with πίστιν, or better, with πίστιν βεβαιοῖ taken as a single word; τοῦτο, scil. τὸ βεβαιουῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν.' Sheppard queries, 'Might ὃ be taken as acc. after βεβαιοῖ, and πίστιν as its exegesis?' — Entirely different from this passage is that in ii. 40. § 3, where ὃ covers both the following clauses.

12. 12. εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ ἡμεν κτέ. Cl. argues that for a correct understanding of the whole passage one must start from the concluding sent., ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δὲ . . . τὸ προαμύνασθαι. The antithesis to the actual relation here expressed is the preceding hypothetical sent. Accordingly, there must be in the first sent., answering to ἐπιχειρεῖν, some similar expression, which, as appropriate to the Athenians, is disallowed to the Mytileneans, and this can only be ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι, not καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι. The Mytileneans can indeed wait, but as they cannot, like the Athenians, choose the favourable moment to take the offensive (ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι), neither can they equally with these (ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου) delay indefinitely (ἀντιμελλῆσαι τι) the opening of hostilities (ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἰέναι), but they must be allowed to secure themselves by anticipating attack (προαμύνασθαι). — A misconception of the proleptic καὶ before ἀντεπιβουλεύσαι prob. induced its correlation with καὶ before ἀντιμελλῆσαι, and thereby the reading τί ἔδει, with change of punctuation. The Ms. ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι might, as Bm., followed by St., suggests, be dispensed with entirely: "So must we, equally with them, have waited (with our plans)." But the thought is still more precise: "Were we, just as they, able to execute our plans, we also might, just as they, postpone hostilities as long as we pleased." ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἰέναι, which has been adopted from Kr., might easily have been corrupted into ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι through the influence of the following ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὄντος. Bm. objects to Kr.'s conjecture, that the Mytileneans could not call their revolt an *attack* (which ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἰέναι must mean), but only a defending of themselves by taking measures in advance (προαμύνασθαι), and brackets ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι. — Most of the good Mss., including Vat., have, not ἀντιμελλῆσαι, but ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι, some ἀντεπιμελῆσαι. The latter, notwithstanding the Schol.'s explanation, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δέξασθαι, is prob. only a slip of the pen. But ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι seems here, in antithesis, not impossible (referring to τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλειν, *to counter-delay*), esp. as Thuc. shows a certain fondness for compounds in ἀντεπι- (see Ullrich, *Beitr.* i. p. 10). But see, per contra, Stahl, *N. Jahrb.* xcvii. p. 105. For other explanations and emendations, see Pp. *ed. maior*; Haase, *Lucubr.* p. 84; Kaempf, *Qu. Thuc.* p. 11; Krohl, *Qu. Thuc.* i. p. 5; Cobet,



*Var. Lect.* p. 214 and *Mnem. N. S.* viii. p. 126; Herbst, *Gegen Cobet*, p. 28 ff.; Madvig, *Adv.* i. p. 314 f. Stahl, who in the Tauchnitz edition had followed Cl.'s text, has in the second edition of Poppo adopted Bm.'s view and bracketed ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι. — Steup adds: Rauchenstein, *Philol.* xxxv. p. 577, would bracket τι after ἀντιμελλῆσαι as 'without sense.' But though ἀντιμελλῆσαι alone would suffice, ἀντιμελλῆσαι τι is by no means impossible, if only one supplies as antithesis on the part of the Athenians not μελλῆσαι, as R. does, but μελλῆσαι τι. Against Stahl's remark, that ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἰέναι is opposed not only to the actual situation, but also to the object of the Mytileneans, who claim for themselves τὸ προαμύνασθαι (15), it may be urged that in the apod. of the cond. sent. regard need not be had also to the actual situation and the real object of the Mytileneans. See Hude, *Comm. Crit.* p. 93.

13. 13. ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον χρή ξυμμάχους δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ ταχέων βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν. It seems strange, Steup thinks, that the subj. of the inf. is indicated only by δεξαμένους. The speakers turn here from the attitude of their own state to the duty of the Lacedaemonians or Peloponnesians. Hence ὑμᾶς was to be expected. Further, it is surprising, that here the sending of help to Lesbos is demanded (βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν, cf. c. 4. 21 ἔπρασσον ὅπως τις βοήθεια ᾗξει), but in l. 19 ff. (ἦν ὑμεῖς ἐν τῷ θέρει τῷδε ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐπεσβάλητε τὸ δεύτερον), without any transitional remark, a second invasion of Attica. It is also peculiar that in the latter passage Attica is not mentioned. These things can hardly be ascribed to the fault of the historian. In the continuation of the narrative, c. 15. § 1, the admission of the Mytileneans into the Peloponnesian alliance and a second invasion of Attica are treated as the especial demands of the ambassadors (προσδεξάμενοι τοὺς λόγους ξυμμάχους τε τοὺς Λεσβίους ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν κτέ.). Is it not likely that Thuc. connected these points in the speech? If the copyist is to blame, it seems necessary to assume a considerable lacuna. Possibly Thuc. wrote somewhat as follows: ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον χρή ξυμμάχους δεξαμένους ἡμᾶς διὰ ταχέων (ὑμᾶς μάλιστα μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ναυσί τε καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐσβάλλειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐς τὴν Λέσβον νεῶν) βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν (cf. viii. 80. 18 πέμπουσιν . . . νεῶν βοήθειαν . . . ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον). By this, or some similar change, all difficulty in the sent. would be removed (cf. c. 16. § 3).

15. 4. παροῦσι. Steup thinks that this word has crept into the text from a marginal explanation, urging against its being *attributive* to τοῖς ξυμμάχοις both its position, and that, acc. to c. 8. 3, representatives of all the allies must be assumed as present in Olympia; against its being *appositive* that such reiteration of the presence of the allies would seem strange in a sent., the subj. of which is οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι. Against Lupus's explanation, he objects, that as the ξύμμαχοι were to present themselves on the Isthmus (cf. l. 6 αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ἀφίκοντο . . . οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι βραδέως ξυνελέγοντο, and c. 16. 11 ὥς αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἅμα οὐ παρήσαν), Thuc. might have said παρεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν, but never παροῦσι . . . ἰέναι ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν.

16. 12. καὶ ἡγγέλλοντο καὶ αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον [τριάκοντα] νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὴν περιοικίδα αὐτῶν πορθοῦσαι. The following arguments of Steup against the genuineness of *τριάκοντα*, which have met the approval of Cl., Stahl., and v. H., have been vigorously combated by Müller-Strübing, *Thuk. Forsch.* p. 109 ff., but without shaking Steup's conviction of the correctness of his position. See also Stahl, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1882, p. 98.

The mention of thirty ships here cannot be reconciled with what is said of these ships in c. 7. § 2 f. and c. 13. § 3 f. In c. 7. 6 the statement is made of the thirty ships with which Asopius was sent round Peloponnesus, καὶ παραπλεύουσαι αἱ νῆες τῆς Λακωνικῆς τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἐπόρθησαν, and the Mytilenean ambassadors at Olympia say of the Athenians, c. 13. 17, νῆές τε αὐτοῖς αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν (i.e. τὴν Λακωνικὴν) εἰσίν, αἱ δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετάχεται, that is, according to the former passage, Asopius on his voyage round Peloponnesus ravaged the Laconian coast; according to the latter, at the time of the Olympian festival he was on this coast. Both passages taken together leave no doubt that the thirty ships were ravaging the Laconian coast at the time of the festival. The federal council in Olympia was followed by the return of the Spartan authorities to Sparta, the calling out of the Spartan army, the march to the Isthmus, and finally a stay of the Spartans there for some time until they were induced, by the delay of the allies and news of the ravages of an Athenian fleet on their own coast, to abandon completely their great plans. The ravages announced at this time could not possibly have been committed by the thirty ships of Asopius, for their passage along the Laconian coast (c. 7. 6) could not have lasted so long. Besides, as the Spartans knew of the matter some time before they marched out, how could it have been announced anew so long afterwards, and how could they have laid so much stress on it? Müller-Strübing would, it is true, have περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν understood in the sense of περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. But not the whole peninsula belonged to the Peloponnesian alliance, nor was there any reason why the Lesbians, to whom among the allies of Sparta the Boeotians stood nearest, should speak only of the states of the alliance within Peloponnesus. Besides, even if περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον had been written in c. 13. 18, bearing in mind that there the thirty ships of Asopius are spoken of, it must be accepted that Asopius at the time of the federal council was on the Laconian coast. For, acc. to c. 7. 7, Asopius, after ravaging the Laconian coast, sent back eighteen of his thirty ships; and as to the voyage before reaching this coast Thuc. says nothing of operations of Asopius; so that the news of the departure of the thirty ships could scarcely have got to Olympia before these ships reached the Laconian coast, to say nothing of the fact that the words of the ambassadors περὶ . . . εἰσίν and ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀποχωρήσονται, which presuppose a certain tarrying, would suit the voyage of the ships up to the Laconian coast.

Besides the contradiction thus found to c. 7. § 2 f. and 13. § 3 f., one cannot see, with the traditional text of c. 16. 12, why (see note in text) the fleet of



Asopius also is not included under *μὴ κινούντες* in c. 16. 3. Just as little as the thirty ships, can, after the removal of *τριάκοντα*, the twelve ships be thought of, with which Asopius proceeded from the Laconian coast. For what is narrated of these ships in c. 7. § 3 ff. cannot possibly be compressed into so short a period, that the twelve ships could at the time when the Spartans were on the Isthmus have been already again on the Laconian coast. But *τριάκοντα* being removed, the *αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων* can very well be the 100 ships with which the Athenians, acc. to § 1, *παρὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀναγαγόντες ἐπιδειξίν τε ἐποιούντο καὶ ἀποβάσεις τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἢ δοκοίη αὐτοῖς*. If it is further a fact that the Spartans, although they saw the 100 ships sail southward — in which quarter certainly the points where the ἀποβάσεις of the Athenians were made must be sought — remained quietly on the Isthmus, there is no difficulty in thinking of them as remaining there until they heard of the 100 ships on their own coast. So bold a movement of the Athenians, in the face of the proposed Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, the Spartans had not reckoned upon. Nor are the concluding words of c. 16 *ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκείνους εἶδον* incompatible with the view here taken, as Müller-Strübing thought. The Athenians on the 100 ships need not be the subject of *εἶδον*. It may be, or rather probably must be, assumed, that the Athenians, after the great fleet had gone southward, caused the movements on the Isthmus to be watched by a few ships. Besides, the sent., if it read, *ἀνεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ κτέ.*, would contain no serious difficulty. For nothing is in the way of assuming that the Athenians of the 100 ships on the Laconian coast saw the returned Spartan army.

L. Herbst (*Philol.* xlii. p. 680 f.) urges against Steup's view that *αἱ περὶ Πελοπόννησον νῆες* in Thuc. means only ships sailing 'beyond, west of Peloponnesus,' whereas the 100 ships had remained 'this side of Peloponnesus, near the Isthmus.' But the groundlessness of Herbst's assertion can be proved from the very examples which he cites in support of it. A comparison of vii. 20. § 1 with § 2 makes it pretty clear that the goal of the general there sent *περὶ Πελοπόννησον* was not the west. But the matter becomes quite certain from a still further comparison with c. 26, from which it is seen that the general sent *περὶ Πελοπόννησον* does not sail at all to the west of Peloponnesus, but only to the point of the coast opposite Cythera, *i.e.* not even to the southernmost point of the peninsula, Taenarum. In vi. 105. § 2, *περὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον* has no reference to the west; rather the rest of the coast of Peloponnesus hostile to the Athenians is opposed to the Laconian coast. So in c. 29. § 1, where it is said of the ships of Alcidas, *πλέοντες περὶ τε αὐτὴν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐνδιέτριψαν καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦν σχολαῖοι κομισθέντες κτέ.*, there is no reference to the west of Peloponnesus, but rather the voyage along the coasts of the peninsula is antithetical to the rest of the voyage. Again, in ii. 67. 29, where it is stated that the Spartans at the beginning of the war *τοὺς ἐμπόρους οὓς ἔλαβον Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐν ὁκάσι περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλέοντας*, no unprejudiced reader would

think only of merchant-vessels sailing west of Peloponnesus; besides, the very next sentence makes plain what Thuc. meant by *περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλέοντας*. Indeed every fleet that was on or near any coast of Peloponnesus was for Thuc. *περὶ Πελοπόννησον*.

17. Steup's view of the spuriousness of this chapter was accepted by Cl. in his second edition, but has been attacked by Stahl (*Rh. Mus.* xxvii. p. 278 ff. and xxviii. p. 622 ff.) and L. Herbst (*Philol.* xlii. p. 681 ff.). The former, in order to refer the statements of § 2 to the *fourth* year of the war, makes three emendations, while the latter maintains that Thuc. could very well have made those statements concerning the summer of the *first* year. Steup replied to Stahl's first article in *Rh. Mus.* xxvii. p. 637 ff. Reconsideration of the question, in connexion with the articles above mentioned and other expressions of opinion of a more casual nature, has only confirmed Steup in the soundness of his conclusions.

The grounds for the charge of spuriousness are of threefold nature: 1) a looseness and obscurity of statement that is foreign to Thuc. (see notes under the text); 2) a number of linguistic peculiarities (see notes); 3) a lack of agreement with statements elsewhere made by Thuc. This third class of reasons, the most important of all, will now be considered.

At variance with Thuc.'s representation elsewhere is, first, the statement of § 1, that at the beginning of the war, when, acc. to § 2, 250 Attic ships were sent out at one time, about as many ships (*παραπλήσiai*) had been at the same time at sea as in the fourth summer. For against the 250 ships one can reckon up from other statements of Thuc. for the year 428 B.C. only a little over 150 ships, viz. forty at Mytilene (c. 3. 10), twelve of Asopius (c. 7. 9), one hundred mentioned c. 16. 5, three stationed at Salamis (*cf.* c. 51. 7; ii. 93. 23; 94. 14), two at Atalante (c. 89. 14), *i.e.* in all at most 157.

Again, though it is said in § 2 that at the beginning of the war *τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ Σαλαμίνα ἑκατὸν νῆες ἐφύλασσον*, in the account of the first year of the war there is no mention of these 100 ships. Herbst (*ibid.* p. 687 f.) finds a previous reference to the matter in ii. 13. 15 *παρήναι δὲ* (*i.e.* ὁ Περικλῆς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις) . . . *τὸ ναυτικὸν . . . ἐξαρτύεσθαι*, by which he understands that the 300 triremes mentioned ii. 13. 55 are to be 'sent to sea.' But Herbst misinterprets *τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐξαρτύεσθαι*, the meaning of which is clear from the parallel passage in i. 25. 23. There it is said that the Corcyraeans on account of the naval glory of the ancient Phaeacian inhabitants of their island so much the more *ἐξηρτύνοντο τὸ ναυτικόν*, *i.e.* put their navy in good order. Just so Pericles gives the Athenians the general advice to put their navy in good order. The calling out of 300 triremes would require different treatment, above all a clear and orderly statement. For this number would have been the very utmost the Athenians could have furnished, if indeed they could have furnished that. It is as inconceivable that Thuc. only learned later of the fitting out of a fleet of 100 triremes to guard Attica, Euboea, and Salamis at the opening of the war, as that he



should not have considered this worthy of mention in his account of the year 431. There was no lack of opportunity to mention the matter. So *e.g.* ii. 17. § 4, where the 100 ships sent round Peloponnesus are first mentioned; ii. 22. § 1 f., where Pericles's bearing at the time of the first invasion is described; ii. 24. § 1, where the new method of guarding the land, after the withdrawal of the Peloponnesians, is under discussion. Besides, one fails to understand why the lords of the whole sea should have called out for the protection of their own coasts 100 triremes, and should have kept these at their posts for some time even after despatching other 100 ships round Peloponnesus, to say nothing of the fact that at this time the Peloponnesians made an invasion of Attica by land, to which even the coasts of Attica, except fortified points, according to Pericles's plan of warfare were left exposed.

Further, the words in l. 6 *χωρίς δὲ αἱ περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις* are strange, inasmuch as the *ἄλλα χωρία* have not been mentioned before. The thirty ships sent by the Athenians, acc. to ii. 26. 2, *περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Εὐβοίας ἅμα φυλακὴν*, are not meant, because the ships that were *περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις* amounted, acc. to our chap., to only 50, but the expression *περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ κτέ.*, at least if Thuc. be its author, presupposes that at none of the *ἄλλα χωρία* were there more ships than at Potidaea. Nor will any one suppose that Thuc. meant to reckon to Potidaea only twenty ships, or even less, since ἡ *Λοκρίς* could hardly have been designated by *τὰ ἄλλα χωρία*. The *ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις νῆες* cannot be found in any previous mention any more than the 100 just discussed. Besides, acc. to i. 61. 18, there were originally at Potidaea seventy Athenian ships, and Thuc. nowhere mentions a withdrawal of any part of these. Possibly, however, too much stress must not be laid upon this point, since Thuc.'s work lacked final revision. Stahl finds an intimation that not all of the seventy ships remained at Potidaea in the fact that in i. 64. 15 the art. is wanting with *ναυστῖν*. But in the conclusion of the account of the blockade of Potidaea the indefinite expression, "and at the same time from the sea by means of blockading ships," could certainly be used even if all seventy ships were still at Potidaea. Whether less than seventy ships would suffice for the blockade of a city washed on two sides by the sea may be left undecided; but certainly Stahl's view, that only twenty-five ships were required, is highly improbable, and his argument in proof, that *ad ipsos duos Mytilenae portus intercludendos* forty ships would have sufficed, is hardly intelligible, since at Mytilene help could be brought from one harbour to the other far quicker than at Potidaea from one sea to the other.

Further, in § 3, after the sent. *καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανήλωσε μετὰ Ποτειδαίας*, the absence of any mention of the 4000 hoplites and 3000 cavalry of Hagnon and Cleopompus (ii. 58), can be explained only on a rather improbable assumption, unless the chapter be ascribed to an interpolator. It must be assumed that the 4000 hoplites were not *δίδραχμοι*, but received less pay, and that in explanation of the great expenses occasioned by Potidaea especial

stress was laid upon the high pay of two of the armies fitted out for the recapture of the city. This is improbable, inasmuch as the 4000 were with the original besieging army before Potidaea, while the 1600 were there only a short time and not for the purpose of blockading. — Besides, if τὴν Ποτείδαιαν ἐφρούρουν includes also the 1600 men of Phormio, this ill accords with i. 64. 13, where Phormio's work is designated by ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Παλλήνης τεῖχος (cf. i. 65. 13), and still less with i. 64. 4, where Phormio's task as τειχίζειν is directly opposed to φρουρεῖν (intr.). Especially troublesome are the words τρισχίλιοι μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, ὧν οὐκ ἐλάσσους διεπολιόρκησαν. The evident meaning is that the siege of Potidaea was begun by 3000 hoplites, and was prosecuted and completed by no less a number. But acc. to i. 64. 1, the siege was begun by the army which just before (τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος εὐθὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτειχίσαντες ἐφρούρουν) had fought the battle near Potidaea, and of the 3000 Athenian hoplites, which had been with this army (i. 61. 15), 150 had, acc. to i. 63. 20, fallen in the battle. Then, acc. to ii. 58. 10, the original besieging army also had been attacked by the plague, whereas there is no mention anywhere of reinforcements by which the number of the army was raised again to 3000 or higher. The only reinforcements mentioned were the troops of Phormio and those of Hagnon and Cleopompus, and these returned as complete corps. The fact that in ii. 31. 11, where the expedition made against Megaris toward the end of the summer is described, one reads χωρὶς δὲ (i.e. besides the μυρίων ὀπλιτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους, which invaded Megaris) αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν, by no means proves that the full number of 3000 hoplites then lay before Potidaea. As the article shows, reference is there made to i. 61. 15, and the loss meanwhile incurred is disregarded, just as the troops of Phormio, which must have suffered losses (cf. i. 65. § 3; ii. 29. § 6), are still designated in ii. 58. 12, where their return home is mentioned, as οἱ ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι (cf. i. 64. 8; 65. 13). Although in ii. 31. § 2, where the point was to remove the apparent contradiction with ii. 13. § 6, a round number is unobjectionable, — even the strength of the main body of Athenian hoplites is not exactly stated — here, where it is expressly affirmed that not less than 3000 hoplites had continually blockaded the city, τρισχίλιοι cannot possibly be regarded as a round number. It must be noticed also that, acc. to ii. 79. § 1, the campaign which led to the defeat of the Athenians at Spartalos was undertaken with 2000 hoplites, and that the same Xenophon was general (τρίτος αὐτός), who also is mentioned first among the three generals to whom Potidaea had surrendered the preceding winter (ii. 70. 8), although Thuc. neither mentions an immediate or early return of the Athenian army, nor states how the 2000 hoplites of ii. 79. § 1 came to the Thracian coast. Is not the conjecture reasonable that the 2850 hoplites, which were originally before Potidaea, had in consequence of losses through the plague and the hardships of the siege gradually shrunk to 2000?

Stahl proposed to strike out δέ after παραπλήσιαί (3), insert ἥ before ἀρχομένου (3), omit περὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ (6), and so make it possible to refer the statements



in § 2 about Athenian ships simultaneously at sea to the *fourth* year of the war. But even thus the matter is far from clear. For example, if § 2 refers to 428 B.C., the absence of any explanation of ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου is remarkable; the difficulty occasioned by τοῦτο is enhanced, if there is only casual mention of the first year of the war; the difficulty of referring τοῦτο to Potidaea is not relieved; and if, as Stahl assumes, ἐν τοῖς πλείσται δὴ νῆες (2) means “among the most ships,” then, as Cl. rightly observed, the definite expression νῆες τοσαῦται δὴ πλείσται (15), referring to these same ships, seems strangely out of place. Besides, the linguistic peculiarities are not touched by Stahl’s emendations; the difficulties in the statements about Potidaea (§ 3) are not relieved; and § 1 and 2, even in the form given them by Stahl, are by no means free from difficulties of fact. The ships of the year 428 B.C., even if they amounted to 250, could hardly be said to be παραπλήσιαι to those of 431. For the latter can be reckoned at highest at 200 (i. 61. 18; ii. 23. 5; 26. 1), or indeed at only 155, if the ships that remained at Potidaea be estimated, with Stahl, at only twenty-five (see note under text). Further, the words τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὐβοίαν καὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἑκατὸν νῆες ἐφύλασσον (§ 2) are not less troublesome when referred to 428 than to 431; for there is as little mention elsewhere of such a fleet in the former year as in the latter, and if the Athenians really had raised, as Stahl assumes, two fleets of 100 ships each against a threatened simultaneous attack of the Peloponnesians by land and sea, it is inconceivable that Thuc. should in c. 16. § 1 have mentioned only *one*.

The occasion for the insertion of this chapter seems to have been the fact that in c. 19. § 1 Thuc. mentions without further details (προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κτέ.) the financial straits of the Athenians, although for observant readers, after c. 3. § 1; ii. 70. § 2; and esp. c. 13. § 3, the fact of this financial pressure could have been no surprise. The chapter is an awkward attempt to fill the supposed gap. The statements of the interpolator, that can be tested, have been proved in many respects either inexact or incorrect. Inexact is what is said in § 3 about the army which opened the siege of Potidaea, and incorrect is the statement concerning the 100 ships called out in 431 to guard Attica, Euboea, and Salamis. There is in this latter case manifestly a misunderstanding of the import of the 100 reserve ships, of which Thuc. speaks in ii. 24. § 2. Further, the expression παραπλήσιαι καὶ ἔτι πλείους (§ 1) is intelligible only if the author has reckoned the number of ships of the year 428 much too high. And indeed he seems to have thought of the 100 reserve ships in the ship-houses as called out also in this fourth year, but to have completely overlooked the twelve ships of c. 7. 9. After the above considerations, the credibility also of those statements which cannot be tested, esp. those about the pay of the Athenian hoplites and seamen, must be designated as extremely doubtful; for here, too, whether through the fault of the interpolator or his authorities, it was easy for inaccuracies and misconceptions to slip in. Not to be approved is therefore L. Holzapfel’s course (*Beitr. z. gr.*

*Gesch.* p. 78 ff. in *Berliner Studien* vii., and *Wochenschr. f. kl. Phil.* 1888, p. 1269 ff.) in making the statements about wages the basis for a calculation of the length of the siege. For Holzapfel's hypothesis that these data originated, 'if not from Thuc. himself, at least from a well-informed source,' is entirely without support.

20. 19. ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως καθορωμένου ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους. Steup brackets ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο, on the following grounds: Whether τοῦ τείχους be construed as subj. of καθορωμένου, or as dependent on ἐς ὃ, the vulg. is unsatisfactory. If it be meant that the *whole* wall was easily overlooked, any addition to τοῦ τείχους which designates τὸ τεῖχος as the wall of circumvallation, is unnecessary. Just such an addition, however, would ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο be. For to Hude's explanation (*Comm. Crit.* p. 94) of ἐς ὃ = ὅσον or ἐς ὅσον (*so far as*), *sc.* καθορᾶν, it must be objected that a parallel to ἐς ὃ in this sense is not to be found in Thuc. (in v. 66. 6, ἐς ὃ = *so long as, since*), and hardly elsewhere. If τοῦ τείχους be taken with καθορωμένου, ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο must mean *whither they wished* (*sc.* ἀναβαίνειν, *cf.* c. 85. 13). But such a remark would be not only idle, but also, as Pp. saw, in an unnatural position, since one would have expected it after τοῦ τείχους, and it is further surprising that it should have been said, that the Plataeans *wished to ascend*, and not they *wished to cross* (*cf.* l. 6; 23. 1). The first to call attention to this imperfect designation of the purpose of the Plataeans was Stahl, who, however, construes τοῦ τείχους as part. genitive. If it were meant that the portion of the wall where the Plataeans proposed to place their ladders was sufficiently visible, it is less surprising that only the ascent of the wall is indicated, since the descent might under some circumstances be easier at some other point. But against this Stahl rightly observes, that it would be strange if here the point of ascent were indicated, while before it was the part that enabled the Plataeans to determine the necessary length of the ladders. That these parts were identical was not self-evident, and needed to be indicated by Thucydides. But even if τοῦ τείχους be construed as partitive and the identity of the parts of the wall be assumed, it is not less surprising that the second characteristic of the portion of the wall from which the height could be determined from the city, *viz.* the nearer approach to the city wall, is not mentioned along with the absence of plaster, but only as a later addition. In this respect nothing is changed by St.'s conjecture ὅσον ἐβούλοντο (*sc.* καθορᾶν). Besides, what could have induced Thuc. to use the peculiar circumlocution ὅσον ἐβούλοντο τοῦ τείχους to designate the point of the wall in question? See, further, Steup, *Rh. Mus.* xxxiii. p. 250 f.

22. 11. τὸν ἀριστερὸν πόδα μόνον ὑποδεδεμένοι ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν πηλόν. The Schol. explains, ὑπεδέδεντο τὸν μὲν ἓνα τῶν ποδῶν δι' ἀσφάλειαν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον γυμνὸν εἶχον διὰ κουφότητα, and this is essentially the view taken by Kr., Bl., Grote, Sh., while Cl., Steup, Stahl, Arn., Jow., Bm., and Goell. hold the view given in the text. It was doubtless not uncommon for Greek and Roman soldiers to go with one foot shod, the other bare, though there seems



to have been no fixed custom as to which foot should be bare. Cf. e.g. Eur. frg. 574 (Nauck)

Οἱ δὲ Θεστίου

κόροι τὸ λαίδν ἵχνος ἀνάρβυλοι ποδός  
τὸν δ' ἐν πεδίλοις, ὡς ἐλαφρίζον γόνυ  
ἔχουσιν· ὃς δὴ πᾶσιν Αἰτωλοῖς νόμος.

Cf. also Aristotle frg. 74 (Rose) δεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν ἡγούμενον (i.e. right) ἔχειν ἐλαφρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἐμμένοντα (i.e. left). So Livy ix. 40 (of the Samnites) *sinistrum crus ocreâ tectum*, and Juv. *Sat.* vi. 256 *crurisque sinistri dimidium tegmen*. But Verg. *Aen.* vii. 690

*vestigia nuda sinistri*

*Instituere pedis, crudus tegit altera pero,*

and Vegetius i. 20 *pedites autem scutati praeter catafractas et galeas, etiam ferreas ocreas in dextris cruribus cogerentur accipere*. So on a pictured vase in Millin ii., No. 30. — It might be disputed whether a bare or a sandaled foot would more easily slip in the mud, though in hand to hand fighting, where the right arm is used and the left foot needs to be firmly planted, the sandal would undoubtedly be of advantage. But here it is a question not of mud only, but of scaling, feeling the way over, and descending from a wall in the darkness, and for such an enterprise the bare foot was better suited. Rauchenstein (*Philol.* xxxv. p. 578) compares J. Müller, *Schweizergesch.* Buch ii. Kap. 7, p. 723.

22. 12. προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις κτέ. Steup finds here the proximity of κατὰ μεταπύργιον and πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις intolerable, since it would seem from c. 21. § 4, where ἐπάλξεις and πύργοι are placed in antithesis, that the towers had no battlements. He objects, too, to the idea of *approaching the battlements*, which were on top of the wall. Hence he brackets πρὸς (which in Cisalp. is added by a second hand), as prob. due to a mistaken connexion of τὰς ἐπάλξεις with προσέμισγον, and puts a comma after προσέμισγον, with which can easily be supplied from l. 5 τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων. For the const. τὰς ἐπάλξεις εἰδότες ὅτι κτέ., he compares c. 113. 25 Ἀμπρακίαν μέντοι οἶδα ὅτι κτέ. Steup mentions Müller-Strübing's objection to the expression προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, but only to express his complete disagreement with Müller-Strübing's treatment (*N. Jahrb.* cxxxi. p. 327–335) of the account of the sortie of the Plataeans, in support of the assumption that Thucydides's account of the siege of Plataea is merely a theory of the art of siege or of fortress-warfare under the form of an actual siege.

22. 12. πρῶτον μὲν τὰς κλίμακας φέροντες, καὶ προσέθεσαν· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι ἀνέβαινον, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀμμέας ὁ Κοροΐβου, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη (μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι ἕξ ἑφ' ἑκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον)· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξὺν δορατίοις ἐχώρουν, οἷς ἕτεροι κατόπιν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον κτέ. Steup's critical note is as follows: The parenthetical

clause is marked, in order to indicate its subordinate importance. Cl., followed by Stahl, transposed the second ἀνέβαινον and ἐχώρουν. His reasons were that, after the statement that the first twelve ψιλοί had ascended, and the mention of their leader had induced the supplementary remark καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη, there was no occasion for a second ἀνέβαινον, but only for the statement that the twelve had advanced in two divisions against the towers, for which χωρεῖν ἐπὶ was the fittest expression; that, on the contrary, ἀνέβαινον was quite appropriate for the detachment armed with spears, which was to follow as speedily as possible. Now it is quite certain, as Cl. hints and Stahl says, that it cannot be meant here that the twelve ψιλοί ascended the towers. For acc. to c. 23. 6, the ascent of the towers, on whose roofs there were no guards (cf. c. 21. § 4), was not made till control had been got of the passages below; but, as was remarked in the *Rh. Mus.* xxxiii. p. 252, ἐξ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων might merely mean that the twelve were intended, after reaching the top of the wall, to turn in equal divisions against the two towers, so that the second ἀνέβαινον would be simply a repetition of the first. Moreover, what follows strongly supports the view that μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν κτέ. does not refer to an occurrence subsequent to the ascent of the wall by the twelve; for of the spear-bearing division it is said, not ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι κτέ., but ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι κτέ. And the besiegers were not alarmed by the advance of the twelve against the towers, but by the falling of a tile, which a Plataean, while ascending the wall, accidentally threw down (l. 22 ff.). Finally, the moment at which the tile fell is stated with reference only to the ascent of the wall (l. 21 ὡς δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο). With the fact, now, that in what follows there is no mention of further operations on the part of the twelve, agrees the circumstance, that of the spear-bearing detachment it is merely stated, acc. to the vulg., that they advanced after the others (ἐχώρουν), not that they ascended the wall (ἀνέβαινον); and the words ὡς δὲ ἄνω πλείους ἐγένοντο accord better with c. 23. 2 ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἀνεβεβήκεσαν κτέ., if they refer, not to the spear-bearing detachment, but only to a number of the twelve. Accordingly, it cannot be admitted that the context requires emendation of the vulgate. Nor need the triple occurrence of ἀναβαίνειν in three lines arouse suspicion, since Thuc. by no means avoids the repetition of the same word. More serious might seem the objections of H. Weil (*Rev. de Philol. N. S.* ii. p. 89), that, although at first only twelve ψιλοί are mentioned, acc. to the words μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν (i.e. τὸν Ἀμμέαν) οἱ ἐπόμενοι ἐξ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον, if μετὰ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι be taken quite literally, Ammeas was the *thirteenth*; and though Ammeas first ascended the wall, apparently only the destination of his companions is indicated. To obviate these difficulties Weil would put a comma after ἐπόμενοι and bracket the second ἀνέβαινον. But, even disregarding the fact that this would render idle the remark μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι (sc. ἀνέβαινον), certainly the words ἐξ ἐφ' ἐκάτερον τῶν πύργων, which would have to be construed with the first ἀνέβαινον, would drag intolerably. Besides, it does not seem impossible



to take μετὰ αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπόμενοι as including the leader, *i.e.* "Ammeas and his followers after him," after the analogy of the const., οἱ περὶ τινα (v. 46. 19; vi. 96. 14; viii. 67. 1), οἱ ἀμφὶ τινα (viii. 65. 1), οἱ μετὰ τινος (i. 3. 14; 61. 3).

**26. 2. τὰς ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην [δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα] ναῦς.** Since in previous mentions of this fleet, reference to which is indicated by the art., the number of ships is only forty (c. 16. 16; 25. 7), as likewise in the further account till the union with Brasidas (*cf.* c. 29. 1; 69. 1; 76. 4), the number forty-two can hardly be correct here. v. II. bracketed δύο καί, which Kr. had already suspected. But X (Stahl?) proposed rather (*Philol. Anz.* xiii. p. 302) to bracket all three words, δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, as an addition of some interpreter who added to the forty ships the two mentioned in c. 5. 15 and 25. 3. This latter suggestion, Steup thinks, has the advantage of allowing an easier explanation of the origin of the vulgate. For if the number of ships was mentioned here, there was little occasion for a change. On the other hand, after the number had been given not only in c. 16. 16, but just before in c. 25. 7, there was no reason for its repetition here. And in c. 27. 1 it is simply stated, ὥς αἱ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς (*i.e.* τοῖς Μυτιληναίοις) οὐχ ἦκον ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου κτέ.

**26. 3. ἄρχοντα.** This conjecture of H. Stephanus (*Thes. s.v. προστάσσειν*) is adopted by Cl. against ἔχοντα of all the Mss. The const. of ἄρχοντα προστάξαντες with a finite verb is so genuinely Thucydidean, as is shown by the four corresponding passages (*cf.* vi. 93. 8; vii. 19. 23; viii. 23. 21; 39. 13), that the slight change cannot but commend itself, esp. as the usual abbreviations for ἔχειν and ἄρχειν look much alike. With the vulg. the order of words is harsh, and the pleonastic προστάξαντες drags intolerably. No objection can be made against the proximity of ἄρχοντα προστάξαντες, which designates the one appointed to the chief command for the specific enterprise, and ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος, which states that Alcidas held the office of nauarch.

**26. 6. ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην καταπλεύσαις ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν.** Steup objects to the instrumental const. of the dat., that thus ἐπιβοηθήσουσιν is strangely left without obj., while the καταπλεῖν of the ships is quite unnecessarily mentioned. He brackets, therefore, καταπλεύσαις, as an explanatory marginal note that has crept into the text, and renders: "that the Athenians, embarrassed in both quarters, might the less with their ships bring aid to Mytilene." *Cf.* i. 142. 12 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι, c. 96. 12 πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐπεβοήθουν πάντες, vii. 3. 17 ἐπιβοηθοῦεν ἄλλοσε, Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 24 ἐπιβοηθῶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον. The arguments of Müller-Strübing (*Thuk. Forsch.* p. 113 ff.) and of Osberger (*Festgruss f. Heerwagen*, p. 85 ff.), to prove the whole final clause spurious, are not convincing. See, further, Steup in *Rh. Mus.* xxxiii. p. 256 f.

**26. 9. πατρὸς δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὢν.** Though the const. of the preceding words does not grammatically justify δέ, since no other attribute of Cleomenes is mentioned, still it may be retained on the ground, that the words ὑπὲρ Πανσανίου . . . νεωτέρου ἔτι imply, with reference to Cleomenes, the idea αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ βασιλεύων. If any change is to be made, Cl. would not omit δέ, with Kr., but write

ἦν for ὦν. Stahl writes δῆ for δέ acc. to the analogy of iv. 59. 14; vi. 80. 14; vii. 81. 10, which would relieve the difficulty.

**26. 10.** [καί]. Bracketed, with Dindorf, against all the Mss. The antithesis to τὰ τε πρότερον τετμημένα is only καὶ ὅσα . . . παρελέλειπτο, and εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει, "if anything had sprouted up," is the necessary explanation of τὰ πρότερον τετμημένα.

**29. 3.** ἐνδιέτριψαν. Steup would either change to ἐνδιατρίψαντες, or bracket, on the ground that the conduct of the Peloponnesians during the second part of their voyage was not less the opposite of what should have happened (οὖς ἔδει ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι), than their conduct during the first part, and that τοὺς μὲν . . . ἐάλωκε was by no means merely the result of the slowness of the Peloponnesians in the *second* part of the voyage. He thinks, too, that the vulg. involves a harsh anacoluthic change from finite verb to participle.

**30. 13.** τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ πολέμου. Steup's conjecture (*Rh. Mus.* xxxiii. p. 257 ff.) for καινόν or κενόν of the Mss., of which the former has recently been generally accepted. The reference in the rel. sent. is undoubtedly to a mistake in the conduct of the war, to which also the speaker clearly refers in what precedes. Hence it follows that τὸ τοιοῦτον (*cf.* τὰς τοιαύτας ἀμαρτίας, v. 9. 10) must refer to τὸ ἀφύλακτον in l. 4. But unguardedness (τὸ ἀφύλακτον) could not be represented either as the new and surprising (τὸ καινόν), or as the vain and deceptive (τὸ κενόν) in war. On the contrary, the speaker, whose object was to encourage his colleagues, might well say that τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ πολέμου, "that which was common (or impartial) in war," was nothing else but τὸ ἀφύλακτον ("lack of precaution"). *Cf.* Hector's ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος (*Hom.* Σ 309), which Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii. 21, calls τεθρυλημένη καὶ κοινὴ γνώμη, and the Lat. communis Mars or communis Mars belli. *Cf.* also Thuc. v. 102. 1, where τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔστιν ὅτε κοινοτέρας (some Mss. καινοτέρας) τὰς τύχας λαμβάνοντα ἢ κατὰ τὸ διαφέρον ἐκατέρων πλῆθος means, "the fortune of war is sometimes impartial, and not according to superior numbers." See also on ii. 62. 31. Steup still maintains, as formerly (*ibid.* p. 261 f.), that no certain example of τὸ καινόν or τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ πολέμου has been found, in spite of the fact that Heliodorus (*Aethiop.* ix. 5, p. 355 Kor.) says, καινουργὸς δὲ ὦν ἀεί πως ὁ πόλεμος, and Polybius (i. 4. 5; iv. 2. 4) attributes καινοποιεῖν τοῦ τύχῃ.

**31. 7.** καὶ τὴν πρόσσodon ταύτην μεγίστην οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων ἦν ὑφέλωσι, καὶ ἅμα, ἦν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσιν, αὐτοῖς δαπάνη γίγνηται. Steup's critical note is as follows: The first part of this from of old (see the Scholia) variously treated passage is given in accordance with the essentially unanimous tradition of the Mss., the second part in agreement with v. II., and with Müller-Strübing, *Thuk. Forsch.* p. 97, after Codex M and a Schol. (τὸ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἅμα ἀναγνωστέον, ἀλλὰ διαιρετέον, καὶ κατὰ τὸ σφίσιν ὑποστικτέον). Most Mss. have ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοῖς (or αὐτοῦς) δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνηται (*Vat.* γίγνεται), G ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοῖς σφίσι δαπάνη γίγνηται. Numerous emendations have been proposed. Two things seem certain, viz. that σφίσι, whatever



its true position, must refer, like ἀποστήσωσι, ἀφίχθαι, and ὑφέλωσι, to the Peloponnesians and their Ionian and Lesbian friends; ἐφορμῶσι, on the other hand, to the Athenians. The former is clear on grammatical grounds; material considerations leave no doubt of the latter. Before the Peloponnesians could have thought of blockading the Athenians in Mytilene or anywhere else, they must have won supremacy at sea. On the other hand, c. 33. 16 οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσαι ἡναγκάσθησαν στρατόπεδον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ φυλακὴν σφίσι καὶ ἐφόρμησιν παρασχεῖν shows very clearly that the immediate result of the occupation of an Ionian or Aeolian city by the Peloponnesians would have been the blockade of this city by the Athenians. But if the Athenians are the subj. of ἐφορμῶσι, and σφίσι refers to the Peloponnesians, the two words must be taken together, — a const. allowed by M alone of traditional readings. The fact that thus along with the loss of the greatest source of revenue of the Athenians is mentioned also the expense that would be caused by the blockade of a coast city, cannot be surprising after c. 13. § 3 and 19. § 1. Nor is there any special difficulty in the fact that σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, though standing together, must be construed apart. Hence it seems unnecessary to write, with Kr. and Cobet (*Mnem. N. S.* viii. p. 131), ἣν ἐφορμῶσι σφίσι, δαπάνη αὐτοῖς γίγνηται, and the reading of M seems the rather to be preferred, as the other readings might so easily have been derived from it. It is only necessary to assume, that in the Ms. to which all the rest go back, σφίσιν was lost after ἐφορμῶσι and written in afterwards above the line or on the margin. To bracket σφίσι, as some suggest, is inadmissible, since it facilitates the understanding of the passage and relieves the harshness of the change of subject in ἐφορμῶσι. If καὶ ἅμα be rendered *also at the same time* (see Stahl, *Rh. Mus.* xvii. p. 620; also Hünnekes, *Kl. Beitr. etc.* 1. p. 2), no change in the first part of the passage is necessary. Hardly to be approved certainly is Dobree's suggestion to change the first ἣν, which follows the emphatically placed words τὴν πρόσοδον . . . Ἀθηναίων, to ἔν, or Cl.'s, to bracket it. Since the revolt of Ionia would involve the immediate loss of the Athenian revenues from that quarter, it was not necessary to emphasize the latter point in the same way as the first, and the parenthesis, which establishes the probability of the revolt of Ionia, certainly does not support the assumption that this had already happened.

**32. 11 ff. ὁρῶντες . . . παραβαλεῖν.** Cl. was inclined to transpose this concluding sent. and put it after τοὺς πολλοὺς in l. 3, rightly recognizing that the first mention of the captives was the proper place for an explanation about them, which this last clause must be admitted to be. But with the order proposed by Cl., Steup thinks clearness would require τοῦ Ἀλκίδου instead of αὐτοῦ in l. 4, and ὁ Ἀλκίδας in c. 33. 1 would, as Rauchenstein recognized (*Philol.* xxxv. p. 584), be unnecessary after ὁ μὲν (sc. Ἀλκίδας) in the sent. immediately preceding (c. 32. 10). Besides, it would be difficult to explain how the traditional order originated. Hence prob. it is not safe to go further than to suggest that c. 32 is one of those passages which indicate a lack of final revision on the part of the historian.

**34. 8. ἐπαγαγόμενοι.** So, with Kr., for ἐπαγόμενοι of all the Mss. See on ἀνταναγαγόμενοι, i. 29. 18 (App.), and ἐπαγαγόμενοι, vi. 6. 10. The confusion of the pres. and aor. forms of ἄγειν and its compounds is so common in the Mss., that the correct form must always be determined from the context. Here ἐν διατειχίσματι εἶχον requires the aor. partic. of antecedent action. Cf. ξυνεσεληθόντες ἐπολίτευον in l. 10. Stahl (adnot. crit. ad vol. ii. p. v.) explains the pres. as in auxilium adhibentes.

**36. 9. καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι . . . ἐποίησαντο.** Cl. inserted καὶ before ὅτι, without Mss. authority, on the ground that only thus is a proper antithesis to τήν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν obtained and the evident sense of the passage secured. "The Athenians reproached the Mytileneans with the revolt in general (τήν τε ἄλλην), and esp. that (καὶ ὅτι) they had revolted, although not subjects like the other allies; and it contributed to increase their fury that Peloponnesian ships should have had the audacity to venture over to Ionia and assist the rebels." Cf. c. 39. § 1, 2, where Cleon emphasizes the inexcusableness of the Mytilenean revolt, as compared with that of subject allies. Against Cl.'s view, see Stahl, *N. Jahrb.* xcvi. p. 108, in answer to which Cl. emphasizes two points: 1) The revolt of a πόλις ξύμμαχος αὐτόνομος, or οὐκ ἀρχομένη, is for the whole political attitude of Athens of such importance, that it must be strongly emphasized. This is accomplished only by setting, by means of καὶ, the ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι feature over against ἀπόστασις in general. If ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχόμενοι . . . ἐποίησαντο be only epexegetical to ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν, as would be the case without καὶ, then the inexcusable fault implied in τήν τε ἄλλην must be sought in what follows. 2) ἐπικαλοῦντες τήν τε ἄλλην ἀπόστασιν points (even without καὶ before ὅτι), both in const. and sense, to a still greater fault of the Mytileneans, and this, could one even allow the anacoluthon assumed by Stahl in καὶ προσξυνεβάλετο κτέ., cannot possibly be the appearance of a Peloponnesian fleet on the Ionian coast, even if this was in answer to the Mytilenean appeal for help. Besides, the very term προσξυνεβάλετο indicates that this was of secondary importance. Steup adds, that the vulg. is the less tenable, since it would seem to convey the notion that the Athenians did not consider every revolt a crime.

**36. 24. ἄλλαι τε γινώμαι ἀφ' ἐκάστων ἐλέγοντο καὶ Κλέων ὁ Κλεινέτου, ὅσπερ καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐνεκικήκει ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι κτέ.** Steup objects to the vulg., on the ground that from ἄλλαι γινώμαι, *other views or proposals*, γνώμην, *decree*, must be supplied with τὴν προτέραν, and suggests that Thuc. wrote ὅσπερ καὶ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐνεκικήκει ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι, "who also on the preceding day had carried a motion to put the Mytileneans to death." Thus changed, the passage would better accord with the remark of Diodotus, c. 41. 2 ὅσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀντέλεγε μάλιστα μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι Μυτιληναίους. For τῇ προτέρᾳ, cf. vii. 51. 10, and (with ἡμέρᾳ) v. 75. 14; Hom. π 50, and (with ἡμέρᾳ) Arist. *Polit.* v. 12.

**37. 9. πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους · οὐκ ἐξ ὧν κτέ.** Stahl (*Rh. Mus.* xxvi. p. 150 ff.) finds the asyndeton intolerable and not justi-



fied by the parallel passages cited, which he reads or renders differently, and has incorporated into the text his conjecture, ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄκοντες ἀρχόμενοι ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ὧν κτέ. But the change seems neither necessary nor appropriate. The passage in c. 63. 9, to say nothing of the others, certainly seems a clear case of asyndeton, the particle γε not having *connective* force, but giving emphasis to the preceding word, such as is conferred here, and possibly also in vi. 36. 9, upon οὐκ by its position. Against ἄκοντες ἀρχόμενοι it may be esp. urged, that since οὐκ ἐξ ὧν . . . περιγέννησθε, contains the clear and striking explanation of these words, ἄκοντες ἀρχόμενοι cannot stand in a causal relation to ἀκροῶνται κτέ., as Stahl's const. would require. Besides ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς alone is not sufficiently clear. Stahl explains that the twofold warning against μαλακίζεσθαι (i.e. ἐπικινδύνως ἐς ὑμᾶς and οὐκ ἐς τὴν τῶν ξυμμάχων χάριν) is established in two clauses (οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι . . . αὐτοὺς and οὐ σκοποῦντες ὡς οὐκ . . . περιγέννησθε); but it seems rather that the speaker would only emphatically reject all thought of χάρις τῶν ξυμμάχων, and so would lay esp. stress upon the relation of the τυραννίς with its necessary results, as expressed down to the end of the period. Finally, the slips of the copyist, assumed by Stahl, would be hard to explain.

38. 6. ἀντίπαλον μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει. ὃν after ἀντίπαλον is omitted, with Haase (*Lucubr.* p. 115). The superlatives ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον and ἀντίπαλον μάλιστα being related as cause and effect must be construed together, whereas ὃν would require ἀντίπαλον to be construed with ἀμύνασθαι.

38. 25. τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι. Steup considers τοιαῦτα, which Pp. designated as obscurius dictum and v. H. brackets, not explainable. The usual reference to τὰ κοινὰ καὶ ἄτοπα he thinks impossible, since § 5 includes not only καινότης λόγου and τὰ ἄτοπα, but also δεδοκimasμένος λόγος and τὰ εἰωθότα, and in l. 24 εἰπεῖν refers only to speaking in general. But since it would be hard to understand why τοιαῦτα should have been inserted in a clause already clear (ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς λέγουσι κτέ.) and no esp. mention of the speakers is here necessary, Steup brackets, not τοιαῦτα only, but τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι, as an awkward explanation of ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι. This would remove also, he thinks, the harsh transition from τοῖς λέγουσι to ὁξέως . . . λέγοντος.

38. 27. καὶ προαισθέσθαι τε πρόθυμοι εἶναι . . . ἀποβησόμενα. Steup's view differs from that adopted in the text only in that he makes εἶναι depend, with Haacke, upon δοκεῖν, and in answer to Pp.'s remark, that elsewhere here infs. pres. depend directly only on partic. and adjs., while everything secondary is in the aor., he cites l. 22 ἄριστοι μὴ ξυνέπεσθαι ἐθέλειν. Steup adds, that if εἶναι is to be bracketed, with most recent editors following Pp., the context would require the omission also of καὶ in l. 27. For προαισθέσθαι τε κτέ. could not be connected as an entirely independent clause with the preceding—as would be necessary if only εἶναι were omitted—since the ideas προεπαινέσαι and προαισθέσθαι are too closely connected, the former not being conceivable without the latter. But with the omission also of καὶ in l. 27, προαισθέσθαι τε πρόθυμοι κτέ.

would have the same relation to the preceding, as in l. 23 δοῦλοι ὄντες . . . εἰωθότων to ἄριστοι, which would agree very well with the context.

**39. 22.** αἷς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία ἔλθῃ κτέ. Gelzer's proposed transposition (*Inaug. Diss.* Gött. 1869), αἷς ἂν μάλιστα ἀπροσδόκητος ἔλθῃ, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν, Cl. thought inviting, but not necessary. The latter, though recognizing the difficulty in the separation of μάλιστα from ἀπροσδόκητος, thought it unadvisable to depart from the vulg., esp. as Clemens Alex. *Strom.* p. 620 c (ed. Sylb.), though often free in this respect, retains the order of the vulg., εἰώθασι δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἂν μάλιστα καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία ἔλθῃ, εἰς ὕβριν τρέπεσθαι. But there is a difficulty also, Steup thinks, in understanding the reference to a sudden change of fortune on the part of the Mytileneans (see Müller-Strübing, *Thuk. Forsch.* p. 183); for they could have been brought to the conviction that they would be victorious only slowly by the course of the war. Since then Gelzer's conjecture removes both difficulties without violence, Steup considers it probable. The difficulty in regard to δι' ἐλαχίστου is not removed by the transpositions suggested by Weil (*Rev. de Philol. N. S.* ii. p. 90), αἷς ἂν δι' ἐλαχίστου ἀπροσδόκητος εὐπραξία ἔλθῃ, μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ὕβριν τρέπειν, and Hude (p. 98), αἷς ἂν μάλιστα ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου εὐπραξία ἔλθῃ κτέ.

**39. 31.** κολασθέντων. The vulg. has κολασθήτωσαν, just as the Mss. have in c. 67. 8 ὠφελείσθωσαν, i. 34. 2 μαθέτωσαν, iv. 92. 40 κτάσθωσαν, viii. 18. 13, 15 ἔστωσαν. The substitution of the shorter for these longer forms, first proposed by v. II. (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 116) on the basis of inscriptions from the period down to 300 B.C., has been adopted by Stahl (see *Qu. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 63). But Cl. objected that in treaty-documents in Thuc. also (v. 18. 17, 31, 33, 42, 49; 47. 46, 47, 66; viii. 18. 5, 8) the shorter forms appear in the Mss. But viii. 18. 13, 15 belong also to a treaty-document, and if in these two out of the six passages a change must certainly be made, it would surely be better to change also the four others, than to assume an otherwise unsupported deviation of official language from ordinary prose.

**39. 43.** τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου, δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν, τὸ λοιπὸν στέρησεσθε. Steup emphasizes two difficulties here. 1) The undeniable pleonasm (ἔπειτα and τὸ λοιπὸν), which Cl. sought to excuse by assuming a proleptic relation of τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου to στέρησεσθε. 2) The words δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν, which, since they presuppose a previous general mention of the revenues of the Athenians, are loosely connected with τῆς ἔπειτα προσόδου. The first difficulty would be removed by Ullrich's conjecture (*Beitr.* p. 1 ff.), τῆς ἐκεῖθεν προσόδου, for which he compares c. 46. 12 πόλιν ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι; ἰσχύομεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷδε. But even with this reading, the difficulty in δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν remains, just as it does with Weil's (*Rev. de Philol. N. S.* ii. p. 90) proposed reading, τῆς ἐπετείου προσόδου. For τῆς ἐπετείου προσόδου must be merely equiv. to τῆς ἐκεῖθεν προσόδου, unless perhaps τὸ μέρος be inserted before τὸ λοιπὸν. Besides, ἐπέτειος does not occur elsewhere in Thuc., and indeed such



a notion would be idle here. Hence Steup thinks that the words δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν, τὸ λοιπόν have perhaps crept into the text from an explanation of τῆς ἔπειτα . . . στερήσεσθε, in which use had been made of c. 46. 12 ff.

40. 15. τοὺς ὁμοίως τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἥσσον πολεμίους ὑπολειπομένους. Cl.'s conjecture (*Symbol.* i. p. 20) ὁμοίως, for ὁμοίους of the Mss., which had already been suggested by Fr. Thiersch, seems necessary, since ὁμοίους without a reference to something preceding seems hardly intelligible, and to omit ὁμοίους τε καί, with Kr., is too violent a remedy. To the embitterment of Cleon, who will allow nothing good to the Mytileneans, corresponds the combination of the affirmative and negative expression for the same idea. For the correlation with τε καί, cf. ἀπροσδοκῆτον τε καὶ παρὰ λόγον, ii. 91. 15; τοιαῦτά τε καὶ παραπλήσια, vii. 78. 4.

40. 21. εἰ δὲ δὴ . . . ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι: Junghahn (*N. Jahrb.* cxi. p. 662) considers this a clear case of false substantiation by means of a γάρ clause, such as he claims to have found repeatedly in Thuc. He claims that the idea to be substantiated, viz., that the punishment of the Mytileneans is *at once useful and just*, is made void by the following assertion, that in the interest of utility the punishment must be inflicted even *contrary to justice*. But Junge (*ibid.* p. 14) rightly denies the necessity of referring εἰ γάρ κτέ. to τὰ τε δίκαια ἐς Μυτιληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἅμα ποιήσετε, and certainly the words εἰ γάρ οὗτοι ὀρθῶς ἀπέστησαν, ὑμεῖς ἂν οὐ χρεὼν ἄρχοιτε may very well be taken as the substantiation of ὑμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον δικαιώσεσθε. But Steup thinks there is an undeniable difficulty in εἰ δὲ δὴ . . . ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, in view of the context, since the thought to be supplied is not quite clear; and, further, that the second clause of the apod. (ἢ παύεσθαι . . . ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι) does not suit the prot., since if the prot. be valid, what is stated in this second apod. cannot occur. Perhaps here too (see App. on c. 32. 11) the lack of a last revision may be recognized.

44. 6. ἣν τε καὶ . . . φαίνοιτο. Cl. retains εἶεν, explaining that the apod. which would correspond to ἣν τε . . . συγγνώμης (*i.e.* οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολύσαι αὐτοὺς κελεύσω) is not expressed, but merely indicated by the concessive εἶεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει μὴ ἀγαθὸν φαίνοιτο. The ἀνταναπόδοτον here is the opp. of that in c. 3. 15. Generally it is the apod. of the first alternative that is suppressed, as in the cases cited on c. 3. 15, and esp. Ar. *Plut.* 468 ff.

κἂν μὲν ἀποφῆνω μόνην  
ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων οὔσαν αἰτίαν ἐμέ  
ὑμῖν δι' ἐμέ τε ζῶντας ὑμᾶς, — εἰ δὲ μή,  
ποιεῖτον ἥδη τοῦθ' ὃ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ.

Here, however, the consequence of the first alternative, being all-important to the speaker, could not be suppressed, while it is quite in accord with his feelings to pass over the painful consequence of the second as lightly as possible. For this purpose εἶεν is quite appropriate, not as a regular apod., but as an exclamation implying resignation. "Very well! I ask no mercy, if it be not

to the interest of the state." Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 101; *El.* 534. — The various emendations proposed, viz., *ἐάν* (Lindau and Burgess), *ἐλεεῖν* (Fittbogen), *ἀνεῖναι* (Kr.), Cl. objects to, because they all require *οὐ κελεύσω* to be supplied, which after the new alternative *ἦν τε καὶ* he thinks the const. of the context would hardly permit.

**45. 14.** *κάν τούτῳ ὅμως παραβαίνεται.* Cl. explained *παραβαίνεσθαι*, here and in l. 12, as transferred from the law transgressed to the penalty for the transgression. Accordingly he understood *τοῦτο* of the death-penalty, which 'no longer opposes any bar,' and in l. 12 supplied *τῶν ζημιῶν* with *παραβαινομένων*, so that there after the gen. abs., whose subj. was *ζημίαι* in general, the more exactly defined subj. *αἱ πολλαί* (sc. *ζημίαι*) would follow. To Cl.'s view Lupus (*N. Jahrb.* cxi. p. 166 f.) offers, Steup thinks, two well-grounded objections. The first is to the force of *παραβαίνεσθαι* assumed by Cl. *παραβαίνειν* has, it is true, the more general sense cited by Stahl, *neglegere, nihil curare*. Cf. Aeschin. iii. 204 *οὐ τοὺς νόμους μόνον παραβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναρρήσεως καὶ τὸν τόπον*, Dem. xxiv. 32 *παραβὰς τὸν χρόνον τὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων*, Din. i. 36 *παραβεβηκὼς ἀπαντας τοὺς παρεληλυθότας καιροὺς*. But none of these consts. is by any means so strange as *παραβαίνειν ζημίαν* would be; nor of *παραβαίνειν* in the more general sense has any example been found in Thuc., although he uses the verb not infrequently. The second objection of Lupus was to the reference of the neut. *τοῦτο* to *ἐς τὸν θάνατον*, which Cl. explained as induced by the modified meaning of *θάνατος* (*death-penalty*). Steup finds a still stronger objection in the *ὅμως* after *τοῦτο*, on the ground that, "in course of time most punishments have gone as far as death" cannot properly be continued with "and this punishment is *nevertheless* not regarded."

To St.'s explanation also (see note under the text) Steup objects, on the ground that it neither allows to *ὅμως*, which is not intensive, its proper force, nor relieves the difficulty in the const. *ζημίαι παραβαίνονται*, and, further, that "and even this consideration is disregarded" expresses the speaker's meaning by no means so clearly as was to be expected.

If, however, the vulg. is untenable, Kr.'s conjecture *κάν τούτῳ* is preferable to bracketing *τοῦτο*, with Lupus, since no probable explanation can be given as to how *τοῦτο* could have got into the simple sent. *καὶ ὅμως παραβαίνεται*. In i. 37. 15 also *καὶ τοῦτο* is the reading of Laur. for *κάν τούτῳ*. See also on c. 66. 14.

**45. 16 ff.** *ἡ μὲν πενία . . . κινδύνους.* In this statement, Cl. explains, of the motives which in spite of all deterrents entice men into foolhardy enterprises, the outward circumstances which give the impulse are distinguished from the passions which urge to execution. In the two first clauses definite external and internal conditions are emphasized; in the third all other possible cases are comprehended in general terms. To *πενία* is opposed *ἐξουσία*, as furnishing the means for the satisfaction of all desires (cf. i. 38. 13; 123. 6), and to the *τόλμα* occasioned by the former corresponds the *πλεονεξία* induced by the latter. The



likewise contrasted causes of the *τόλμα* and *πλεονεξία*, i.e. *ἀνάγκη* and *ὑβρεὶ καὶ φρονήματι*, are, it is true, only outwardly parallel, the former residing in outward circumstances, the latter in the perverted disposition of men. In the third comprehensive clause *αἱ ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι*, *the other relations of life*, answer to *πενία* and *ἐξουσία* of the two first, while to the definite causes there, *ἀνάγκη* and *ὑβρις*, corresponds here the indefinite *κρείσσόν τι*, which exercises decisive influence in the individual *ξυντυχίαι* (*ὥς ἐκάστη τις*, sc. *ξυντυχία*, *κατέχεται*), including, e.g. honor or revenge, or, as in the case of the Mytileneans, freedom and independence; and, finally, to the impelling states of mind there mentioned answers in this third comprehensive clause the general term *ὀργή*. In this so carefully selected and ordered series of conceptions occurs in the Mss. *τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, which, whether construed with *αἱ ξυντυχίαι* or with *ὀργή*, is equally unnecessary, and would be more naturally followed by *ἐκαστός τις* than by *ἐκάστη τις*. Hence the change to *τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, which gives to *ἐξάγουσιν* its most natural object. To Stahl's change *ὀργήν* (*libidinem*), for *ὀργή*, it is objected that the word seems not to have this meaning.

**45. 21. ἐπιβουλήν.** Cl. and Steup object to *ἐπιβολή*, on the ground that in the sense *Anschlag, Unternehmen*, it does not occur before Polybius. But it cannot be denied that, as Stahl says, though *ἐπιβουλὰς*, *plots*, suits the context at i. 93. 23, *ἐπιβολήν*, *attempt*, is more appropriate here, and the verb *ἐπιβάλλεσθαι*, *suscipere, conari*, occurs in Plato *Tim.* 48 c; *Soph.* 264 b. The Schol. renders here by *ἐγχείρησιν* and in i. 93. 23 by *ἐπιθέσεις*, and so must have found the word *ἐπιβολή* in both places. Valla may have read here *ἐπιβουλήν* (*insidiae*), but certainly read *ἐπιβουλὰς* (*incursus*) in i. 93. 23.

**46. 8. οὐκ ἄμεινον μὲν . . . παρασκευάσασθαι, πολιορκία τε παρατενεῖσθαι κτέ.** Cl. inserted *ἄν* before *ἄμεινον*, but afterwards, in his full discussion of the const. of the aor. inf. referring to the fut. after *verba dicendi* or *putandi* (see on ii.<sup>3</sup> 3. 8), expressed a doubt of the correctness of the emendation. Following this suggestion, Steup has restored the vulg., on the ground that if in such consts. there is a freq. transition from the fut. to the aor. inf., the opposite change need not excite surprise. He thinks, further, that the difference in tense in the second clause is here the less striking, because this second clause is not, as originally intended, connected by *δέ*, but by *τε*.

**50. 4. ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγω πλείους χιλίων.** Steup's argument against *χιλίων* is as follows: Müller-Strübing recognized that the number of the Mytileneans executed in Athens, as given in the vulg., was too large. His conclusion, however (*Thuk. Forsch.* p. 154 ff.), that the whole first part of c. 50 is an 'interpolation of a bloodthirsty grammarian,' must be considered unproved. But, although his discussion contains much that is distorted and useless, its essential correctness cannot be doubted, notwithstanding the arguments of Stahl (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1882, p. 99 ff.), Holzapfel (*Rh. Mus.* xxxvii. p. 448 ff.), and L. Herbst (*Philol.* xlii. p. 707 ff.).

The statement that more than 1000 Mytileneans were executed is irreconcilable with the previous narrative. This chief point has been too little emphasized by Müller-Strübing (p. 178 f. and 226). The Mytileneans sent by Paches to Athens, consisted, acc. to c. 35. § 1, partly of the *πράξαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τῶν Μυτιληναίων* (c. 28. 10), who on the entry of the Athenians had fled to the altars and then been transferred to Tenedos, where they could be more easily watched (cf. c. 2. § 3); partly of any others that seemed to Paches responsible for the revolt. It seems clear from Thuc.'s language (c. 35. 5 *καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ αἷτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως*), that this second class comprised, as compared with the first, only a small number; so that the *πράξαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τῶν Μυτιληναίων* of c. 28. 10 formed the great majority of those sent to Athens. But if the hitherto dominant oligarchical party, in order to avoid danger on the inevitable fall of the city, had with the demos made an agreement with Paches (c. 28. § 1), the great majority of this party could have had no occasion, on the entry of the Athenians, in spite of the agreement to take refuge at the altars. The *πράξαντες κτέ.*, who did this, must have been then only a small part of the oligarchs. And yet acc. to the vulg. these must have been not far from 1000! Besides, the negotiations with the Lacedaemonians *before the revolt* (cf. c. 2. § 1, 3; 5. § 4; 13. § 1) — and only to these negotiations can *οἱ πράξαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τῶν Μυτιληναίων* refer, acc. to c. 35. 5 *καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῷ αἷτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τῆς ἀποστάσεως*, and c. 50. 2 *οὗς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους ὄντας τῆς ἀποστάσεως* — must have been conducted quite secretly. That there should have been nearly 1000 participants in such negotiations is incomprehensible, and, further, the *μάλιστα πράξαντες* could have been only a small part of the *πράξαντες*, and so only a small number of men. Such a small number accords best not only with c. 28. § 1, but with all the rest of the narrative, including the speeches, up to c. 50. § 1. Holzapfel and Herbst find support for the number of the vulg. in Cleon's words, c. 39. 31 *καὶ μὴ τοῖς μὲν ὀλίγοις ἡ αἰτία προστεθῇ, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπολύσητε*, since they refer *τοῖς ὀλίγοις* only to the Mytileneans sent by Paches to Athens. But that not all the *ὀλίγοι* were brought to Athens is clear from c. 28. § 1, 2 and 35. § 1, and it is not surprising that Cleon, who wanted all the Mytileneans put to death, takes for granted that at least *all* the oligarchs, not merely those in Athens, are to be punished. Herbst cites also Diodotus's speech in support of *χιλίων*. But what is said in c. 47 concerning the demos of Mytilene has nothing to do with the number of oligarchs brought to Athens, and in c. 48. § 1, where Diodotus does mention the Mytileneans in Athens, he sets over against them, not the demos, but *τοὺς ἄλλους*.

Another point of considerable importance is made by Müller-Strübing (p. 161 ff.), that in all the literature of antiquity there is no other mention of this alleged execution of over 1000 prominent Mytileneans. Diod. xiii. 30. 4, where Gylippus says to the Syracusans, *ἐπεὶ τοί γε Ἀθηναῖοι πῶς ἐχρήσαντο Μυτιληναίους; κρατήσαντες γὰρ αὐτῶν, ἀδικῆσαι μὲν οὐδὲν βουλομένων, ἐπιθυμούντων δὲ τῆς*



ἐλευθερίας, ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατασφάζαι κτέ., proves of course, as Holzapfel and Herbst recognize, that Diodorus and his authority knew of the execution of the Mytileneans brought to Athens. But it does not follow that either Diodorus or his authority knew the number 1000. As the words τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει are intelligible only when one knows the particulars from some other source, it is clear that Diodorus was making only hasty excerpts. It may therefore be conjectured that in Diodorus's authority Gylippus had spoken of both decrees of the Athenians and had cited as a conspicuous example of Athenian cruelty, that the sentence of death first decreed against all the Mytileneans had actually been executed on those in Athens. The number of the latter need not have been emphasized as large, and the assumption that it was not is sustained by the fact, that Diodorus in his own account of the Lesbian revolt (xii. 55) makes no mention of the matter of those chiefly culpable.

For the change of χιλίων to τριάκοντα H. Schütz has declared himself (*Ztschr. f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, xxxv. p. 455 f.). Müller-Strübing thought that ὀλίγω πλείους was against this change, since in a number less than 100 Thuc. would have given the units. But against this objection, cf. iv. 25. 2 ναυσὶν ὀλίγω πλείοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα, iv. 32. 6 νεῶν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀλίγω πλείονων, iv. 44. 28 ὀλίγω ἐλάσσους πεντήκοντα.

50. 6. κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων κτέ. Steup remarks on this passage, viz.: The objections raised by Müller-Strübing (*Thuk. Forsch.* p. 218 ff.), and approved by Holzapfel (*Rh. Mus.* xxxvii. p. 462 ff. and xxxviii. p. 631 ff.), against what is here narrated, — confirmed, too, by Diod. xii. 55. 10, — are convincingly refuted by Stahl (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1882, p. 106 ff. and *Rh. Mus.* xxxviii. p. 143 ff.). But L. Herbst, in his attempt at refutation (*Philol.* xlii. p. 720 ff.), proceeds from the assumption that the area of Lesbos is only 10 German square miles (= 212 English), whereas it is 1700 square kilometers (= 656 English square miles). The comparatively small rental is very easily explained, if, as may be conjectured, the object of the Athenians was only to furnish to a considerable number of poorer citizens a definite income at the expense of the Lesbians. Besides, there is nothing in the way of assuming that the former landowners were all oligarchs, so that the demos, whom the Athenians had reason to be indulgent with, would be little, if at all, affected. Further, the fact that Antiphon speaks of the course of Athens toward Mytilene in words that remind one of c. 48. § 1 (v. 77 ἐπεὶ δ' ὑμεῖς τοὺς αἰτίους τούτων ἐκολάσατε . . ., τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Μυτιληναίοις ἄδειαν ἐδώκατε οἰκεῖν τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν) is no argument against the confiscation of the whole of the land. For acc. to the present passage the old owners remained as hereditary tenants on their former estates, and the orator would naturally use as mild an expression as possible of the course of the Athenians. Still less difficulty is occasioned by § 79 of the same oration, regarding the consequences of the revolt for the Mytileneans, ἡλλάξαντο μὲν πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας πολλὴν κακοδαιμονίαν, ἐπεῖδον

δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα ἀνάστατον γενομένην. For, as the citation from § 77 shows, ἀνάστατον must be understood, either of the collapse of the power of Mytilene, or, with Stahl, of the ravages caused by the war.

51. 4. πύργον ἐνοικοδομήσαντες. Steup objects to πύργον on the ground that, acc. to l. 12, there were two πύργοι. Cl. explained πύργον as collective (*fortifications*); but the word seems not to have this force elsewhere, and here at any rate it would be highly improbable, not only on account of δύο πύργω in l. 12, but also because these two towers seem not to have been connected by fortifications. This last consideration is also against Meineke's conjecture (*Hermes* iii. p. 364) πύργωμα. Perhaps πύργους should be restored.

51. 8. τοὺς τε Πελοποννησίους. Steup thinks that the proleptic const., as explained in the text, would have been preceded by τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φυλάσσεσθαι, not by τὴν φυλακὴν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι. For the conjecture of Hünnekes (*Quaest. Thuc.* p. 32 sqq.), he compares vii. 17. 17 πρὸς τὴν σφετέραν ἀντίταξιν τῶν τριήρων τὴν φυλακὴν ποιούμενοι. The omission of the art. need not excite surprise perhaps, since the Peloponnesians have not been, like the Megarians, mentioned before (*cf.* i. 44. 1), and indeed Thuc.'s use of the article with names of peoples seems often arbitrary (*cf.* i. 28. 12, 16). Badham conjectured ἐς τε Πελοποννησίους.

51. 11. ἐλὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρῶτον δύο πύργω προέχοντε μηχαναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης κτέ. Against the usual explanation of the words ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας, *on the side toward Nisaea* (*ab ea parte quae Nisaeam spectat*), Steup objects: 1) that it has not been proved that the words can mean this, 2) that the reference here must be to a *different* side of the island from that toward Nisaea, of which it is remarked, l. 14, ἀπετελχίζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου κτέ., 3) that it would be incomprehensible that Nicias should have first attacked the side toward the near and hostile mainland. Against the explanation of Ullrich (*Quaest. Aristoph.* p. 36 and *Beitr.* iii. p. 28), adopted in the text, no valid objection can be made. Since Thuc. could assume as known that Nisaea was in possession of the enemies of the Athenians, the expression ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας, though in itself ambiguous, might very well be connected, in the sense *away from Nisaea*, with ἐλὼν. Cl.'s objection, that ἐκ θαλάσσης would render ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας in this sense superfluous, is valid only if ἐκ θαλάσσης = *from the sea-side* (*cf.* iv. 11. 9; 31. 11), whereas there is no reason why the words may not be taken in their original sense, *from the sea*. Hence there is no need with Cl. to bracket ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας, nor with C. F. Müller to transfer it to the place of αὐτόθεν. — There is no reason to doubt, with Arn. and others, that both towers were in Minoa; for the expedition was ἐπὶ Μινώαν, and if any point on the mainland had been occupied by Nicias this should have been clearly stated. — In l. 13 Cl. proposed κλειθρώσας for ἐλευθερώσας. But if ἐς τὸ μετὰ τῆς νήσου be explained as in the text (not as heretofore by supplying καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου), there is no difficulty in the clause, and the fact that ἐλευθεροῦν, in this sense, seems not to occur elsewhere in Attic is not of itself sufficient ground for objection.



51. 17. ὕστερον δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ. Meineke's objection to καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν (*Hermes* iii. p. 364) seems well founded. τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν is a strange way to express the construction of further fortifications, as opp. to the walling off of the bridge. Meineke was inclined to consider τεῖχος a gloss to τοῦτο and to bracket both this and the second καί, as indeed Stahl, Cl., and v. H. have done. But Steup thinks that thus the first καί would be rendered unintelligible. Further, he finds strange the omission of any mention of the leaving of a guard of ships (*cf.* ii. 94. 23), and infers from l. 14 ἡ . . . ἐπιβοήθεια ἣν τῇ νήσῳ, coupled with the lack of any express statement of the capture of the whole island, that at first a part of the island still remained in the hands of the Peloponnesians. Concluding that the passage has suffered from omissions rather than additions, he suggests the following, as possibly the original form of the text: ὕστερον δὴ (καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μινώαν ἐλὼν) καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος (ἐγκατοικοδομήσας ναῦς) ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ.

52. 6. εἰρημένον γὰρ ἦν κτέ. That the Schol. did not read ἦν is, as Pr. observes, clear from the remark, ἀντίπτωσις, ἥτοι αἰτιατικὴ ἀντὶ γενικῆς· ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου γὰρ αὐτῷ εἶπεν. Hence Cobet (*ad Hyper.* p. 68) would omit γὰρ ἦν. But the value to be given to the authority of the Schol. may be judged from the fact that he not only let γὰρ stand, but failed to recognize the const. of the acc. abs. Though the acc. abs. here might be allowed, if the Mss. so read, it must be remembered, that in the passage compared by Cobet, vii. 18. 14, as well as in i. 140. 14 and Ar. *Lysist.* 13, the abs. εἰρημένον precedes, with the antithesis to the condition therein expressed following. Such is not the case here. Besides, the distinct parenthesis makes clearer the antithesis of the two clauses βία μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἐλεῖν and προσπέμπει δὲ αὐτοῖς κήρυκα, and the periphrastic εἰρημένον ἦν, for εἶρητο, is sufficiently well established (*Xen. Cyrop.* iv. 5. 13, *cf.* *Xen. Hell.* vii. 1. 28). Hence the reading of all the Mss. is to be retained against the Schol.

54. 13. καὶ γὰρ ἡπειρώται τε κτέ. Stahl renders καὶ γὰρ, etenim, but that the words have this force in Thuc. lacks proof. E. Kalinka, *Diss. Philol. Vindob.* ii. p. 168, explains that καὶ emphasizes the concessive force of ὄντες (*cf.* vi. 16. 34), but the position of the words is decidedly against this view (which would require, perhaps, ἐναυμαχῆσαμέν τε γὰρ καὶ ἡπειρώται ὄντες). Cl. correlated καὶ in l. 13 with τε in εἴτε τι ἄλλο in l. 15, explaining that for the second καί, which was to be expected, the weaker τε was substituted after the vivid statement of the first member. He proposed also ἡπειρώται γε, on the ground that thus the difficulty of the first καί would be lessened and the emphatically placed ἡπειρώται be made more effective.

58. 10. ὥστε καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες ὅσα ἂν δικάζοιτε καὶ προνοοῦντες ὅτι κτέ. Steup considers the text unsound here. To Stahl's explanation, that the first καί = etiam, he objects that τῶν σωμάτων ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες is simply the antithesis to τὰ σώματα διαφθεῖραι in l. 7, — for if the *Lacedaemonians*

did not kill the Plataeans their lives were secure, since they had surrendered to the Lacedaemonians (c. 52. § 2 f.) — and hence *καί* = *etiam* is impossible. The co-ordination of the two partic. clauses (*καί τῶν σωμάτων . . . ποιοῦντες* and *καί προνοοῦντες ὅτι κτέ.*), both dependent on *ὥστε ὅσια ἂν δικάζοιτε*, as usually explained, he finds also unsatisfactory; for, taking *προνοοῦντες*, *sc. ἡμῶν* = *caring for us*, he thinks that the parenthetical clause, *ὁ δὲ νόμος . . . τούτους* shows this to mean about the same as *τῶν σωμάτων ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες*. The consideration that *ὅτι ἐκόντας τε κτέ.* refers to points not before mentioned leads him to conjecture that the original text may have read *ὥστε καί τῶν <δε ἔνεκα τῶν> σωμάτων ἄδειαν ποιοῦντες*. Thus would be secured an opposition of different motives and the correlation would be similar to that in c. 38. 27; 46. 1; ii. 39. 24. In Thuc. *ὅδε* often refers to something mentioned before, as *e.g.* c. 59. 2. *Cf.* also c. 66. 20 *πάντων αὐτῶν ἔνεκα κολασθήσεσθε*.

**58. 28. *ιερά τε θεῶν . . . ἀφαιρήσεσθε*.** Stahl objected (*N. Jahrb.* xcvi. p. 119 f.) to Cl.'s explanation of this passage, and substituted *ἐρημοῦντες* for *ἐρημοῦτε*, rendering, *desolating the sanctuaries of the gods, to whom they prayed when they conquered the Medes, you will take away also the hereditary sacrifices instituted by those who founded and built them* (*sc. τὰ ιερά*). The *ιερά* *esp.* had in view Stahl thought to be the temple of Zeus Eleutherios and the *θυσίαι*, those common sacrifices which the Hellenes instituted after the battle of Plataea at this sanctuary, which had been founded by them (*Plut. Arist.* 20). Cl. was not convinced by Stahl's arguments, and Steup is even less so. The latter considers the *θεοί* to be only the ancient gods of the land, as shown by ii. 74. § 3, and, accordingly, that the *ιερά* cannot refer to a sanctuary that was not established till after the battle. For the const. which supplies *αὐτάς* (*sc. θυσίας*) with *ἐσσαμένων καί κτισάντων*, as Cl. explained, Steup cites *Pind. Ol.* vi. 69 *ἐορτὰν κτίζειν*, *Ol.* xi. 24 *ἀγῶνα κτίξασθαι*, *Eratosth. (apud Athen.* vii. p. 276 a) *τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κτίζοντος ἐορτὴν* (*Kaibel ἐορτῶν*) *καί θυσιῶν παντοδαπῶν γέννη*, though he doubts whether a parallel can be found for *ἐσσαμένων θυσίας*. [Not very different is *Eur. I. T.* 945

ἔστιν γὰρ ὅσια ψῆφος, ἣν Ἄρει ποτὲ  
Ζεὺς εἷσατ' ἔκ τοῦ δὴ χερῶν μιάσματος.]

But he considers the best remedy for all difficulties would be to bracket *ἐρημοῦτε*, as a marginal explanation which crept into the text, and construe both *ιερά* and *θυσίας* as objects of *ἀφαιρήσεσθε*, supplying *ιερά* with *ἐσσαμένων*, *θυσίας* with *κτισάντων*. In *τὰς πατρίους* an antithesis may be assumed to those sacrifices established in consequence of the battle. *Cf.* iv. 98. § 2 f., which possibly supports the omission of *ἐρημοῦτε*.

**58. 29. *ἐρημοῦτε*.** Cl. held that *ἐρημοῦτε* is to be considered, with *Buttmann Gr.* 95, x. 16, not a pres., but a cont. fut. form, as in verbs with a long vowel before -*σω*, as cited by *Buttmann, l.c.*, and also in *Soph. El.* 1365 *κυκλοῦνται*, *O. C.* 618 *τεκνοῦται*, *Eur. Phoen.* 888 *δαιμονῶντας*, *Ar. Ran.* 472 *φρουροῦσι*, *Plato Phaedo* 100 b *ἐπιχειρῶν*, *Xen. Hell.* i. 6. 32 *οἰκεῖται*, prob. also *Thuc.* vii. 56. 11 *ἐλευθεροῦσθαι*, 12 *ἀπολύεσθαι*.



**67. 19. παρενόμησαν.** So Stahl and v. H. following Laur. Cl. and Steup retain, with the rest of the Mss., *παρηνόμησαν*. The temporal augment is due to false derivation. Stahl says, 'Quam mature verbi originem ignorare coeperint, ostendit *παρηνομημένου* in C. I. G. 2691e (titulus in Caria factus est a. 355 ante Chr.), nisi lapicidae errorem statuere mavis. . . . Scriptoribus certe hanc qualiscumque est ignorantiam vix recte imputaveris.'

**67. 21. καὶ † οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες κτέ.** Usually a comma at most is placed before these words, and most recent edit., taking *καὶ . . . τιμωρίαν* as part of the period beginning with *παρενόμησάν τε*, pronounce corrupt the aor. partic. *ἀνταποδόντες*, which is in the way of such connexion. Pp. would prefer *ἀνταποδιδόντες* or *ἀνταποδώσοντες*, Bk. *ἀνταποδιδόντες* or *ἀν ἀποδόντες*, while Cl. and v. H. write, after Dobree, *ἀν ἀνταποδόντες*, Stahl *ἀνταποδώσοντες*. But Steup argues that, even if the partic. be so emended as to express more or less clearly that the punishment must first be suffered, *καὶ . . . τιμωρίαν* cannot be joined to the preceding. In *παρενόμησάν τε . . . κρίναντες* the speakers refer, after the preceding rather negative statements, to the fact that the Plataeans had acted contrary to law and right without having first been treated thus, as something which must lead to severe punishment. Accordingly, the thought that the death-penalty demanded by the Thebans will not be likewise illegal, as *καὶ . . . τιμωρίαν* is usually explained (*τὴν ἴσην τιμωρίαν*, the equivalent punishment, i.e. likewise contrary to law and right), cannot form a part of the same sent. with the preceding, in the manner assumed by most editors. It must have been expressed independently. This Goell. and Hofman recognized, and proposed *καὶ οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες τὴν νῦν ἴσην τιμωρίαν (ἔννομα γάρ) πέλονται κτέ.* But the parenthesis *ἔννομα γάρ* would be too harsh, whether *πέλονται* or *ἀνταποδόντες* be supplied with it. If now the words *καὶ . . . τιμωρίαν* be joined neither with the preceding nor with the following, *ἀνταποδόντες* must either be changed to a finite verb with fut. or pres. meaning, or, as seems more natural, the loss of such a verb assumed, e.g. *δόξουσιν* before *οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες*. Thus, before directing a last appeal to the Spartans (*ἀμύνετε οὖν κτέ.*), the speakers would assert, still in reply to the statements of c. 57. § 1 f., 58. § 1 ff., that the death-penalty would be just. Cf. l. 26 *ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δίκαιαν* and c. 53. 5 *ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἴσον μάλιστ' ἀν φέρεσθαι*.

**68. 16. [Θηβαῖοι].** Cl.'s reasons for bracketing *Θηβαῖοι* are as follows. In l. 1 *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δικασταί* are represented as the actors; but since these in the explanation of the grounds of their decision (*νομίζοντες . . . πεπονθέναι*) appear as the representatives of the Lacedaemonian state, from l. 9 on the subject implied is the Peloponnesians in general without special distinction (cf. c. 52. 3, 16), the leaders of course being meant. This being the case, it is strange to find in l. 16 the Thebans mentioned as the authors of the further measures. Had they a closer relation to Megara, or any more reason to propitiate the Plataean Hera than the rest of the allies? Above all, how is it that the Thebans *τὴν γῆν*

δημοσιώσαντες ἀπεμίσθωσαν (for if they are the subj. of ἔδοσαν in l. 18, then necessarily also of ἀπεμίσθωσαν in l. 26)? Why should they alone reap the fruits of the common victory? Besides, do not the words καὶ ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι (26) presuppose a different subj. for ἀπεμίσθωσαν? Down to ἀπεμίσθωσαν, then, the subj. is the enemies in general of the Plataeans, οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, but after the mention of the advantage accruing to the Thebans from their proximity, καὶ ἐνέμοντο Θηβαῖοι, the remark follows naturally, that in general the Lacedaemonians for the sake of the Thebans had turned against the Plataeans.

**70. 3. ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἀφεθέντες.** In determining the date of the liberation of the 250 Corcyraeans, the following considerations, Steup thinks, are esp. to be noted. When the Lacedaemonians, after the failure of their expedition to Lesbos, conceived the plan of an expedition against Corcyra (c. 69. § 2), Nicostratus (c. 75) was not yet at Corcyra. For one thing that influenced the Lacedaemonians was that the Athenians were περὶ Ναύπακτον with only twelve ships (c. 69. 10). But Nicostratus arrived three days after the victory of the oligarchs over the demos of Corcyra (c. 72. § 2). And this victory, even if ἐν τούτῳ in c. 72. 3 refer only to the measures of the Athenians mentioned in c. 72. § 1, and not also to the voyage of the Corcyraean embassy (c. 71. 6; 72. 1), must have occurred only a few weeks after the murder of Pithias (c. 70. 26). For one can certainly assume as intervening only the voyage of the ambassadors to Athens and a few days before and after. Further, the resolution of the Corcyraeans (c. 70. 9) can hardly have preceded the murder of Pithias by more than two months. For the Attic trireme which brought to Corcyra the ambassadors mentioned c. 70. 8 was, acc. to c. 70. 28, still there at the time of the murder. That resolution therefore was adopted prob. not earlier than the first half of the winter of 428–27. Since, finally, Thuc. makes the στασιάζειν of the Corcyraeans begin with the return of the 250, but the στάσις did not come to light before the negotiations with the Athenian and Corinthian ambassadors (c. 70. § 2), and in c. 80. 8 it is stated, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πυνθανόμενοι τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὰς μετ' Ἀλκίδου ναῦς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν μελλούσας πλεῖν, the efforts of the 250 up to the time of their first success cannot have lasted very long. Accordingly, the 250 returned at earliest in the beginning of the winter of 428–27. That four or five years should have elapsed before the 250 were persuaded to win back Corcyra for the Corinthians and the sham transaction as to their ransom was accomplished, does not seem incomprehensible when one considers the bitterness with which the war was waged between Corinth and Corcyra and their previous relations (cf. i. 25. § 3, 4; 34. § 1; 38. § 1). The fact that the Corcyraeans, after the beginning of the war, had assisted the Athenians, so far as we know, only in the summer of 431, B. Schmidt (*Kork. Stud.* p. 69) thinks due to the activity of the 250 after their return; but there is possibly another explanation. Acc. to the treaty with Athens, the Corcyraeans were bound only to come to the *defense* of Athens or her ξύμμαχοι when summoned. Their participation in the Athenian *attack* upon Peloponnesus in 431 (ii. 25. § 1) was perhaps a free service in recognition



of the assistance received in 433 or 432. That they did not further take part unnecessarily in the war was quite in accord with their previous policy (*cf.* i. 32. § 4), though they may have been influenced also by anxiety for the 250 citizens in the hands of the Corinthians (see text-note on *ὀκτάκοσίων ταλάντων*). The obligation to lend aid on demand hardly applied, however, to the conflicts of the Acarnanians and Phormio with the Peloponnesians in the summer of 429 B.C. For the Acarnanians were not *ξύμμαχοι* of the Athenians in the narrower sense prob. alone contemplated in i. 44. 10, and Naupactus was not directly attacked.

77. 12. ὧν ἦσαν . . . Πάραλος. Müller-Strübing (*Polem. Beitr. etc.* p. 35 ff.) attacked the genuineness of these words, but Steup contends that they are open to no well founded objections, chronologically or otherwise. The two state-ships may very well, after fulfilling their missions to Paches (c. 33. § 1, 2), have returned directly to Athens and then sailed straightway to Naupactus. It is therefore not at all impossible that at the time when the Peloponnesians conceived their plan as to Corcyra (c. 69. § 2) these ships were already near Naupactus. Nor need the fact that twelve ships with Asopius are mentioned already at c. 7. 9 be in the way of the assumption that the Salaminia and the Paralos are included in δώδεκα ναυσὶ μόναῖς παρόντων Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ναύπακτον, c. 69. 10. For of the twelve, two might have returned to Athens or been lost in some way. Besides, since it is said of Nicostratus in c. 75. 2 παραγίγνεται βοηθῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δώδεκα ναυσὶ κτέ., but not ταῖς ἐκ κτέ., it is also conceivable that he had left behind two ships at Naupactus — perhaps with a view to getting speedy information of suspicious movements of the Peloponnesians in the Corinthian Gulf. In that case it must be assumed that at the time to which c. 69. 10 refers the two state-ships had not yet reached the neighbourhood of Naupactus, which in itself is not less possible than the contrary.

80. 8. προσπλέουσai ἀπὸ Λευκάδος. Steup considers these words irreconcilable with the statement in c. 81. 3, that the Peloponnesians after having sailed along the coast from Sybota to Leucas had transported their ships across the isthmus of the Leucadians, ὅπως μὴ περιπλέοντες ὀφθῶσιν, *sc.* ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξήκοντα νεῶν Ἀθηναίων. Had the fear indicated by ὅπως κτέ. been, as Schmidt assumes, idle and due merely to the anxiety and cowardice of Alcidas, Thuc. would surely have intimated this. The apprehension then, if the text be sound, must have been not superfluous, *i.e.* the Athenian fleet was, when Alcidas neared the city of Leucas, acc. to c. 81. § 1, not yet past the peninsula. On the other hand, the information received by Alcidas on the evening of the day after the sea-fight was that Eurymedon's fleet *was sailing up from Leucas*. For, acc. to the order of words, Thuc. must have meant to connect ἀπὸ Λευκάδος with προσπλέουσai. Considering now that, acc. to Hyginus (*apud Charis.* i. p. 134 K), those coming from the north were wont to shorten the voyage by crossing the isthmus of the Leucadians (*ibi solent iteris minuendi causa remulco, quem Graeci πάκτωνα dicunt, navem traducere*), and that, acc. to iv. 8. 8, a Peloponnesian fleet hastening southwards is transported across this

isthmus, the conjecture seems warranted that the words ὅπως . . . ὁφθῶσιν in c. 81. 3 are an interpolation. To bracket ἀπὸ Λευκάδος in the present passage would, on the contrary, be inadvisable, since προσπλεῖν could hardly be used of a fleet still at a considerable distance from Leucas, as must be assumed acc. to c. 81. § 1. Alcidas had presumably, in view of the probable appearance of another Athenian fleet (*cf.* c. 69. 12), erected on Leucas and on the coast of Epirus a series of signal-stations. To signal direct from Leucas to Sybota was hardly possible in the fifth century B.C. See B. Schmidt, p. 76 f.

82. 5. καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ . . . αὐτούς. Cl. conjectured for ἐτοίμων (*sc.* ὄντων) ἐτόλμων, or ἐν ἐτοίμῳ ἦν, or ἐτοῖμ' ἦν. Steup considers the anacoluthon of the vulg. unendurable, and would prefer ἐτόλμων, the subj. being the parties, while the Athenians and Lacedaemonians are the subj. of ἐχόντων.

82. 20. πύσται τῶν προγεγενημένων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας. Steup's critical note is as follows. In Kr.'s text of Dion. II. *de Thuc. Jud.* p. 886, this passage is given just as in the Mss. of Thuc.; but in the following discussion by Dion. H. it reads, ἐπιπύσται τῶν προγεγενημένων πολλὴν ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐς τὸ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας. Stahl adopts this latter form of the text, Widmann ἐπιπύσται and ἐς τὸ καινοῦσθαι, v. H. only ἐπιπύσται. Cl., though considering προγεγενημένων and πολλήν acceptable, hesitated to adopt them, on the ground that the relation of Dion. H.'s text of Thuc. to the vulg. is too uncertain. Acc. to the explanatory passage which follows in Dion. II., οἱ δὲ ὑστερίζοντες ἐπιπυνθανόμενοι τὰ γεγενημένα παρ' ἐτέρων ἐλάμβανον ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ τὸ διανοεῖσθαι τι καινότερον, it can hardly be doubted that he read ἐπιπύσται. But since the word is not found elsewhere, "report" was to be expected, and ἐφυστερίζοντα and ἐπέφερε are close by, it is not prob. that Thuc. wrote ἐπιπύσται. Dion. H. seems to have read also ἐς τὸ καινοῦσθαι, but this has no advantage over the vulg., since the const. of τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας with τὴν ὑπερβολὴν offers no difficulty. Even if Dion. II. read προγεγενημένων, and the pf. be the more usual form, the aor. is certainly not at variance with Thuc.'s usage. As to πολλὴν ἐπέφερε, it is hardly to be doubted that Dion. H. did not so read, since acc. to L. Sadée, *de Dion. H. Scriptis Rhet.* p. 164, the Cod. Ambros. has in the second citation, as well as the first, πολὺ ἐπέφερε, and the explanations, ἐλάμβανον ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ τὸ διανοεῖσθαι τι καινότερον and πολλήν τὴν ἐπίδοσιν ἐλάμβανον εἰς τὸ διανοεῖσθαι τι καινότερον are not incompatible with the reading πολὺ ἐπέφερε. Still the adv. use of πολὺ is undeniably harsh, and if one considers that even without πολὺ a good sense is obtained ("pushed to the extreme their revolutionary spirit"), that Dion. II. found before πύσται a superfluous ἐπι-, and that before καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που some idea like ἐπὶ πολὺ seems lacking, the conjecture is natural, that originally after τὰ τῶν πόλεων the words ἐπὶ πολὺ were first omitted, then written on the margin, and finally restored to the text in distorted fashion, as in Dion. H.'s text. The reading of Cod. M is ἀποπύσται, in which Stahl finds a trace of ἐπιπύσται. But that may be due to διττογραφία after ἐφυστερίζοντά που, as Hude suggests (*Comm. Crit.* p. 112).



82. 28. ἀσφαλεία δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι . . . εὐλογος. All the better Mss. read ἀσφάλεια, which Goell. and Bk. retain, putting a comma after ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι. Pp., Kr., and Bm. read as in the text, and render, *to deliberate with caution was regarded as a specious pretext for declining*. But to this Cl. makes three objections: 1) that ἀσφαλεία, adv., *with caution*, is strange, not only in position, but also in meaning, since it rather signifies (objective) *security* than (subjective) *caution*; 2) that ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, *deliberate, reflect*, is without parallel; 3) that ἀποτροπή = *warding off, defense*, often occurs in Attic (Aesch. Pers. 217; Plato Prot. 354 b; Rep. 382 c), but hardly = *declining* (a contest). As opp. to τὸ ἐμπλήκτως ὀξύ, *inconsiderate rashness*, Cl. would render τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, “to plot secretly against an enemy,” though the use of the mid. seems strange. With this meaning, it would be better to read ἀσφάλεια δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὐλογος, “to plot secretly against an enemy passed for (ἐνομισθῇ) self-preservation, a specious pretense of warding off.” The reading of the text Cl. would render, “to plot secretly was reckoned the part of self-preservation, a specious pretense of warding off,” — construing ἀσφαλεία with προσετέθη. — Steup thinks that after τὸ δ’ ἐμπλήκτως ὀξύ . . . προσετέθη one must regard ἀσφάλεια as the aim of the opposite demeanour, and prefers therefore ἀσφαλεία, rendering, with Lupus (*N. Jahrbh.* cxi. p. 169 f.), “with a view to security.” Cf. l. 8 and 38. The order ἀσφαλεία τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, however, he finds the more strange since the art. is unnecessary (cf. c. 38. 5; 46. 10), and conjectures that Thuc. wrote ἀσφαλεία του ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, “to deliberate with a view to the security of an enterprise.” For ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι = βουλεύσασθαι he compares ἐπιβουλεύειν, as equiv. to βουλεύειν, c. 20. 5. Lupus prefers, with Lindau, ἔτι βουλεύσασθαι, but Steup objects that one would expect rather “before” than “still.” — In support of the view adopted in the text, cf. Schol. τὸ ἐπιπολὺν βουλεύσασθαι δι’ ἀσφάλειαν πρόφασις ἀποτροπῆς ἐνομιζέτο. See Stahl, *N. Jahrbh.* xcvi. p. 122.

84. Cl.’s critical note is as follows. Among internal proofs of the spuriousness of this chapter the following deserve consideration: 1) The Schol. remarks, τὰ ὠβελισμένα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἔδοξε Θουκυδίδου εἶναι· ἀσαφὴ γὰρ καὶ τῷ τύπῳ τῆς ἐρμηνείας καὶ τοῖς διανοήμασι πολὺν ἐμφαίνοντα τὸν νεωτερισμόν. 2) Dion. H., who discusses at length (*de Thuc. Jud.* c. 28–33, p. 885–896) both the matter and form of cc. 81, 82, does not touch c. 84, though it required notice even more than those; hence it may be inferred that it was not in his text.<sup>1</sup> 3) Cod. F obelizes every line of the chapter.

<sup>1</sup> It seems worthy of remark that Dion. H., c. 28 and 29, in his discussion of c. 82, passes from l. 5 καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους directly to l. 19 ἐστασίαζέ τε οὖν, although he makes the transition in these words ἃ δὲ τούτοις ἐπιφέρει . . . ἃ μέλλω νυνὶ λέγειν. It may be conjectured that his text did not contain the intervening passage. On the other hand, as Steup adds, the omission of any consideration of l. 28 τὸ δ’ ἐμπλήκτως ὀξύ ἀνδρὸς μοῖρα προσετέθη, and of l. 39–44 καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστει . . . προπαθεῖν is prob. to be ascribed to the haste of Dion. H., or to the carelessness of copyists.

For added proof furnished by the thought and form of expression, see notes under the text. So far as Thuc.'s usage is followed, this is to be ascribed to intentional imitation on the part of the unknown author.

Since Bk. the great majority of editors have condemned the chapter, but Kämpf (*Quaest. Thuc.* 2) and Jowett defend it. Cobet's conjecture (*Mnem. N. S.* viii. p. 143) that the chapter is from Philistus, has been, as Steup thinks, rightly rejected by Naber (*ibid.* xiv. p. 139). The imitation, cited by Pp., from Dio C. lii. 34. 6, 7 would indicate that Dio C. knew the chapter.

**85. 14. ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ἰστώνην.** The location of this mountain near the city, which many have deemed necessary on account of l. 15 ἐφθειρον τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, has been rightly opposed, Steup thinks, by B. Schmidt, *Kork. Stud.* p. 61. In l. 7, where Thuc. speaks of the forays made by the oligarchs from the Corcyraean Peraea, their enemies are designated as τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, for which expression, after the transfer of the basis of the oligarchs to the island, a designation of their enemies as τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει is quite in order, no matter how far the τεῖχος of the oligarchs was from the city. To a misapprehension is due, acc. to Schmidt p. 97, also the remark of Steph. Byz. Ἰστώνη, ὄρος προσεχὲς τῇ Κερκύρᾳ. Θουκυδίδης τρίτῃ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἰστωναῖος ὡς Τορωναῖος. Schmidt locates the τεῖχος of the oligarchs, with Vischer, *Erinnerungen aus Gr.* p. 19, on Pantokrator—in the northeastern part of the island, and the highest mountain of Corfu—induced esp. by the consideration that the 600 prob. landed in the northeast, where the channel is narrowest and their crossing could not be so easily observed from the city (p. 59). But the forays from the mainland had certainly been directed against various parts of the island; so that the oligarchs seem not to have been in very great fear of their opponents, esp. as these seem to have been from time to time occupied elsewhere (*cf.* c. 94. 8; 95. 15). Hence it is uncertain whether the oligarchs chose the narrowest crossing, or placed their τεῖχος on the mountain nearest to their landing-place. Nor does the fact that a modern village in the northeast of the island is called Vistonas (Βιστωνας) give a sure basis for determining the locality of the τεῖχος and of Mt. Istone. That there is no linguistic objection to the connexion of Ἰστώνη and Βιστωνας Schmidt shows (p. 62), but remarks (p. 64) that no locality of modern Greece seems to have taken its name from an ancient mountain, though the names of ancient districts or islands are sometimes transferred to modern cities or villages. See also *N. Jahrb.* 1892, p. 317 f., where Schmidt calls attention to a mediaeval document, acc. to which one of the dekarchies into which the island of Corfu (except the capital) was subdivided in the middle ages was called Bistone. For the reason just given, then, together with its probable location in the northeastern part of the island, and the fact that in iv. 46. 4 the text reads ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ἰστώνης Κερκυραίων καθιδρυμένους, not, as would correspond to this passage, τῇ Ἰστώνῃ, Schmidt conjectures (p. 64 ff.) that the whole of the mountainous district in the north of the island was called Istone. In the conviction, further, that, even though a single mountain might



have borne the name Istone, Thuc. would not under identical conditions have mentioned at one time the mountain, at another the range, Schmidt proposes to write here ἐς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Ἰστώνης, holding responsible for the error some grammarian, who, supposing that the mountain Istone was meant, wrote the accus., in order to restore the correct const. In iv. 46. 4, τῆς Ἰστώνης has usually been explained as a rare use of the gen. for the dat. in appos. (see Kr. *Spr.* 50, 7, 7), but the view that it is the name of a district, which also Kallenberg (*Stud. iib. d. gr. Artikel* 2, p. 21) seems to prefer, is perhaps more correct. It is a different question, however, whether Istone is in *both* places the name of a district. Cf. i. 105. 13 τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανείας κατέλαβον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα κατέβησαν, and, on the contrary, iv. 70. 7 ἔστι δὲ κώμη τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔχουσα ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Γερανείᾳ. At any rate, the location and extent of the district seems uncertain, since the modern Vistonas is not necessarily within the bounds of the ancient district (see Schmidt's observation concerning the modern city Arkadia, p. 64).

89. 20. ἀποστέλλειν τε . . . καὶ . . . τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν. Cl. understood τὸν σεισμόν to be the subj. of both inf., and so followed Stahl in adopting the conjecture of Meineke (*Hermes* iii. p. 354) and v. H. (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 146), ἐπισπώμενης. 'The earthquake,' he explained, 'forced the sea back (ἀποστέλλειν, or perhaps ἀναστέλλειν, answering to ἐπανελθεῖν in l. 7 and ἐπαναχώρησις κύματος in l. 16) and, as this suddenly returned, made the inundation more violent.' Madvig, *Adv. Crit.* i. p. 317, preferred, with a Schol., ἐπισπώμενον (*bringing on*), which would be a better antithesis to ἀποστέλλειν. But Steup, finding the chief difficulty of the passage in the fact that here, not simply inundations (cf. l. 13 ἐπίκλυσις, l. 16 ἐπέκλυσε), but *more violent* inundations, are mentioned, suggests to bracket τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν as a marginal explanation of this clause, or of τὸ τοιοῦτο in l. 22, and to read ἐπισπώμενον βιαίτερον [τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν] ποιεῖν (sc. αὐτήν, τὴν θάλασσαν).

92. 27. καὶ εἶρξάν τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας. The reading of Pal. εἶρξαν τό, for ἦρξαντο of the rest of the Mss., has been generally adopted. Cl. argues that the vulg. is untenable on several grounds. Is it conceivable that the war-harbour with its νεώρια was located elsewhere than at the nearest point of the sea, twenty stades distant (l. 26)? What protection would harbour and arsenal at the pass have had, unless the latter was fortified? And how can one conceive of the *beginning* of the works at the distance of forty stades? Was the idea to build gradually southwards? What is to be considered, then, the extent of the whole works, understanding the expression *locally*, as seems necessary? Or does the *beginning* have reference to *time*? Why, then, is nothing said of continuation or interruption? While with simply νεώρια παρεσκευάζοντο all these objections would be removed, by the reading adopted is added a circumstance well supported by the context. It was exactly the Thessalians, who regarded the settlement with hostile eyes, that had to be guarded against, and that too by the very means adopted of old by the Phocians when they were still in posses-

sion of the district. Cf. Hdt. vii. 176. 19 ἔδειμαν τὸ τεῖχος δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκῆσונτες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν περ νῦν ἐκτέαται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεισθαί σφεας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες. Considering the varied use and const. of εἶργειν (cf. *Thom. Mag.* p. 141, 8 R.), the concise expression εἶρξαν τὸ κατὰ Θερμοπύλας seems unobjectionable, since Thuc. does not enter into the details of the fortification.

101. 6. καὶ αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι δόντες ὁμήρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπεισαν κτέ. The Mss. read πρῶτον. But, as Steup says, since the antithesis clearly consists, not in actions, but in persons, the adv. is impossible, unless it be assumed, with Kalinka (*Ztschr. f. d. oest. Gymn.* xlii. p. 599 f.), that Thuc. sometimes uses πρῶτον where πρῶτος is demanded. But the examples of the normal const., as against the vulg. here and in ii. 34. 3; vi. 3. 1, are too numerous for Kalinka's assumption. The slight change of πρῶτον to πρῶτοι, first suggested by Kr. and adopted by Stahl and v. H., is decidedly preferable to bracketing it, with Cl., as διττογραφία from l. 8. Cl.'s objection, that πρῶτοι would make the passage unnecessarily diffuse, seems hardly valid. Cf. αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι, c. 15. 6.

102. 19. ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρῶνα καὶ ἐς τὰ ταύτη χωρία. The usual rendering is, "to Aeolis, which is now called Calydon and Pleuron, and to the regions in that quarter." But Steup finds strange the absence of any immediate characterization of Αἰολίς as a term anciently used, referring for Thuc.'s usage, in comparing archaic and current names, to i. 12. 7; 100. 12; ii. 15. 27; iv. 76. 11; further, that over against the *one* ancient name Αἰολίς are set *two* current designations. Since now the names Calydon and Pleuron occur repeatedly even in the *Iliad*, Steup thinks that it was prob. not Thuc.'s intention to designate the district at once with an archaic and a current name, and proposes to write ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα [τὴν] νῦν καλουμένην, Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρῶνα καὶ [ἐς] τὰ ταύτη χωρία, καὶ ἐς Πρόσχιον τῆς Αἰτωλίας. Thuc. freq. thus uses the phrase νῦν καλούμενος, even when a second name is not added, e.g. i. 2. 1; ii. 29. 12; 99. 19. In the text thus emended the words Καλυδῶνα . . . χωρία would be in epexegetical appos., Καλυδῶνα and Πλευρῶνα designating the districts belonging to the like-named cities, and τὰ ταύτη χωρία referring to the neighbouring regions. Cf. c. 98. 26 περὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα, i. 5. 17 περὶ Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας . . . καὶ τὴν ταύτη ἡπειρον. For χωρία = *regions*, cf. ii. 7. 16. ἐς is bracketed, with v. II., since τὰ ταύτη χωρία is closely connected with what goes before.

105. 5. ὃ ποτε Ἀκαρνᾶνες τειχισάμενοι κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρῶντο. The view of Kruse (*Hellas* ii. p. 333), that Thuc. refers to a court of justice common to the Acarnanians and the Amphilochians, is supported by Steph. Byz. Ὀλπαι φρούριον, κοινὸν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων δικαστήριον, Θουκυδίδης τρίτη, and has been adopted by Cl. and others. But to this view is opposed, Steup thinks, not only the fact that the Amphilochians, who are not mentioned, cannot be thus supplied in mind, but also that Thuc. modifies κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρῶντο by ποτε and τειχισάμενοι. If construed only with τειχισάμενοι, as Kr. suggests, ποτε



is useless, and a reference by it to a later disuse of Olpae as κοινὸν δικαστήριον is intelligible only if the place had been simply a federal court of the Acarnanians. So the mention of the fortification of Olpae, esp. after τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφον ἰσχυρόν, is appropriate only if Thuc. refers to a time when no agreement existed between the Acarnanians and the Amphilochians. Under these circumstances, no weight is to be attached to the fact that a federal court of the Acarnanians was hardly to be expected in Amphilochian territory, and the remark of Steph. Byz., from which Niese (*Hermes* xiv. p. 428) infers a lacuna in the text here, doubtless proves only that the misconception of the passage is very old.

**106. 11. Ἀγραϊκόν.** Müller's conjecture, which is justified geographically, is the more to be approved, since ἀγροῖκος, which is freq. applied in the sense of rusticus and agrestis to persons and manners, seems not to be used as horridus, incultus of a landscape. See Steph. *Thes.* s.v.

**108. 9. οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται . . . τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.** Steup thinks the text corrupt, on the following grounds. Since not only τὸ κατ' Εὐρύλοχον, but τὸ πλεόν τοῦ στρατεύματος had turned to flight (cf. l. 13 ὡς ἐώρων τὸ πλεόν νενικημένον), the words οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας seem to mean, "the Ambraciots and the rest of those on the right wing" — which would imply that *all* the Ambraciots were on the right wing. But this hardly agrees with c. 107. 26 Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ἀναμῖξ τεταγμένοι πλὴν Μαντινέων. The explanatory clause, καὶ γὰρ . . . ὄντες, offers a difficulty, too, not only in syntax — in its reference, across καὶ οἱ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, to οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται — but in matter. For the victory of the right wing was doubtless due largely to the superior numbers of the Ambraciot-Peloponnesian army (c. 107. 16), and at all events to Demosthenes's efforts being directed first esp. against the left wing. In spite of their warlike character, the Ambraciots had been obliged repeatedly to invoke the aid of the Spartans against the Amphilochians and Acarnanians. Besides, granted that they were μαχιμώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία, what could this avail when ὃ κράτιστον ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος did not hold its ground?

**108. 15. αὐτῶν.** Steup, who refers αὐτῶν to the right wing only, argues that, even with Jowett's view, the words ἀτάκτως . . . Μαντινέων lack proper connexion with the preceding, since προσπιπτόντων was to be expected, and the sense of προσπίπτοντες is not clear, as it is nowhere stated that there was a general retreat to Olpae. Besides, even if ταῖς Ὀλπαῖς be supplied with προσπίπτοντες, it seems strange that the difficult retreat of the right wing is not also mentioned as a cause of the great losses. Hence Steup assumes a lacuna after αὐτῶν, and suggests that something like the following words may have dropped out, κατέφυγε δ' ἐς τὰς Ὀλπας καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν).

**111. 6. ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνελθόντες.** So reads the vulgate, against which objections have been raised from several sources and on various grounds, but without sure results. All explanations seem to assume the connexion of ἐτύγχανον with ξυνελθόντες, the latter referring, just as ξυνεξῆσαν in

c. 113. 5, to the retreat made by the Ambraciots along with the Peloponnesians. Accordingly, either *ξυνελθόντες* is replaced by *ξυνεξελθόντες*, with Ullrich (*Beitr.* i. p. 12), or is understood, with Bm.<sup>3</sup>, as equiv. to *ξυνεξελθόντες*. Objection has been made to *μέν*, without antithetical *δέ* clause, and *οὕτως* has been variously understood, *e.g.* Kr., Bl., and Arn., “for this purpose” (*i.e.* ἐπὶ λαχανισμὸν καὶ φρυγάνων ξυλλογῇν); Bm.<sup>3</sup>, “just so, without further object”; Jow. ““on the instant, at once,” or *οὕτως* may answer to *ὡς* before *ἔγνωνσαν*, “who happened to have come together when they saw the others running away.”’ Cf. iv. 135. 4. Pp. conjectures *δντως* for *οὕτως*. But Cl. objects to the above const. of *ξυνελθόντες* (= *ξυνεξελθόντες*), on the ground that *ὅτε . . . ξυνεξῆσαν* in c. 113. 5 proves beyond doubt, that the Ambraciots only *attempted* (impf.) to escape with the Peloponnesians, when they were checked with great loss by the attack of the Acarnanians; and that a mere *attempt*, expressed at the outset by the impf. *ξυνεξῆσαν*, could not be represented as accomplished here with the aor. *ξυνελθόντες* or *ξυνεξελθόντες*. Besides, it is inconceivable that Thuc., after narrating so carefully and graphically in § 1 the at first secret, then open, retreat of the Mantineans and other Peloponnesians, should have added, as if a matter of course, in a rel. clause, that the Ambraciots had withdrawn *in a body* with them — a proceeding which would have frustrated the purpose of the Peloponnesians. With this view, too, not only *οὕτως*, but esp. *ἀθρόοι*, is difficult to understand. For how is it that these, who have had no such purpose, come together for a retreat of which they have no knowledge? Besides, as Pp. observed, Thuc. construes *ἐτύγχανον* (*i.e.* the expression of a state or condition which coincides with some other circumstance), never with the aor. partic., but only with that of the pres. or pf., which indicates a relation still existent or still continuing in its results.<sup>1</sup> In the not very numerous cases where a momentary occurrence is to be represented as coinciding with another event, the aor. partic. is construed with *ἔτυχον*: c. 112. 6; i. 70. 23; iv. 9. 9; 13. 17; 70. 14; 73. 14; 111. 6; 116. 7; v. 8. 17; 12. 6; vi. 61. 8; vii. 2. 17; 70. 27; 79. 9; viii. 41. 10. The const. of *ἀθρόοι* *ξυνελθόντες* with *ἐτύγχανον* being abandoned then, the former words appear as the natural introduction to what follows, “after they had come together in a body” (*i.e.* for consultation; cf. iv. 46. 8; 68. 25; vi. 91. 6). — As to the now isolated *ἐτύγχανον*, one of two explanations is obviously necessary: either to substitute for it a suitable independent verb, or to assume the loss before *ἐτύγχανον* of a pres. or pf. partic. What the context demands, *οὕτως* most clearly indicates; for since this refers to the conduct, as just narrated, of the Mantineans and other Peloponnesians, it follows that for the Ambraciots and their allies no other consequence can be

<sup>1</sup> For the first case, cf. c. 62. 8; 70. 20; 102. 10; i. 55. 10; 92. 4; ii. 13. 5; 49. 3; 51. 3; iv. 70. 3; 132. 6; v. 31. 5; 75. 8; vi. 89. 24; vii. 23. 13; 50. 28; 81. 17; viii. 12. 11; 54. 15; 66. 13; 91. 8; for the second, c. 98. 10; vi. 96. 15; viii. 5. 29; 105. 18.



named except that they saw themselves abandoned and deceived. Since now to express this by the substitution of an independent verb would require a violent change (perhaps *κατελείφθησαν, ἐμεμόνωντο*), nothing is left but to seek a suitable partic., — a remnant of which is prob. preserved in *μεν* — either *μεμονωμένοι*, or, as the occurrence is not yet at an end, the more unusual, and therefore more liable to be miscopied, pres. *μονούμενοι*. The verb *μονοῦσθαι* occurs in various forms in Thuc. Cf. c. 105. 20; ii. 81. 23; iv. 126. 2; v. 8. 16; 40. 5; 58. 8; vi. 101. 31. It seems then that all difficulty would be removed by reading, *οἱ δ' Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μονούμενοι ἐτύγχανον οὕτως, ἄθροοι ξυνελθόντες ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἀπίοντας, ὥρμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπικαταλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι*, but the Ambraciots and the rest who chanced to be left, came together in a body, and when they had ascertained that those were going away, set off also themselves and ran at full speed, wanting to overtake them.

Widmann, in Bm.<sup>4</sup>, adopts Cl.'s view. Stahl also (*N. Jahrbh.* xcvi. p. 111) accepts it, except that for *μονούμενοι* he would substitute *μένοντες*, and, comparing i. 65. 6, would render, *all the rest who chanced in this way to remain in Olpae, or who were thus left behind*; v. II., who remarks (*Stud. Thuc.* p. 49), Merito in his *haesit Classen*, sed *infelicissime coniecit μεμονωμένοι*, conjectures *ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύγχανον τούτοις* (i.e. *Mantineensibus et sociis*) *ἄθροοι ξυν(εξ)ελθόντες ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἀπίοντας* (*Mantineenses*) *ὥρμησαν καὶ αὐτοί*. Madvig (*Adv.* i. p. 318) remarks, *Classenius, difficultate animadversa, frustra molitur*, and conjectures, *ὅσοι ἐνετύγχανον αὐτοῖς, ἄθροοι ξυνελθόντες, ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἀπίοντας, ὥρμησαν καὶ αὐτοί*. But Cl. believes that the considerations urged by him above make both of those conjectures inadmissible.

Steup thinks some points in Cl.'s argument open to attack. Since in what is said before of the Mantineans and their allies (l. 2 ff. *πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λαχανισμὸν καὶ φρυγάνων ξυλλογὴν ἐξελθόντες ὑπαπῆσαν κατ' ὀλίγους, ἅμα ξυλλέγοντες ἐφ' ᾧ ἐξῆλθον δῆθεν · προκεχωρηκότες δὲ ἤδη ἄπωθεν τῆς Ὀλπης θᾶσσον ἀπεχώρουν*) *ἐξελθεῖν* is certainly used both times, not of the whole retreat agreed upon, but merely of coming out of the fortress, there is no reason why mention could not be made here of a *ξυνεξελθεῖν* of the Ambraciots and others not included in the agreement. For of course *ξυνεξελθόντες*, as opp. to the further retreat, would simply mean, *leaving Olpae with*. — With a correct conception of *ξυνεξελθόντες*, even *ἄθροοι* is not objectionable. For why could not the Ambraciots and their allies have come out in a body with the others, either to cover their retreat in case of attack, or really to do what they pretended? In what follows there is hardly a doubt that the whole army really did march out together. Otherwise how could the Ambraciots have thought of overtaking the others, and how could they have actually accomplished this? That they did overtake them seems clearly implied in l. 15 *καὶ ἦν πολλὴ ἔρις καὶ ἄγνοια εἴτε Ἀμπρακιώτης τις ἐστὶν εἴτε Πελοποννήσιος*. In c. 113. 4, however, where it is said of the Ambraciots of Olpae, *ὅτε μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ τῶν ὑποσπόνδων ξυνεξῆσαν ἄσπονδοι*, it is not strange, considering how far that passage is from the one under consideration,

that *ξυνεξῆσαν* is there used in a somewhat different, *i.e.* more comprehensive sense, = *ξυναπεχώρουν*. Thus the reading of Laur. *ἀθρόοι συνεξελθόντες* seems to suit the context exactly, and a mention of the simultaneous withdrawal of the Ambraciots is not to be dispensed with; whereas Cl.'s view, based on the reading *ἀθρόοι ξυνελθόντες*, that for the moment the Ambraciots remained in Olpae, and, before marching out, came together in a body to deliberate, involves great difficulties. See Müller-Strübing, *Thuk. Forsch.* p. 83 f. — As to the const. of *ἐτύγχανον*, L. Herbst (*Philol.* xvi. p. 305) calls attention to the fact that in viii. 105. 18 the pf. *ἐνδεδωκότες* is followed by the aor. *ὀρμήσαντες*, both construed with *ἐτύγχανον*. On account of that passage and vii. 2. 16, where Vat. has *ἐτύγχανε . . . ἐλθών*, together with instances of the aor. partic. with *ἐτύγχανον* occasionally found in other authors (see J. R. Wheeler, *The Partic. Const. with τυγχάνειν* and *κυρεῖν*, in *Harvard Stud. in Cl. Philol.* ii. p. 143 ff.), the possibility of construing *ξυνεξελθόντες* or *ξυνελθόντες* with *ἐτύγχανον* cannot be absolutely denied. Steup thinks, however, that the context decidedly favours Cl.'s assumption, that *μέν* is the remnant of a partic. belonging to *ἐτύγχανον*, and that *μονούμενοι*, though a bold conjecture, is decidedly preferable to Stahl's *μένοντες* and makes *οὕτως* intelligible. Müller-Strübing (p. 82 f.) wrongly objects that with Cl.'s conjecture *ἐτύγχανον* is almost purely periphrastic; for *τυγχάνειν* is freq. so used (*e.g.* c. 9. 7; i. 70. 23; iv. 124. 22; v. 36. 1). So then Steup approves Cl.'s conjecture *μονούμενοι*, but prefers the reading of Laur. *ξυνεξελθόντες*.

115. 3. μετὰ τῶν Σικελῶν ἄνωθεν ἐσβεβληκότων ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἰμεραίας. Cl. defended the vulg. μετὰ τῶν Σικελιωτῶν. Steup, while agreeing that ἄνωθεν . . . τῆς Ἰμεραίας refers to the Sicels, denies that it is sufficient simply to substitute Σικελῶν for Σικελιωτῶν, contending that iv. 25. 31 — where Kr. conjectured οἱ Σικελοὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄκρων — is not adequate for the assumption that the Sicel allies of Athens could be designated here simply as οἱ Σικελοί. Besides, he thinks that μετὰ is out of place in the sent., whether as it stands in the vulg. or as emended by Bl., even though it be said in the same sent., that the Sicels from the interior had invaded Himera. He objects also, with Cl., that with Bl.'s emendation the Hellenic allies of Athens are left out of consideration. Holding then to the view formerly advanced by him (*Jen. Literaturzeitung*, 1877, p. 55), that the passage is corrupt, he conjectures that after Σικελιωτῶν the words *ξυμμάχων καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν*, or *ξυμμάχων ἅμα τῶν Σικελῶν*, have dropped out: "with the Siceliot allies and after (or "when moreover," *cf.* ii. 5. 4) the Sicel (allies) from the interior had invaded, *etc.*" For the adj. use of Σικελιωτῶν and Σικελῶν, see on c. 103. 2.



## GREEK INDEX.

[The references to the Greek text are by chapters and thirds of chapters ; to the notes, by chapter and line of text annotated : *e.g.* 88a refers to the Greek text at the first third of c. 88 ; and 49. 4 refers to the note on line 4 of c. 49.]

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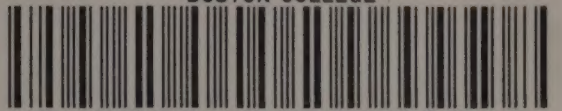
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